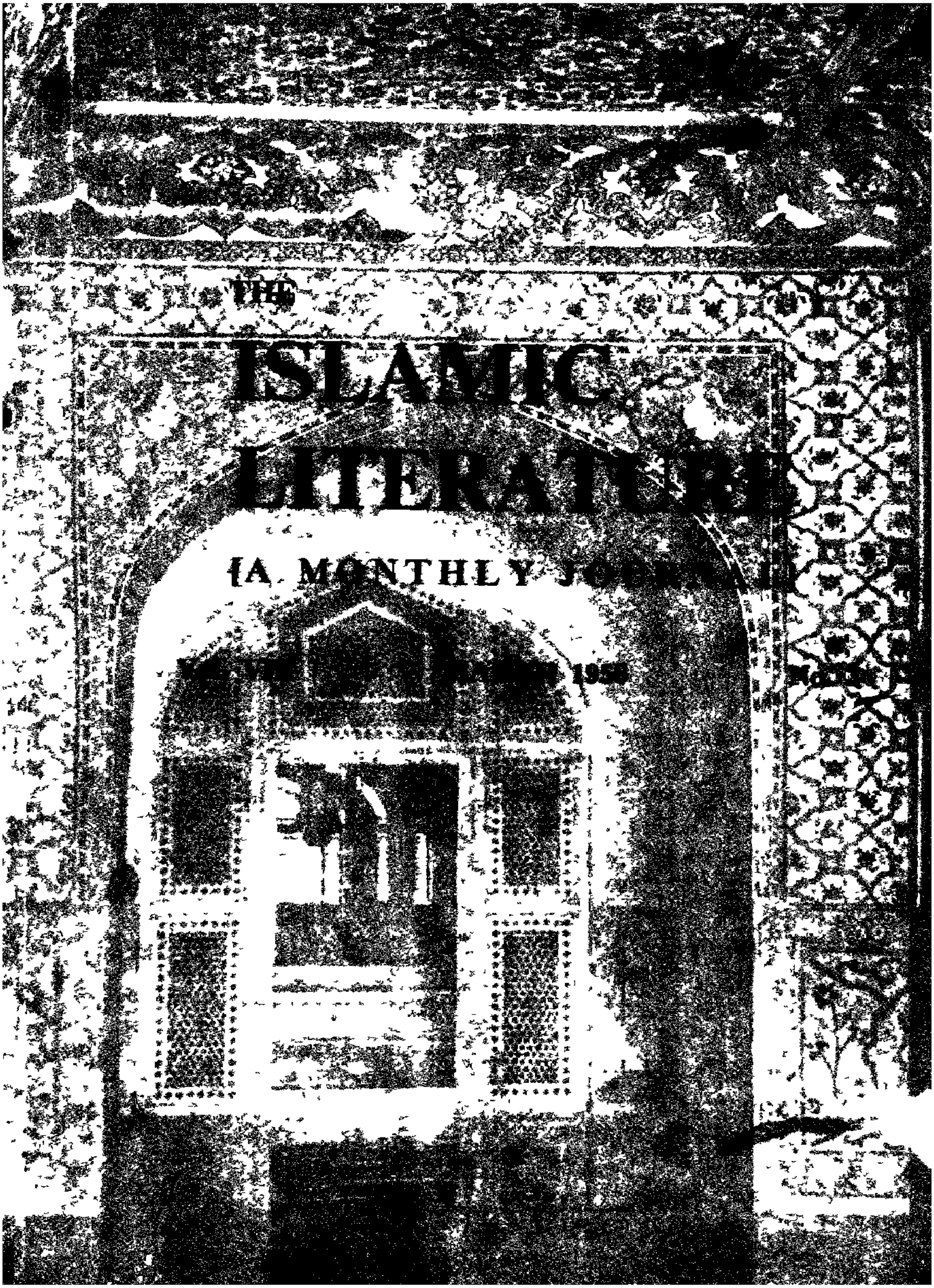


THE

ISLAMIC LITERATURE

(A MONTHLY JOURNAL)

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THE ISLAMIC LITERATURE

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The journal attempts to (1) reflect, in a worthy manner, Islam's ambition to reconquer its lost field of cultural glory, (2) present the new interpretation of Islam that would fit in with the changed condition of the world, (3) analyse boldly and critically the present situation, unearthing the hidden treasures of Islam's *actual* past, ignorance of which has made Muslims feel so doubtful of their future, (4) be a forum for scattered sections of the Muslim world to exchange views with one another in order to feel the reality of Islam's worldwide spiritual brotherhood, etc, etc

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The Islamic Literature

[A MONTHLY JOURNAL]

MARCH 1956

— ADDRESS —

KASHMIRI BAZAR, LAHORE (Pakistan)

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Editorial . . .

MAN AND GOD—II

THE three most important questions about Reality are firstly whether it is personal or impersonal, whether it is immanent or trascendent, whether it is plastic and so modifiable and growing or it is something immutably fixed, and beyond modification by the effort of man The scientific view of Reality is that it is impersonal and blind, like a great river which in its onward rush cares for nothing, man or beast, that there is nothing transcendent beyond what physically exists and that Reality is rigidly and immutably fixed and so admits of no modification by man, who can at best conform to its requirements but is in no position to add to it. On all these points the religious standpoint is opposed to that of science For religion, Reality is a living personal or supra-personal reality and, therefore, akin to man, of the same nature with him and responsive to his deepest and truest aspirations Therefore, man is not an alien in the universe *On the other hand, he is quite at home in it and should feel no foreignness in* its presence Again, on the religious view, Reality is both transcendent and immanent because the Real is an inexhaustible spring of creativity and what physically exists is not all The sum-total of existence does not exhaust Reality Over and above what exists, immense possibilities of existence remain, so that Reality is immanent in all existence

and yet transcends it and remains unexhausted by it. For science, there are no possibilities, whatever is is either necessary or impossible For religion, the realm of possibility is wide open Again, science rejects the idea that man can mould reality or modify it by his wishes and efforts Man must take what is given He can ask for no more He is a plaything of destiny His pattern of life has been laid down and fixed by forces beyond his control He is subject to an iron necessity. Free-will and striving are empty dreams Cause and effect between them decide his fate The law of causality binds him to a chain from which there is no release Historical events are determined by antecedent causes Therefore, it is futile to try to change the course of history

Religion is, therefore, an optimistic doctrine, but Materialism and Naturalism are grounded in the deepest pessimism Religion believes that man is creative, his efforts and toils are going to bear fruit He is not the prisoner of a non-human causality but is himself a causal power, an agency of modification He is a creator himself in the very real sense of the word To this doctrine of man's creativity and of the fruitfulness of his struggle, science, materialism and religious Absolutism preached by the Sufis and the Mystics are irretrievably opposed For the doctrine of an Absolute God swallows up the reality and creativity of man and leads to Pantheism Man, according to Sufi Absolutism and Pantheism, is but a fleeting shadow devoid of all reality He has no power over the totality of the forces which in their eyes constitute God Here again, like the Materialists and the Scientists, the Sufis and the Pantheists ignore that man is a part and a very vital part of the totality of forces which constitute God or Nature Neither Nature nor God can be conceived apart from Man God and Nature both reveal themselves in human social activity to a much greater extent than in any other phenomenon That is what the Qur'an means when it exhorts its followers to direct their attention towards the activities and movements of heavenly bodies, natural processes and the historical phenomena of the rise and fall of nations and peoples

Let us examine one by one the three points referred to above on which the religious outlook of Islam differs from Sufi Absolutism and Pantheism on the one hand and the philosophy of Naturalism on the other We have seen that the religious outlook of Islam differs from Naturalism and Pantheistic Absolutism in regarding God as a personal or rather supra-personal force which stands in a certain relation to other persons who have a reality in their own right When we say that God of Islam is personal and not an impersonal cosmic force, we do not reject the scientific thesis that the reign of law is absolute in this universe. The personality of God need not and should not lead to the idea of a whimsical and capricious being who observes no principles and knows no law, but goes on rewarding and punishing human beings, according to his lawless will The idea of a lawless whimsical God has come

to us from misinterpreting some of the verses of the Qur'an. For example, the Qur'an says of God. "He bestows respect on whomsoever He will, and brings to disgrace whomsover He wills" Superficially, this verse leads to the conclusion that God acts whimsically and is not bound by any principle. But this is a misconception. The same Qur'an says. "We have prescribed the law of mercy unto Ourselves" (vi 12) or "You will not find any variation in the habits of God." This means that, although God is free from external necessity, He works under self-imposed limitations These limitations have not been prescribed by an external authority but flow from the nature of God's own personality The observance of laws and principles is quite consistent with the idea of personality The notion that whatever is personal is necessarily lawless is a mere superstition having no foundation in fact, because the more integrated a personality, the greater is its respect for moral principles, principles which do not emerge from anything alien to itself, but express and reveal its own true nature On the other hand, whimsicality, capriciousness and lack of principles are the outcome of an ill-developed personality, a personality whose inner forces are still uncoordinated and, therefore, in mutual conflict The stronger a man's personality, the more coherent are its inner impulses, and the more uniform is its response to external stimuli Therefore, personality, far from being a principle of lawlessness, is the source of all law It is the unified will of an integrated personality which directs all its acts from a single source and binds together its whole conduct by the cementing force of a single will Therefore a personal or supra-personal God is not a lawless Being but one who observes certain uniform principles of behaviour called Sunnat in the terminology of the Holy Qur'an Even in social and political life personality does not always lead to lawlessness The head of a family cannot act capriciously, if he does not want to disrupt the family He has to pay due and equal regard to the interests of all the members and curb and control the more vocal and assertive ones Similarly, the head of a state, however powerful or autocratic he may be, must act according to certain principles and maintain a neutral and impartial attitude towards conflicting claims and interests, if he is not to undermine political ahd social integrity Therefore God, Who is the ruler and sustainer of the whole world, cannot act capriciously or pay any regard to individual claims and prayers, if they conflict against the interests of the whole. God is the linking force which keeps together the whole He cannot, therefore, have any special regard for any individual, group or nation In other words, there are no favourites of God, either among individuals or nations and communities Those who fulfil the purposes of the whole are near to God than those who stand for their particular interests. Such a God, therefore, can only be a God Who acts in accordance with laws and principles and is therefore supra-personal but not impersonal.

[To be continued.]

OUR CONSTITUTION

February twenty-nine of this year was a fateful day in the history of Pakistan. This day our Constitution was passed and a period of anxiety, confusion, indetermination and lack of stability came to an end Thank God, Pakistan is now a stable country where law and constitution will be supreme, not persons and groups It is well to record on this occasion that Prime Minister, Mr Muhammad Ali, has justified the confidence of the people and emerged as the wisest, most conciliatory and constructive statesman of our times Without his integrity, patience and almost super-human industry, we might never have had a democratic Constitution. The other person who deserves our thanks and respect is the lion of Bengal, Mr Fazlul Haq, who has proved himself a patriot of the highest order

The future of our democracy now depends upon ourselves and on our political leaders In the past our politicians have disappointed the people Their behaviour was neither responsible nor free from personal ambitions The first Constituent Assembly came to failure for this very reason If in future the political and moral standards of our politicians do not improve, we may lose the measure of democracy we have got now But, as we have maintained in the past, a change in the standards of political life will come only with greater education and the levelling down of economic inequalities Political democracy by itself is not enough, unless it is backed by economic and educational democracy If the Constitution is worked according to its true spirit and in conformity with the Islamic principles embodied in it, if steps are taken to abolish feudalism and assure economic security to the backward classes of society which would involve a scheme of social security implemented on a considerable scale, then alone we will have true democracy. Where a great majority of the people are economically dependent on landlords, industrialists or government favours, they can hardly vote freely Therefore, the next big task before us is to advance towards the ideal of a welfare state by implementing social security schemes on a large scale. Much also depends on the composition and work of the Commission for the re-examination of Islamic laws Only a body composed of enlightened religious scholars who are not rigid in their outlook and recognise the socio-economic changes of the modern times can accomplish this task. We hope that the Commission will be soon brought into being, as the legal structure of the country has to be shaped in conformity with Islam, before Pakistan can claim to be an Islamic Republic in the real sense of the word We want the reality of Islam and will not be satisfied with mere symbols or shadows.

ISLAM IS IRRECONCILABLE

Dr. Q.
Ahmed-ur-Rahman
Alavi, D. Litt.

In this article Mr Ahmed ur Rahman Alavi presents a view of Islam with which we find it difficult to agree He urges that the Muslims should not lose sight of their superiority, but he forgets that today the Muslim world is far inferior in most respects, morally and materially, to other nations of the earth The idea that we have nothing to learn from others is a destructive one, which means that we should refuse to look at the movement and progress of the world and remain shut up in our own brain fabricated castles Dr Alavi would have us refuse cooperation with non-Muslims But today this would mean suicide because we cannot keep ourselves isolated nor can we save ourselves from military and economic collapse, if we refuse to accept the help of non-Muslim countries Dr Alavi forgets that interaction and interpenetration of ideas, habits and institutions is an inevitable process specially in modern times when space has been annihilated The ideas he puts forth may have been true when the Muslim world was united under one Empire and was economically, politically and spiritually strong But even then it could not dispense with the cooperation of non Muslims Today the situation is exactly the reverse Such ideas as the writer puts forth will mean for the Muslims either automatic self extinction or a state of static torpor It is this attitude which has made the Muslims stagnant so as to give up all attempts at reform, renewal, reconstruction and experimentation in social and political life But the world cannot stand still, even if the Muslims fail to move Evolution progress destruction and reconstruction are the principles at the root of life No form of life can perpetuate itself Just as individuals die and others are born in their places, so civilisations and socio religious structures collapse and others rise in their place The Muslim world is no exception to this rule The best we can do is to incorporate our essential moral and religious values in the new civilisation which is arising but it is futile to try to arrest the march of time The Muslims have forgotten and overlooked the truth that historical evolution and change is an immutable law of God, and the spirit of God manifests itself in ever renewed forms of life and civilisation If God had wished, He could have perpetuated the social and political conditions at the time of Islam, but He did not do it, so that man might continue his struggle to realise his moral and religious ideals under every change of conditions, and in differing frames of society.

THE downfall of a people has always been caused either by some inherent defect in their very system or its external infection by some bacillus detrimental to its growth and continuation And now let us ascertain which of the two causes can be assigned to the downfall of the Muslim people, just because by detection and rectification thereof we would be able to pick up the lost threads and gather our momentum anew in order to proceed unhampered towards the achievement of our objective and the

realisation of the deliberate aim of our existence To begin with, let us examine, on the basis of factual evidence, whether there is any inherent defect in Islamic system. And I would say, on the basis of factual evidence, that there is none And had there been any inherent defect in Islam, it could never have had that dominating position it did have for more than 1,200 years continuously and could never have withstood the combined onslaughts of all Europe that came in the form of Crusades, successively, along with the onslaughts of Changez Khan and Halaku Khan, just to give a few instances. Also its inherent strength as well as lack of defect can be very easily verified by referring to the way it shattered and smashed the Roman and the Persian Empires simultaneously and almost on its own very inception Therefore, we shall have to acknowledge the fact that the existence of an inherent defect in the Islamic system is totally out of question because the domination exercised by Islam has not been only military but to a large extent ideological and cultural And consequently we shall have to admit the defects or rather defections that have caused the downfall of the Muslim people in almost all the spheres of life, to be of a foreign nature and origin and actually an infection the bacillus whereof has practically contaminated to whole system to the present state of degradation and deformation when a general feeling of helplessness holds sway and is creeping the entire people with its paralytic effect And unless it is effectively counteracted and removed, the organism cannot function properly and vitally.

Therefore, the foremost point to be determined is the nature of infection, its chief cause, and the ways and means of its neutralisation, elimination and final annihilation.

Undoubtedly, this is a point which has already been analysed by a number of eminent writers, definitely better acquainted than the present writer, but so far the problem has remained unsolved not because of its complexity but simply due to its very simplicity. The roots of the problem do lie in the critical study of Islamic history right from the very beginning in the Islamic way of ' detailed and characteristic criticism ' Just because, according to Islamic point of view, history is the statement of the human ideological tendencies , and the human actions and motives should be studied in entirety on the basis of full-view background of ideological tendencies, appertenant to the time and people

Therefore, all actions and movements of the Muslim people should be critically studied on the basis of 'Islamic principle of history,' and should be referred to the Holy Qur'an and the traditions of the Holy Prophet to ascertain their exact value For a Muslim the Commands of the Holy Qur'an and those of the Holy Prophet are simultaneously of immediate utility and of far-reaching consequences. And it would be

evident by going through the length of history and examining all its phases on the scale of the Holy Qur'an and Hadith that whenever a departure has been made from any definite commandments by whosoever it may be, the verdict of history or its immediate and after-effects have always been menacingly adverse.

Thus there is a series of departures and deliberate disobediences committed by a number of potentates and their camp-followers, from as early a period as the heydays of Islam, the consequences whereof had to be borne by the succeeding generations of Muslims, just because these generations allowed themselves to act subjectively and in contravention to the commandments, in continuation of the activity of their predecessors And in fact it is due to the violation of our fundamental principles by us that the sanctity of Muslim life in all respects has been violated with a vengeance An examination and scrutiny on the scale of clearcut declarations of the Holy Qur'an, and the definite prohibitions and recommendations, privileges and obligations contained therein are apt to reveal the fact amply, and also the Hadith or the sayings of the Holy Prophet as an amplification and further clarification thereof.

Now, to return to our point of foreign contamination, let us take cognisance of a fundamental fact that every thing or practice that has been ignored and left outside the sphere of Islamic life, it has not been left accidentally but only deliberately and with contempt. And so the principle we are chiefly concerned with here is the 'anti-foreign infiltration principle,' which has been continuously violated from the days just wherein the Khilafat-i-Rashida did terminate abruptly This was ideological in primacy and practical in ultimacy. And, without dragging in the personalities intimately connected with this violation, it can be safely said that this violation proved to be a turning-point in the entire course of Islamic history Although honest efforts were made to set it right, at intervals, but they did not succeed principally due to being only help-measures The greatest of these was made by the Ommayad Caliph Hazrat 'Umar Ibn 'Abdul 'Aziz, but he was unable to gain the necessary following and it remained virtually confined to his own personality, and thereafter the efforts made were of lesser magnitude Thus it is required to be dealt with seriously and effectively, and with the definite understanding that every thing, practice or ideology outside the sphere of Islamic teachings is foreign and antagonistic to it. This is what the Holy Prophet declared

الاسلام ملة واحدة والكفر ملة واحدة۔

" Islam is one community and Kufr is another community."

Hence Islam can never be at par with Kufr, just because its point of convergence has absolutely no relationship with the point towards which the Kufr does converge.

Ere we proceed any further it is better and imperative at this juncture to determine the exact nature of Kufr in accordance with the Islamic point of view. Kufr is an entity which refuses to recognise the correct human value, its direction and potentiality, and also refuses to follow the Divine guidance It does not recognise the human limits in their true perspective but it tends either to exceed them or recede from them And thus Kufr is the wilful ignorance and denial of the cosmic truth, no matter what the pretext or the appendix may be. Therefore any compromise between Islam and Kufr can simply have no ground at all

This has been dealt with by the Holy Qur'an at length, and the Muslims have been put into the constraint of the injunction

لایتخذ المومنون الکافرین اولیاء من دون المومنین و من یفعل ذلک فلیس من الله فی شئی الا ان تتقوا منهم تقة -

> "Let not the believers take the unbelievers for friends rather than believers; and whoever does this, he shall have nothing of the (guardianship) of Allah, but you should guard against them guarding carefully." (iii 27).

This is the commandment and injunction prohibiting and restraining the Muslims from the practice of موالاة or 'unreserved cooperation' with the non-Muslim individuals and the world at large This in fact is the fundamental principle of external relations, be they social, economic or political, the divergence wherefrom and disobedience whereto has been mainly responsible for the present state of all forms of degradation and chaos among the Muslim rank and file As a consequence of the disobedience to this fundamental commandment, the Muslims blundered into compromising Islam with Kufr on various issues, which set in a vicious circle and has ultimately landed them in the turbulance of the foaming seas And this is the point towards which we should retrace our steps This is equally applicable to all those who do not believe in Islam, be they Jews or Christians, Zoroastrians, Pagans and Heathens or whatever denomination they may like to put themselves in.

The Holy Qur'an in succeeding verses has amplified this principle which describes in unambiguous terms the entire body of non-Muslims to be essentially the part and parcel of Kufr, from which even the "peoples of the book," i.e. Jews and Christians, are no exception, and in context whereto is the injunction

یا ایها الذین آمنوا لا تتخذوا الیهود و النصاری اولیاء بعضهم اولیاء بعض و من یتولهم منکم فانه منهم -

> "O you who believe! do not take the Jews and the Christians for friends; they are friends of each other, and whoever amongst you takes them for a friend, then surely he is one of them." (v. 51).

Therefore, none of the people around us today and heretofore and even hereafter are allowed to be admitted within the precincts of absolute confidence of a Muslim, individually or collectively, in any affairs, personal or public , and whoever did or does admit them, has been and would be guilty of the gross violation of this injunction. As a measure of further clarification, the Holy Qur'an declares

يا ايها الدين آمنوا لا تتخذوا عدوى وعدوكم اولياء تلقون اليهم بالموده وقد كفروا بما جاءكم من الحق -

" O you who believe ! do not take My enemy and your enemy for friends would you offer them love while they deny what has come to you of the truth ? " (lx. 1).

Here in this verse the Holy Qur'an gives the principle reason of the prohibition of " unreserved cooperation " with or absolute confidence in a Kafir As a Kafir, by refusing to submit to the truth, becomes automatically an active enemy of Islam and the Muslims and, since he is an enemy of Allah, by virtue of denouncing His commandments, he deserves always to be kept at bay.

The Holy Qur'an has laid much stress on this particular point so that no ambiguity or loophole may exist to provide an excuse for the deviationists , hence the verse

ان اشد الناس عداوه للذين آمنوا اليهود والدين اشركوا و اقربهم مودة الذين قالو انا نصارئ دلک بان منهم قسيسين و رهبانا وانهم لايستكبرون -

" Certainly you will find the most violent of people in enmity for those who believe (to be) the Jews and those who are polytheists, and you will certainly find the nearest of them in inclination to those who believe (to be) those who say We are Christians , this is because there are priests and monks among them and because they do not behave proudly " (v. 82)

Before we continue our discussion, I would like to give a word of caution about this particular verse. The Christian writers and the Anglicised Muslims have made much of it as a point providing a directive for the Christian-Muslim cooperation on all the fundamental issues. While the fact is that the Christians are herein described to be only the softest of all the enemies from among the vile enemies, and that too just because a party among them are described to be inclined towards piety and denying all types of self-exaltation But since now even that section of them has practically disappeared and if there is a single trace of them left it is practically of a non-effective nature, therefore, to hope for any softness in that corner now would be a thing quite futile and in vain.

According to this verse, the Jews and the Polytheists are the arch-enemies of Islam and now, since the Christian world also has chosen to subscribe to the Jewish views more

than it ever did heretofore, they, too, are no exception to it. And this is exactly why the foregoing verses do give a definite directive

Undoubtedly nobody with a correct sense of proportion and discrimination which lies at the focal point of the entire Islamic movement would ever dare to exceed and transgress the Quranic injunction, which he believes to be the real truth and guidance, from the innermost recesses of his heart But often one is led astray by sheer misunderstanding and misinterpretation of foreign imposition, disguised and subtle in nature. For this, also, the Holy Qur'an has provided an antidote

لن ترضی عنک الیهود و لا النصاریٰ حتیٰ تتبع ملتهم قل ان الهدی هدی الله ۔

" The Jews and the Christians would never be pleased with you unless you follow their religion , say that true guidance is only the guidance of Allah "

یا ایها الذین آمنوا لا تتولوا قوماً غضب الله علیهم ۔

"O you who believe ! do not make friends with a people with whom Allah is wroth ' (lx 13)

یا ایها الذین آمنوا ان تطیعوا فریقا من الذین اوتوا الکتاب یرد وکم بعد ایمانکم کفرین ۔

" O you who believe ! if you obey any party from among those who have been given the book, they will turn you back as unbelievers after you have believed " (iii 99)

Thus we are strictly forbidden and warned against falling a foul prey and a victim to the mock friendship and cooperation of the Jews and the Christians as well as that of the entire community of Kufr , we must not 'cooperate unreservedly' with any member thereof nor put absolute confidence in any of them that may proceed to induce a partiality and toleration beyond the sanctioned limits. We have always adhered to our principle of toleration of alien ideologies, and this adherence of ours has always been superb and above reproach but sometimes, in our zeal of toleration, we lost sight of the fundamental principle governing the practice of toleration, and, consequently, have exceeded the limits thereof. And undoubtedly this has told upon us with a vengeance, and ultimately landed us into the clutches of the merciless enemies, to whom toleration is no principle and gratitude is no obligation

The consequences of this malpractice of toleration have been heavy and far-reaching indeed ! And to enumerate only a few glaringly bold examples would suffice to estimate the unaccountable injuries and losses sustained and the enormous number of stabs in the back suffered by us. The first of the series was the Khilafat adopting the imperial garb, then came the Crusades, the expulsion of Muslims from Spain, and the fall of

their power in India, China and Turkistan, and finally the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire

In this our zeal of toleration we committed the blunder of according the Kafirs in general and the Jews and the Christians in particular, a status equal to our own, in the key positions of the statal machinery, and on the social and cultural level. And this very equality conferred upon them enabled them to put their disguised plans of our destruction into a slow process of execution We ignored the practical aspect of the Quranic declaration

كنتم خيرامه اخرجت للناس تامرون بالمعروف وتنهون عن المنكرو تومنون بالله -

" You are the best of the nations raised up for human beings you enjoin what is right and forbid the wrong and believe in Allah " (iii. 109).

The consequences of the practical neglect thereof had to be perforce borne by us. And now it is time to retrace our steps from this blunderous position, wherever we are in a position to do so We are definitely the superior people, and we have in our midst mentally and practically the most potent human stuff from all the alien ideologies. Only the right-minded and most practical and vital elements from among the alien ideologies are in a position, in the face of general opposition, disapprobation and material losses, to embrace Islam and declare it to be their one and the only choice And it must be our policy, as the Holy Qur'an directs, always to consider ourselves superior and prove by our deeds our definite superiority in all respects, and make those who embrace Islam, feel elevated in their status, temporal as well as eternal, this can be brought about by means of full-fledged cooperation and coordination among ourselves in all the fields of life and activity And we must surely understand that our belief, in Allah, arrived at after prolonged deliberations, and hence, as a consequence of definite knowledge, must remain unshakable, and in consonance thereto we must work positively to establish the rule of truth, absolute, direct and definite, and also to check, destroy and annihilate wholesale all dissenting and divergent tendencies and actions therefrom And so long as we continue and persist to act and observe in this manner, we are definitely the best people from among the entire human race, individually as well as collectively Because, by acting and perceiving constantly in this manner, we can never lag behind the time but lead it by the nose, and thus we are, and we shall ever be, ultra-modern in all respects, we have proved it at intervals and proof would not be wanting if required again. We are, all of us, torch-bearers of truth as well as we are its exponents, and hence we are the embodiments of truth, to which time and space all are but subservient

We are only required, according to the Islamic point of view, to tolerate the Kafirs alone, as they are ignorant and misled human stuff, but in no case we can accord as much

toleration to Kufr, in any guise whatsoever. And this is the exact distinction one must be aware of and keep constantly in view when dealing with Kafirs. And thus we shall be able to abstain from blundering into compromising Islamic principles with the alien ideologies It does not mean that Islam either seeks or preaches isolationism but on the contrary whatever it does seek and preach is to keep itself as simple and definite as it really is and has been from the very beginning wherein lies its potentiality and overwhelming strength which is required to subjugate, dispossess and ultimately annihilate the ideologies foreign to it—which sums up in Kufr This is exactly what the Holy Qur'an declares

هوالذی ارسل رسوله بالهدیٰ و دین الحق لیظهره علی الدین کله -

"He it is Who sent His Apostle with the guidance and the true religion that he may make it prevail over all the religions" (xlviii. 28).

Thus it is strong and overwhelming so long as it is not compromised with Kufr in any context whatsoever, and after every conflict it emerges out triumphantly and stronger than ever before, no matter how prolonged the conflict may be and what heavy sacrifices its devotees may be called upon to offer for its cause

Islam does not admit of half-measures, as would be clear from what has been said above, just because truth can never agree to have within its fold, or admit to be in league with, any half-truth, as only an infinitesimal part of falsehood if contained therein is enough to affect adversely its very direction and moment As a consequence thereof, it fails dismally to attain its objective Thus the movements such as protestantism or the so-called reformation movement in Europe and Sikhism in India led by Luther and Nanak, respectively, were only half-measures primarily intended by their founders to lead their followers gradually to Islam, but being half-measures, as they are, they cannot be admitted into the Islamic fold unless they unequivocally declare to and enter the fold of Islam without any reservations Because no strings can be attached to truth and, if there is anything to which these are attached, it is no truth at all And, therefore, no half-measures are allowed and no divisions are permissible, as the Holy Qur'an declares

وان هذا صراطی مستقیما فاتبعوه ولا تتبعوا السبل فتفرق بکم عن سبیله ذلکم وصکم به لعلکم تتقون -

"And (know) this is My path, the right one, therefore follow it, and follow not other ways, for they will lead you away from His way, this He has enjoined you with that you may guard (against evil)" (vi. 154)

ان الذین فرقوا دینهم وکانوا شیعا لست منهم فی شئی -

"Surely they who divided their religion into parts and become sects, you have no concern with them." (vi. 160).

And hence Islam takes no cognisance of half-measures no matter howsoever good-intentioned they may be, in any aspects of human life. To us human beings are not simply a static phenomenon but instead they are dynamic automatons whose direction of movement is the only critical issue Just because no humanself has a past which may determine the course of future, according to our tenets, and hence every humanself, being original in nature, needs a careful and cautious steering to move in the correct direction, determine it and avoid the pitfalls, with the definite objective of preserving himself fit for the future movement towards the attainment of self-conservation Hence he is aided in the crisis of choosing the direction by his Originator, as a measure of special grace, by providing him with the definite knowledge of the problems involved and a recapitulation of the facts and evaluation of the realities. And hence a half-measure is bound to give a distorted direction -which can in no wise be compatible with the one determined by Islam.

It is an invariable fact of the natural law that the combination of any two things or, to be more precise, the elements, would always tend to develop into a third thing which would possess its own particular properties as distinct from those of any or both of its ingredients and their law equally applies to all the dynamic principles, the movements and directions and hence the combination of any two movements or directions would always give rise to a new movement and a new direction And this is exactly what comes of reconciliation between two different and dissimilar entities

This reconciliation we have blundered into in many aspects, sometimes consciously and often unconsciously It has been economic, social, political, educational and cultural. And now I propose to give a brief description of all these issues

Economic Instead of adhering to the Islamic principle of trusteeship, we have blundered into owning the alien principle of proprietorship primarily, which has resulted in the accumulation and maldistribution of wealth and consequent want and misery of the people in general This in fact is not a mere postulation but historical evidence proves it irrefutably that economic instability has been one of the main causes of disruption of the Muslim statal organisations for centuries The acceptance of the principle of proprietorship has not only caused the accumulation which amounts to hoarding and maldistribution but also to the abuse and misuse of wealth, as to its channels of expenditure and consumption And had we adhered to the Quranic principle of trusteeship, everything would have been functioning within the constraint of its proper limits and no instability, want and waste could have crept in. Secondarily, as the consequence of our compromising the fundamental principle, we were led to compromise with the principle of Interest, too. And thus we landed in the vicious circle of economic zig-zags and tomfooleries, which can be broken and destroyed only by the Islamic system.

Islam is the only religion in the whole world which can be preached to empty stomachs as much as to the well-fed, as it lays the proper stress on human rights as well as human duties which come in consequence of rights and the fulfilment whereof is obligatory, just to keep the movement of the human rights in constant motion It induces the well-fed, and confers upon them the right as well as obligation, to keep well-fed throughout their whole lives, and simultaneously grants the empty stomachs the right—and not only the right but also a duty to become well-fed in the shortest possible interval of time, just by making force and power subservient to rights and obligations. And thus it puts both wealth and want within the constraint and limit of rights and obligations Consequently nobody can be allowed to take undue advantage of wealth and nobody can be allowed to undergo any undue suffering owing to want And the existence of any social distinction on this basis is fundamentally out of question As nobody is allowed to become a waster and a squanderer of wealth, not even to hoard it, and, therefore, it must be directed perforce to its proper channels of expenditure

It puts labour and capital on equal footing and does not recognise any type of paramountcy in between them And hence it checks and impedes the foul growth of economic classes This is what the Holy Qur'an declares

والذين اذا انفقوا لم يقتروا وكان بين ذلك قواما

"And they who, when they spend, are neither extravagant nor parsimonious, and (keep) between these the just mean" (xxv. 67).

كلوا واشربوا ولا تسرفوا

"Eat and drink and do not (practise) extravagance

الذين يكنزون الذهب والفضة ولا ينفقونها في سبيل الله فبشرهم بعذاب اليم -

"And those who hoard up gold and silver and do not spend in Allah's way, announce to them a painful chastisement" (ix 34)

Social The term, apart from its general significance, has a peculiar meaning and depth in Islamic phraseology the equal of which cannot be found elsewhere. Just because, apart from the human equality, it grants to all the individuals of human race, it grants the Muslims a special status of brotherhood in between themselves with all privileges and obligations pertaining thereto And thus each believer is sanctimonious in all his relations and affairs and he is responsible before man and God to keep this sanctity intact and unmolested. We are not allowed to jeer at each other, or to go eavesdropping or even to carry out a cut-throat competition in between ourselves, and we are required to be deeply sympathetic to each other's failings and shortcomings. And in fact this is not necessary to keep only the requisite equilibrium intact but also to avoid the wastage of momentum which does bypass the proper channel if the abstinence

and magnanimity are not practised. But we, who are required to be so very human and natural to ourselves, have compromised not only these but also many more social principles of ours with heathenism Just because society in Islam is mainly constituted of homogeneous elements, the direction of whose movement, i e their main objective, is always one and the same, and the sphere of whose movement is always between the same limits and within the same constraint. And hence the liberty and social elevation envisaged by Islam must remain uncompromised individually as well as collectively. Space does not permit me to go beyond this very brief discussion.

Political The reconciliation in this field is actually the forerumer of reconcilitions in all other fields, it goes as far back in time as the termination of the Khilafat-i-Rashida And the fact is that all the hegemonies established thereafter had come into existence by sheer reconciliation, be they the Ommayads, with the exception of Hazrat 'Umar Ibn 'Abdul 'Aziz, or the Abbasids or any other Jhonnies of the heterogeneous dynasties that came in their wake.

In fact, the break-up of the Khilafat-i-Rashida was mainly due to the creeping in of foreign ideas in the Muslim polity as the result whereof the Islamic political thought was compromised with They reconciled imperialism and despotism with Islam Of course, this was due to many a new convert who did never grasp the Islamic outlook in its original purity and, therefore, could never get himself completely extricated of inert heathenistic tendencies And the later ages, blindly ignorant of the folly, continued to tread in their footsteps

But Islam allows no imperialism or despotism Herein the entire power is vested in the Holy Qur'an and thence in the Holy Prophet. And the Islamic State is the state established by the Holy Qur'an as the ' body principle ' and directed and supervised by the Holy Prophet as the executive principle of the ' body principle ', and in fact there exists no ground for reconciliation of any type whatsoever.

Educational Reconciliation in the field actually lies at the root of reconciliations in all other fields and of their continued existence. Seeking and imparting knowledge is one of the most fundamental recommendations of Islamic teachings. But in our zeal for seeking knowledge we have blundered into academic compromise. We agreed with the Greek philosophers on many a vital issue, on ethics, dialectics, and above all on the principle of opposites, and this, too, often unconsciously, with the result that this agreement or reconciliation set in a chain-reaction in our mental equipment and outfit. It gave rise to Mu'tazilites and the like, which ultimately played havoc in the Muslim ranks.

This reconciliation continues even to this day, only it has changed its garb. Now the pagan teachings of the Greeks and Romans have found their way in the Muslims' mental outfit, through their European disciples, with their modern glaze and polish. And in many an instance it has got home.

The modern political thought, be it democratic, communistic, monarchical or fascist, have all their sources and sinks in the paganism of antiquity and only derive their approbation therefrom, and in fact are more pagan than their forerunners, Judaism and Christianity

Nowadays attempts are being made on many sides towards the intellectual reconciliation of Islam with Christianity and heathenism in different parts of the world, in England, France, Russia, Canada, India and U S A, and many a university in these countries has established chairs and allotted funds for this purpose, for instance, at McGill in Canada, in Cambridge, Oxford, etc, at Paris, in really all the Indian universities. Just to catch the green horns before they grow out solid and unmanageable

At McGill, for instance, they will teach you your own history and sociology in their own academic style which serves as a guise for all the slanders they want to throw upon you without your feeling ill of it And so they would do everywhere They won't provide for the teaching of the Holy Qur'an and the traditions of the Holy Prophet just because it is bound to nullify all the efforts they are making towards the goal of puzzling you and developing a tendency of committing intellectual suicide by your own selves. And similar is the condition prevalent in all the countries I have mentioned above. There and only there can be found the rare specie of scholars and teachers, of the nature of finely labelled and tightly corked bottles with empty contents—the scholars and professors of Islamic studies and culture virtually ignorant of Islam itself! And many of them not possessing even a working knowledge of the Arabic language

There is yet another specie of specialists on Islam whom one is justified to call the foster-specialists, all of them non-Muslims In fact this is a strange phenomenon and does represent a stranger bias The sinister motives behind the mask of foster-specialists can no longer be kept a secret and now we can observe the services rendered by them in their true perspective These gentlemen have prepared for us a so-called reference compendium called Encyclopaedia of Islam, the preparation of which is exclusively of non-Muslim origin, and I would tell these gentlemen that they have done a thankless task remarkably well In fact the contents of the Encyclopaedia are not even worth the money its paper does cost. It is a heap of lies and sugar-coated calumnies and fabrications. And no Muslim worth the name can give you credit therefor. The Christian and the Jewish editors thereof claim to have appreciated Islam fully, but this is the first

of the series of continuous bias. While it is practically impossible for a non-Muslim, and particularly a scholar, to appreciate Islam fully and still continue to be a non-Muslim.

Now, therefore, it ought to be understood once for all that Islam cannot be reconciliated by any of these attempts And those Muslims who can readily fall a victim to such attempts can only be Philistines and dolts

Just because the general effect of Muslim education under European stamp has been an intelligentsia appallingly lacking in essentials of educational value, consequently there is no reason as to why it should not be reorganised under the irreconcilable stamp of Islam, which is the only way of clarifying the direction, an objective of movement and work before the Muslim intelligentsia and thence the common man.

Culture In Islam culture means not only the work and its result but also the motive of the work. The achievement of a definite aim and objective is always the motive of a work and no work can be correctly appreciated unless a full cognisance of its motive is attained And this we call the 'principle of work' This idea may be irreconcilable to the foreign world, which in fact it is, but it is the practical exposition of Islamic outlook. And the Islamic culture is the direct manifestation of this very 'principle of work.'

Therefore, it would be evident that the culture of Islam does not concern itself in the cut of clothes and the method of cooking and eating, but it does concern itself with the regulation of essential minimum clothing and satisfactory feeding, drawing a demarcation line with the prohibited substances. And whatever part of the globe a Muslim may belong to is only required to make provision of essential covering in his dress and to abstain from prohibited stuffs in his food And this is, in brief, the practical exposition and translation of the Islamic 'principle of work.' And undoubtedly this 'principle of work' or the culture of Islam is irreconcilable in any degree, those Muslims who compromised on this issue have certainly cast their lot with the antagonistic camp, which the Holy Prophet declared thus

من تشبه بقوم فهو منهم

"*Whoever identifies himself with any people he is one of them*"

Thus it would be clear now that Islam is absolutely irreconcilable in all its contents, aspects, and purposes. And being the embodiment of truth it is simultaneously the loftiest of reasons and the strongest of passions. It is a call for freedom from tyranny and oppression of all types and also it is a drive and momentum for human moment in the natural direction.

Let us remember in this connection that when the Ansars of Medina took their oath of allegience to Islam near Mecca, at the hands of the Holy Prophet, their chief called upon them to bear the fact in mind that 'by entering the fold of Islam they had automatically become at war with the rest of the world.' And in fact this ages long conflict and irreconcilability has not come to a close yet and cannot till the oppression and tyranny are rooted out and the truth prevails unchallenged!

THE RIGHT PERSPECTIVE

Prof
Muhammad Azraf

This is the first instalment of a long article by Prof Muhammad Azraf in which he defends Islam and the Holy Prophet of Islam from the attacks and insinuations made by some prominent Western writers like Wells and Russell As Prof Azraf has done his work ably and with a full mastery of facts, we shall make no comments But we cannot refrain from remarking that the greater part of Western criticism against Islam and the Holy Prophet is obviously inspired by political motives Where political motives are not at work, the cultural values of the Western civilisation are taken as universal, final and immutable truths to which the cultural and religious ideas of other civilisations ought to conform And when a gap is discovered or contradictions felt, the values of other cultures are decried But in this method of criticism the Western thinkers violate their own fundamental postulate that no cultural values and norms can be regarded as universally, eternally and unconditionally valid To treat the Western culture and its values as the abiding norm of all other human values is irrational Western culture is but a phase in the continuous development of humanity which the world is in the process of outgrowing

Introduction

CONSIDERED philosophically, the age of justification is over Milton's 'Paradise Lost' and its sequel 'Paradise Regained' might have received applauses in the past centuries, but such justifications of the ways of God to man hardly receive any appreciation amongst the moderners

The reason for this attitude is also clear No religion whether revealed or natural requires any argument for its being so propagated. Every religion has its own logic and it can stand by its own support provided, of course, the votaries accept it as the way of salvation both in spiritual and secular spheres.

It can be shown to the satisfaction of both the believers and the non-conformists that there is a 'flaw' in every account of the universe Whether religious, philosophical or scientific, any reasonable view of the universe might be looked at from different angles of vision and the judgment on it is dependent on the outlook on life From one angle of vision it might be a thorough view of the world, from another, a faulty one. To one, it might be the best possible interpretation, to another, a childish fantasy The judgment upon the taste, temperament and culture of the judge is in a sense relative

The conclusion to be drawn from these contradictions is that logical judgment is always subservient to the will of the judge His will determines the character of the

judgment in spite of the force of his reasoning. In this sense William James' contention is quite right [1]

Moreover, not only the taste, temperament of the individual, but the tendency of a particular age is also responsible for the judgment. Every age has its own standard of judgment which differs considerably from that of another It has been very nicely put by an eminent philosophical writer of our age—" If we look back on the slow formation and accumulation of doctrines which mark that history, we may see certain groupings of ideas within it, not by subject matter, but by a subtler common factor which might be called their technique .

" The 'technique' or treatment of a problem begins with its first expression as a question The way a question is asked limits and disposes the ways in which any answer to it—right or wrong—may be given If we are asked who made the world, we may answer 'God made it' 'Chance made it,' 'Love and hate made it,' or what you will We may be right or we may be wrong But if we reply 'Nobody made it,' we may be trying to be cryptic, smart or unsympathetic " [2]

The question then, in every case, determines the answer And as every age has its own way of questioning, the answer varies from age to age

The fundamental question as to the soundness of any religion or of philosophy has therefore varied from age to age according to the outlook on life. Religion once meant for the solutions of all the problems of life has been interpreted, in the modern world, as the modes of life that conduce to the happiness of the individuals or of society without any bearing on the life hareafter. With the development of sciences and experiments, experience of the senses has been taken to be the sole test of truth And in this sense, though it sounds like a paradox, we might say religious questions have taken secular turns We must be borne out if only one thinks seriously about the questions that are put on a particular religion The modern critic never questions the validity of Christianity, Islam or Hinduism, so far as their ability to attain salvation for the votaries is concerned. The primary importance is in solving the various problems of life Let the outlook change and change by force of circumstances We are to record it as it is But the tragedy lies in that factual judgments are often mixed with judgments of value or rather facts are distorted in order to fit them as instances for valuation.

We are first of all to sift the facts and then examine whether a particular judgment is justified by them In season and out of season we often find a blending of the two which shocks an impartial critic

1 William James, *The Will to Believe*

2 Susane K Langer, *Philosophy—A New Key*, p 1.

In the following pages attempts have been made to lay bare the inaccuracies in the writings of three scientific writers of the age, viz H. G Wells, Bertrand Russell, M. N. Roy, not by way of justifying the creed of Islam but rather with a view to having a true perspective of it. Values might be assigned to it on the facts that inhere it by anybody. As every man has his own standard of valuation so the writer has also and, perceptibly or imperceptibly, he will evaluate the creed, the facts of which he is engaged in examining.

The three stalwarts are different from each other in their outlook But all of them are supposed to be disinterested students of facts and impersonal in their attitude They have studied Islam from three different angles of vision and have come to their own conclusions. Though Wells was not so much interested in the tenets of Islam—his main concern being the presentation of it and to point its effect on the history of the world—his indictment on the character of the Prophet has evoked criticism from far and wide. He is therefore logically grouped amongst the two others M N Roy is not so much known throughout the world as the other two, but, as an intellectual of a very high rank, he still commands respect, in this subcontinent, of many 'The Historical Role of Islam' is one of the best contributions of his and, though we may differ on many points, still we have to admit it to be one of the best in the relevant subject Dr Bonquet is only taken up to illustrate the motive lying in the exposition of Wells. As there is no finality in thought, no one can legitimately claim perfection Every thought is subject to correction and every view is more or less tentative I would therefore invite corrections from friends and foes alike.

The Right Perspective

It is so very unfortunate that in the pages of history we often find factual judgments intermingled with judgments of value, due either to the lack of clear analysis or due to the presence of a motive Sometimes facts are distorted in order to suit them for a particular judgment of value and illusion is created as to the nature of the judgment. It is often very perplexing to find out whether the judge means an *is* judgment or an *ought* judgment And when stalwarts are engaged in passing judgments, the illusion becomes the worse. In the name of science they would describe facts or rather distort them and in a vein of scientific accuracy pass motivated judgment of values on a theme, which apparently looks like a judgment of fact

The age of justification though over, this is an age of right perspective and it demands that every critical judgment should be recriticised.

In the sphere of religion, the demand for impartial criticism is much more exacting. Religion being a social affair must be always imbued with emotion And when it is connected with politics, the cause of vengeance might find expression in mean-minded utterances either in a hostile religious circle, in the exposition of philosophy or in the treatment of history.

The case of Islam is in point. As a religion it has a political aspect, much more prominent than in other religions In its expansion, it had to come in contact not only with the then existing beliefs of the world, it had to challenge the then existing political order as well The revolutionary outlook of Islam has shattered to pieces the feudal order of both Europe and Asia and was a set-back to hoarding and accumulation leading to capitalistic tendencies It was a cause of shock to millions of people who, though accommodated for the time being to it, had a long-standing grievance against it, all through their lives It finds expressions even in modern literature in this form or that and, though the attitude in these pronouncements bears an impartial garb, the hidden motive might be laid bare and exposed So, when we find people of different tastes and callings join together in their attempt at soiling Islam, we not only wonder at their ingenuity but we may also find out the cause

Is it not a piece of wonder to find that a disinterested student of science, the late H G Wells, pronouncing his invidious judgment on the character of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be on him !) even without going through his life in details, in the following words " He married a number of wives in his declining years and his life on the whole was by modern standard unedifying He seems to have been a man compounded of very considerable vanity, greed, cunning, self-deception and quite religious passion " [1]

And when a scientist like H G Wells is corroborated by a divine like Dr. A. C Bonquet—not in finding fault with the sexual but in other traits of the character of the Prophet, we can at once find out the root of the complex which is, to use a modern expression, collectivised Though avowedly Wells was a student of science without any predilections towards Christianity, he was one with Dr A C Bonquet when the latter remarked, " Indeed whereas at first he (Muhammad) seems honest enough, in some of the later suras he seems to claim revelatory authority for convenient deliverances . . .

" The quality of the suras declines as the years advance Muhammad's character was probably spoilt by his successes and the tendency to prolixity also increased with his age There is a good reason for thinking that the shorter suras are mostly the earlier ones, save where a number of short passages have been fused together to make a long one " [2]

The root of this unanimity might be traced to the long-standing grievance held against Islam for its socialising effect on civilisation and for its success in converting millions of people against the propagation of Christianity by the clergy.

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1 H. G Wells, *A Short History of the World*, p 163

2. Dr A C Bonquet, *Sacred Books of the World*, William & Sons, Ltd , London & Beecles, 1954.

It will be evident in the following analysis that H. G. Wells was neither really modern in his outlook nor was he a real student of history when he made this remark on the character of the Prophet Dr. A C Bonquet too is not thoroughly conversant with the Quranic teachings when he utters his rash judgment. Curiously enough, though each is starting from his own standpoint they are meeting somewhere. Why? Because, though the approach is different, the end is the same and that is nothing but calumny.

Was Wells right when he uttered that, judged by the modern standard, the life of the Prophet was unedifying? What did he mean by the modern standard? Why the modern standard be applied in estimating the life of the Prophet? Should the lives of all the great men of the world be judged by modern standard? Can they stand the test? Leaving all these questions for the time being, it might be pointed out that what he meant by the 'modern' is medieval through and through Though he posed to be a moderner in outlook, he could not shake off the *Idola Tribus* (Idols of the Tribe) which was demanded by Bacon[1] long, long ago It is so easy to find out the ideas, which he imbibed from his predecessors about religion and religious personalities, could not be divested from his mind He was therefore a child of the situation in which he was born

Religion to all medieval people and to the ascetics of the present age meant and still means the giving up of all earthly pleasures and torture the body with a view to finding a rose garden for the soul. Soul and body, according to these people, were dimetrically opposed to each other and what was sauce for the gander was not sauce for the goose The maxim for these people was Deny the body and you feed the soul, deny the soul and you feed the body Plainly enough, to them, the gratification of the senses, particularly the sexual appetite, was an abominable act and whoever indulged in this satisfaction must be an ordinary mortal who can never claim a position in spiritual kingdom To have a full satisfaction of the natural propensities of man and to claim a spiritual leadership was a sort of contradiction to them Either deny or discard the flesh and claim to be divine or enjoy all the pleasures of life and give up all claims to spiritual kingdom That was the teaching throughout the medieval age amongst the Christians, and, though imperceptible, is still latent in all their teachings Wells was therefore no exception, though he posed himself to be a scientific writer His treatment of this topic indicates that in spite of himself he could not shake off the cultural heritage of his fathers. He did not insinuate anything against the character of Buddha who left his charming young wife and the new-born son in order to unravel the mysteries of the world, only because Buddha denied the 'flesh' Had Wells been a thorough-going

1. Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum*

moderner, he would have accused him of being a fugitive who had no responsibility for the wife and the son But Wells had not done so For the standard of spiritual elevation to him was not 'modern' but medieval through and through and that was nothing but the denunciation of the body Nor had he made any remark on the character of Socrates, Plato or Aristotle, though modern researches have been able to find prominent homosexual tendencies in all of them Intellectual attainments when divorced from moral echievements often lead both the individuals and the races astray That is a known fact of history Hellenic civilisation with all its intellectual attainments is now found to be a very poor repository of moral values But Wells had nothing to complain against it, because in it he found a lofty aspiration for knowledge which compensated for the drawbacks in moral spheres

It is therefore clear that to Wells two points in evaluation were prominent one, the discarding of the flesh for the illumination of the soul and, the other, the attainments of the intellect even if it be coupled with the worst sort of morals And this is what Prophet Muhammad (Peace on him!) decried with all the emphasis at his command. To him neither the body nor the soul was antagonistic to each other and a development in one never meant an undergrowth in the other To him man was a combination of body and soul and a development of man meant a harmonious development of both The demand of the senses, therefore, never meant to him devilish propensities To the contrary, it was a *sine qua non* to the healthy development of the soul. Modern critics, specially experts in psychology of the sexes, would bear out that unfulfilled desires, repressed for whatever reasons, are the causes of very many complexes, which upset the mental equilibrium. Prophet Muhammad therefore never denied the senses the legitimate claims which they demanded Marriage was to him a holy institution in which two persons of the opposite sexes find scope for both physical and spiritual satisfaction So, judged by the modern standard by an impartial critic, Muhammad would be more modern than H. G Wells.

As to his polygamy, Wells might have forgotten the condition of his own country after the first world war, when thousands of women were left stranded without any prospect of either marriage or remarriage. We are sorry that Wells could not live long to see the effect of the second world war, on the morals of his own country-men and that of his neighbours in Europe, when the ratio between a man to woman varies from four, five and six to one. Thousands of women are forced either to lead a celebate life or to shake off the restraints of morals Wells was not fortunate enough in hearing the admonition of the late George Bernard Shaw in which he advised the people of Europe to adopt the system of polygamy in order to save Europe from the inundation of adultery. Wells had never taken life in its entirety and looked at the life of the Prophet with a medievally

trained mind to find fault with the polygamy of the Prophet Had he studied the statistics of the world, he would have found that, though the male population outweighs the female, the number of marriageable men is always disproportionate to the number of women Women as a class are always safe in their household Men have to face risks, they have to wage wars and thus a very great number is always liable to be wiped out of existence in the prime of youth If marriage is regarded as a holy institution, polygamy under abnormal circumstances is a necessity even though it be discarded on humanitarian grounds. Strict monogamy can be enforced and made a rule only when there is no possibility of war, consequently no apprehension of the dearth of men and lastly women as a class would be self-supporting in the economic sphere This is possible only in a millennium of which perhaps there was a thought in Well's unconscious mind Marriage might have meant to Wells only a means of gratification of the senses So he had the audacity to pronounce this indictment on the character of the Prophet. Had he a disillusioned insight he could have found out that the Prophet had married a widow far older than himself at the prime of his youth when the demand of the physical pleasure is the highest. During his declining years he gave protection to many widows in the form of marriages, amongst them one had reached the age of seventy while he was only fifty-three It is a poof positive of the fact that the Prophet valued spiritual partnership in marriage and, though he never underestimated the value of gratification of the senses, his main concern was to maintain the purity of the social order, particularly the chastity of women

So if one judges the activities of the Prophet from all angles of vision, taking note of all aspects of life, he has to accept him not only as the best interpreter of human nature but at the same time the best law-giver of the universe On the remark of Dr. Bonquet we have to say very little. It is prejudiced from top to bottom as may be evidenced from his own utterances.

It is really a revelation to Muslims to know that the Prophet claimed revelatory authority for convenient deliverances, only in the suras revealed at Medina The Prophet claimed revelatory authority from the very beginning of the reception of the suras both for worldly and spiritual purposes There cannot be the slightest doubt as to its reliability. Even in the short suras revealed at Mecca, references had been made of the nefarious customs of the Arabian people and their abolition. It is a well-known fact of history that the Arabs in pre-Islamic period used to bury their daughters alive in order to be relieved of the troubles of marriages. In sura At-Takwir[1] revealed at Mecca it has been condemned vehemently and the punishment in the Day of Resurrection is proclaimed in unequivocal terms All these testify to the fact that in all revelations whether of the Meccan or of

1 **At-Takwir, Verses 8-9**

the Medinite period, the Prophet's reception of the suras had both a spiritual and a secular meaning He was practically passive in all receptions It was his duty to record and preach them without any personal interference and he was only a medium through which Allah expressed Himself. Dr Bonquet's motive here is to find fault with the Prophet and he has chosen a very weak stand to hurl his weapon, which gives way at the slightest exploration

All these amply illustrate the motive lying behind these attempts at soiling religious persons of rival creeds and nothing more

So we may confirm our observation once more and say, though valuation may differ from age to age or from individual to individual, the distortion of facts is really the outcome of perverted mentality whicn should be condemned by all right-thinking men of the world.

RELIGION AND POLITICS

Syed A.K M.
Najmul Huda

In this article the writer examines the underlying psychological reasons which prompt the westernised groups in Pakistan to oppose the demand for an Islamic Constitution Some of his explanations are correct, but in other respects, we disagree with him While it is true that Islam is opposed to forcible imposition of religious and intellectual views and demands free enquiry in all branches of learning, it is an undeniable fact that some of the orthodox religious groups in Pakistan do not stand for liberty of thought and research They have their own preconceived views of what is true and right and if anyone comes out with a different opinion they are disposed to brand him as one who has been misled People are genuinely afraid of such religious enthusiasts Another matter on which we disagree with the writer is that an Islamic Constitution would enforce prayers by compulsion This shows that the writer himself shares the views of the extremely orthodox sections In the first place, it is impossible to enforce prayers by means of the police and the censors Secondly, what is the spiritual value of prayers which do not express the spontaneous devotion of the worshipper to God but are the outcome of physical fear and dread Such prayers if the state succeeds at all in enforcing them, will be prayers not to God but prayers offered to the police and the government officials appointed to enforce them It is such ideas about the Islamic State both in the minds of its exponents and its opponents which make it difficult for realisation The Islamic State is bound to come but it will not be an authoritarian, dictatorial state which tries to enforce dogmas, creeds and prayers or fasts It will be a state (1) which is fully democratic, tolerates all kinds of religious views and encourages the spririt of free enquiry and judgment, (2) which assures adequate economic support to all sections of the people, so that there is real equality of opportunity and the poorer sections are able to compete with the richer ones on a basis of equality, (3) which ensures that all will have equal political as well as economic opportunity, and that power and government will not become the preserve of an industrial, administrative and feudal oligarchy, (4) which by persuasion and teaching in schools and colleges encourages respect for moral and religious values and, while allowing full liberty to women, ensures that their behaviour and mode of dress will be decent and according to Islamic standards and that their main field of work will be the home, that all their political and economic activities will be conditional on the fulfilment of their duties towards their family, and that indiscriminate mixing of the sexes will be forbidden, but women will not be forced to observe purdah

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I AM not a politician, nor have I any pretension to be called a religious preacher. But I have tried in my humble way to understand both of them

I shall narrate in this article my views regarding religion and politics as far as my understanding has helped me.

Opinion is divided with regard to the nature of the constitution of our State, Pakistan. Some people demand for an Islamic constitution while others are in favour of a

secular one It is not yet known what shape our constitution will take on the anvil of the Constituent Assembly.

Noble aim is the spur to every noble action Human happiness, strength and prosperity depend on noble actions Though politics is primarily concerned with statecraft, viz its day-to-day administration, making of laws, framing of policies for internal and external affairs, trade, commerce, foreign relations, negotiation of treaties, declaration of wars and many other similar things, in the last analysis it will be found that all these activities of a state are undertaken only to lead her people to happiness, strength and prosperity Without these three achievements all activities of a state will only bring frustrations and failures, chaos and confusion

If judged by the above-mentioned aims of the state, the religion of Islam will fully conform, in a greater degree, to the aims which every ideal state has got to achieve Islam came to mankind not with a few dogmas, a set of principles, some forms and formalities of worship and spiritual exercise, but it came with the definite idea of guiding mankind to happiness, peace, strength and prosperity not of any particular country but of the entire universe While the field and scope of politics are confined to the narrow limits of a country, those of the religion of Allah—Islam—are unlimited in scope and their sphere of activities of sublime and far-sighted nature extend over the whole world

I do not propose to enlarge the body of my article by elaborating the details of the aims of Islamic religion , if anybody is interested to know of them more fully, I would request him to refer to my article, published in the September 1954 issue of *The Islamic Literature* on ' Religion as I understand it "

I shall devote the rest of my article to the discussion of a few important causes for which the framing of an Islamic Constitution does not suit the taste of those who desire a secular one.

Causes :

1 The very ideal of our present-day political philosophy is defective. Materialistic views of life are, everywhere, given first consideration Men have now become worshippers of wealth, power and comforts They have amassed vast wealth after industrial revolutions Political supremacy of one country over another has made them powerful and power-seeking. Scientific discoveries of various kinds and inventions of deadly weapons and better means of luxury have made man blind to the spiritual aspect

of life. The soul has been killed on the altar of bodily comfort and enjoyment. Men "live by bread alone" now.

Dazzled by the material achievements and progress of the Western nations, our educated leaders have put their faith in the political philosophy of the West. Wealth, power and comfort are the guiding factors in their demand for a secular state They have forgotten the past heritage of Islam.

2 The second cause of apathy towards religion and, for the matter of that, towards Islamic State is their lack of knowledge in so far as the spirit of Islam and its significance are concerned Religion has become a thing of secondary consideration with them, as it is with the peoples of the West But they do not care to investigate the causes which made the separation between Church and State necessary. To every student of history, it is a known fact that too much interference by the Church in every matter—both religious and secular—attempts, on the part of the papal authority, to subordinate all political activities of the state in the name of divinity, and the bar imposed on the freedom of public opinion ultimately led to the struggle between the church and the state and to its resultant separation

Does the religion of Islam put any obstacle to the expression of free will of its followers or non-followers? Do the Islamic laws and practices retard or stand in the way of progress of the country from any angle of vision? I challenge the supporters of the secular state for a negative answer to the foregoing questions

Islam is not a religion in the sense Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity are interpreted and understood In all religious systems except Islam, body and soul—i e. matter and spirit—have been divided into water-tight compartments Body—its comforts and discomforts—has no place nor part in them. Soul-purification is supposed to be the only goal to which all religious activities should be directed even to the detriment of the body

In such a state of things it is not unnatural that men should—under the urge of physical needs and comforts—segregate religion from wordly activities—i e. politics.

But things are quite different in Islam In the eye of Islam body is the temple of the soul. If you disregard the body, you disregard the soul On the proper development of the body elevation of the soul depends. One is complement to the other. All honest activities undertaken for the well-being of the body have religious sanction behind them Moreover Islam has shown the infallible paths for the achievement of both material and spiritual progress, which will lead humanity to happiness, strength and prosperity.

Islam believes in and advocates the truth: "the path of duty is the path of virtue" It is a practical religion which puts value to actions and everyone under it must be of active habits, shirkers of duty and idlers have no place or recognition under and in the eye of Islam.

Good actions that yield good result are encouraged and bad actions though pleasant for the time being are strongly prohibited It is in this respect that our so-called supporters of secular state are at a disadvantage

3 In Islam everyone must obey and follow strict Quranic rules with regard to personal habits, social behaviour and political activities. The Holy Qur'an is the treasure-house of all the gems of admonitions which if followed faithfully will make the life of mankind peaceful, happy and prosperous

The constitution, if framed on the basis of "Qur'an and Sunna," will consist of such laws which may be inconvenient or difficult for our present-day educated men, with Western habits of life, to follow A few examples will make my point clear

Under Islamic constitution it will be compulsory for every Muslim to say his five prayers regularly This will put many to inconvenience and difficulty. How is it possible for persons used to Western mode of life and luxury to say the 'Fajar' prayer at dawn—a favourite time for sleep? Well-tight official dress also does not tempt them to 'Zohar' and 'Asar' prayers 'Maghrib' is the time for evening stroll, garden parties or cinema shows 'Esha' is the proper time to assemble in social gatherings where dancing, songs and many other tempting entertainments should occupy them

To our so-called gentlemen of Western education 'prayers' are no more than mere formalities of religion and not the spirit of it "O self-deluded fools! how I pity you!" Prayer is the soul of the religion of Islam On it depends formation of regularity and good habits, discipline of life, health of the body, happiness of the soul, urge to activity, possibility for cooperation and friendship among men Prayer is the key to the solution of all problems of life—be it personal, social, political or spiritual That the bogey of prayer should drive them to advocate for a secular state, is a matter of great regret

Islam forbids the use of wine and association with "stranger" women But in the land of Islam popularity of wine and social gathering in which young ladies make a display of their half-naked bodies in the name of art and entertainment are on the increase. In some big towns ball dancing is, also, going to be introduced

God knows in which cold country and cold people, the first idea of ball dancing came into practice: a woman in the grip of a man, with cheek upon cheek, breast upon breast--move in rythmic style. It is a scene to be witnessed only by the Satan or men with

satanic disposition. One must shudder to think that Muslim girls are so much degenerated to take part in such revelry, discarding all sense of decency and violating the law of the Qur'an.

In the name of honour and modesty I appeal to the women of Pakistan to rise equal to the occasion and nip this heinous beginning in the bud I would remind women-folk of our pristine purity It was Adam, not Eve, who had approached the forbidden tree in contravention of God's command. As a result, he had been driven out from heaven. But Eve was in heaven with all her divine virtues.

In response to Adam's repentant implorings, God, out of His infinite kindness, sent Eve down to Adam Thus the first man and woman met O women of the world, you belong to that holy and glorious heritage of Eve Remember what you had been and try your utmost to keep your lofty dignity intact and unassailed by the lust of the brute in man Chastity is your greatest virtue.

After a digression I come to my point again

4 Islam is a religion of fairness and justice Nepotism, bribery, black-marketing, deception, defalcation and taking of unfair means for self-aggrandisement are comtemptuously looked down upon by Islam The tendency of the time is to grow rich overnight by following the foregoing tactics But Islamic constitution will be a hard task-master for all the anti-social activities of this nature Who knows ? Many supporters of secular state may find in an Islamic constitution a check on their anti-religious, anti-moral and anti-social activities. This fear may lead them to give their verdict in favour of a secular state

To sum up I have so far made an attempt to bring out a comparison between the aims of politics and those of the religion of Islam and have shown that in the last analysis there is no difference of ideology between them Both the institutions have, in common, the well-being of mankind in view While the state concerns itself only with the material well-being of man, the religion of Islam goes a step further. Islam is the perfect religion sent by God as a divine gift It contemplates to make man perfect in body, mind and soul A healthy body, learned mind and sublime soul are the ideals of Islam. If mankind can attain to these ideals, peace, prosperity, unity and love will prevail in a world full of troubles and tumults, suspicions and misunderstandings, jealousies and antagonism and what not.

Will the secularists gain the tail losing the head ? May Pakistan with an Islamic constitution live long to guide the care-worn and discontent world to the path of virtue, love and peace ! Pakistan Zindabad !

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SHA'IKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

KASHMIRI BAZAR - LAHORE

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION, KNOWLEDGE AND SCIENCE UNDER THE MUSLIM RULE IN THE WORLD

Nur Ahmed,
M.A., B.L.

In this article Mr Nur Ahmad discusses the contributions made by medieval Muslims to the progress of Science and Education and the religious and spiritual outlook which was responsible for this intellectual efflorescence

IN my previous article on the same subject I have very concisely given a brief outline of the progress of education, learning and science under the Muslim rule in the world. From 7th to 12th centuries, even up to 16th century, the Muslims were the only torchbearers of learning, culture, education and of a most enlightened civilisation. They were on the vanguard of world progress and were the fountainhead and source from which the light of progress and enlightenment and scientific knowledge spread to Europe and other countries In this brief article I deal very succinctly with every phase of the Muslims' progress in education, learning, culture and science. During the period of the Abbasid Khalifs, Baghdad became a rival of the Roman capital, Constantinople, in its material prosperity and also as a centre of knowledge and learning During this period a second centre of agricultural development and urban civilisation was promoted by the Muslims in Transoxania with its great cities of Bukhara and Samarkand and Khurasan. This wonderful agricultural development and progress greatly benefited the peasants and land-owners and led to the agricultural development of the world in future days. The Khalif Harun-al-Rashid, the hero of Arabian Nights, was a magnanimous prince, a capable warrior, a wise administrator and above all a great patron of letters and art. During his time, Baghdad, a gigantic mercantile city, surrounding a huge fortress wherein every department of state had a properly regulated and well-ordered public office, was abounded with schools and colleges whither flocked together philosophers, students, doctors, poets and theologians from all parts of the world. Sir Edward Thorpe at page 20 of his book, *History of Chemistry*, writes. "The Muslim Khalifate in Spain under the beneficent rule of Yusuf and Yakub, alone saved science from extinction."

The stimulus and inspiration for wonderful achievement in the fields and sphere of phenomenal progress in science, arts, and all other branches of knowledge came from the fundamental teachings of the Holy Qur'an and Sunna A few of such Quranic injunctions and precepts and sayings of the Holy Prophet are reproduced below "Knowledge has priority over word and action because of word of Allah, the mighty, the glorious, so know that there is no god but Allah" (Qur'an xlvii 19) "So he has begun with knowledge and because the men of knowledge are the successors of the Prophet who have left the heritage of knowledge, whoever takes it, takes a full share and whoever walk on certain path seeking knowledge thereby, Allah makes the path to heaven easy for him and Allah says 'those of His servants only who are possessed of knowledge fear Allah" (Holy Qur'an xxxv 28)

Islam and the spirit of science is identical and one In the Holy Qur'an men are commanded to observe and reflect upon the phenomenon of nature, of the alternation of day and night, the properties of earth, and air, fire and water, the mysteries of birth and death and growth and decay. The modern Western progress owes a great debt of obligation to Muslim scholars and learned men, who not only recovered and preserved all ancient treasures of learning and bequeathed to Europe but who made their own original contribution to science, art and philosophy which helped the birth of the modern world. As an eminent Europeon scholar remarks, "never before in human history has there been such a flowering and progress and advancement and development of human intelligence, and mind and heart, such eminence and progress of human civilisation, civilised human value as between 600 C E and 1400 C E " "The period when the world of Islam was all light and learning and Europe was all darkness and barbarism when, in the words of Dr Johnson, "Christianity was the queen of night" In the words of Briffault, "Science is Islam Science is most momentous contribution by Islam to the modern world The light from which civilisation was once more rekindled did not arise from any ember of Greek and Roman culture smouldering amid the ruins of Europe, not from the living death on the Bosphorus (Byzantine) It did not come from northern but it came from the invaders of the Empire, from the Saracens (the Muslim invaders)" Islam stimulated travelling and exploration and the Muslims, inspired by the Quranic injunctions, undertook long travelling and exploration of the earth treasures. Mariner's compass was first invented by Ibn Majid. The invention of the mariner's compass opened up the vast oceans and seas to the enterprising and adventurous voyages. Some European writers ascribe the invention of mariner's compass to Chinese but the famous orientalists, George Sartin, Philip K Hitti and Sir R F Burton and other writers have proved beyond doubt that it was the Arabs who invented and used mariner's compass. The practical use of the mariner's compass helped the Arab sailors who came out on the open seas and

oceans circumambulated the African Continent The Arabs reached even the shores of the new world. The golden period of Muslim geographers' travel and exploration covers the period from 9th to the 14th centuries C E. During this period a large quantity of travel and geographical literature was produced and this vast literature helped the West for later travel and discoveries. Mr. J H Kramer, in his famous book *Legacy of Islam*, remarks "Europe ought to look upon the Muslims as its cultural ancestors in the domain of geographical knowledge, discovery and world trade Among the great mariners of 10th and 11th centuries C E, Solaiman Al-Makri and Shahabuddin Ibn Majid occupy high position They not only traversed the Indian, Atlantic and Pacific Oceans but also circumambulated the African Continent Solaiman travelled as far as Behring Strait and embodied his valuable experiences in a number of books such as *Al-Umdat, Al-Mahriyyat fi-Zabt-il-Ulum-il-Bahariyyah* Allama Syed Nadvi, in his famous book *The Navigation of the Arabs*, mentioned fifteen books compiled by Ibn Majid who has been called the earliest writer of nautical guide The Arabs were the discoverers of America Modern researches and discoveries have proved beyond doubt that the Arabs first discovered America J H Kramer says "Arabs may claim a share in the discovery of America" A news published in leading Indian newspapers including the *Delhi Express* on 11th August, 1952, says, "A leading South African anthropologist says Arabs, not Christopher, discovered America Arabs score a beat of nearly 500 years over Columbus" According to Jeffry, senior lecturer of social anthropology at Wilwater Sand University, Arabs discovered America first of all. Dr Jeffry bases his claim on a discovery eighteen months ago of a Negro Hamitic skull in the Rio Grande river Dr Jeffry thinks, by 1000 C E the Arabs already commanded the Mediterranean, were established in the west coast of Africa and had settled in America Columbus also found a small colony of Negroes in Darian Isthmus who, according to Dr Jeffry, were descendants of the Arab slaves He further says that the discovery of Hamitic skull in cove of Bahama Island and African root crop in the Carribean lend credence to this theory. The Muslims inspired by their religion made a great mark in and contributed greatly to the science of geography and all branches of geographical science. The Muslim contribution to geographical science is recognised by the Western scholars as of utmost value. "The creation and establishment of the post of Sahibul Bazid by the Muslim Sultans helped in creating further interest in cartography and geography," so says Philip K. Hitti. The Muslims produced many illustrious Muslim geographers and cartographers such as Al-Khwarizmi. The Muslims constructed celestial globes and they studied the problems of projection and their maps were used for geographical instruction all over Europe for centuries. One of the earliest Muslim geographers and cartographers was Muhammad Musa al-Khwarizmi, author of *Surat-al-ard.* He was famous for his

maps. J H Kramer has produced this map in facsimile form in the supplement of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Balkis Atlas is very famous and it has been aptly called Islam Atlas by K Miller Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Maqdasi was another great Muslim geographer Sprenger has called him the greatest geographer of all ages He visited all parts of the Islamic world. His famous book is *Ahsan-al-Taqasim fi Maarifat-al-Aqalim*. It contains also maps and routes in red colour, the golden sand, yellow, the salt seas, green, the well-known rivers, blue and the principal mountains, drab. Al-Beruni (972 C.E) was one of the greatest geographers In his famous book *Kitabul Hind*, Al-Beruni has described the geography of Asia and Europe This book was written in 1030 C E. He made a remarkable round map of the world in his book *Kitabul Taphim*. It has been reproduced by J. H Kramer in the supplement of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*

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ISLAM AND POLYGAMY

A. de Zayas Abbasi

The writer argues in this instalment of her article that Islam introduced and prescribed monogamous marriage among the Arabs by making polygamy conditional on the observance of justice She argues and rightly so that the Prophet's own marriages were regarded as exceptional by the Holy Qur'an and in no way to be followed as an example by the general body of Muslims

IT must be kept in mind that the Quranic Revelation, extending over twenty-three years, marked a period of *gradual adjustment*, under the leadership of Prophet Muhammad (ص), of its followers' mode of life from the ways of a society steeped in paganism (الجاهلية الاولى) to the social order preconised by Islam. It was an adjustment that affected every sphere and every phase of human existence, social, political, economic, spiritual, the discarding of one code of morality—defective, weak, and exclusive—for another which was sternly just, comprehensive from every point of view, and which demanded a large measure of self-discipline for its successful enforcement. Hence the purpose, from the human—the practical psychological—point of view, of the extended period of revelation.

The revealing of the entire Qur'an at one time would have precluded the whole-hearted and conscientious abidance by its rules in detail by all save the Holy Prophet himself and possibly a handful of strong-willed followers The ordinary mind naturally tends to acquiesce in, and abide by, that to which it is accustomed Consciousness of

right and wrong, that faculty inherent in the soul, is like, all faculties, sharpened by exercise and blunted by the lack of it. And so, a possession of the Criterion in all matters cannot be grasped all at once, but must be acquired gradually if abidance by the Law it lays down is to be organic and not mechanical.

For wilful abidance comes through conviction, which in turn commonly comes from understanding; and understanding is normally the result of gradual assimilation through learning and experience.

Some of the adjustments required of the Muslims from their previous (pre-Islamic) mode of life were slight, some, more considerable, some were drastic indeed. As each new law or legal clause was in turn revealed and, following its revelation, adopted by the slowly growing body of Muslim men and women to become an integrated part of their way of life, the Islamic Social Order gradually came into being, shedding day by day, month by month, year by year, the ever-decreasing remains of paganism until, with the completion of the Quranic Revelation, pagan ways were to have disappeared entirely from its midst This was the Historical Purport. It was the responsibility of the Muslims themselves—of each individual Muslim, and subsequently of each succeeding generation of Muslims—that it should be so in actual practice. For

وان ليس للانسان إلا ما سعى -

"The human being hath only that for which he maketh effort" (xliii 39).

It was an unprecedented period of self-shaping, of character-building on a national scale, the fashioning of a nation on the foundation of Faith, Conviction, and Wilful Abidance by the Divine Code of Ethics. And to this effect, in each sphere of human existence, in each facet of human activity, a clear knowledge and understanding of the "limits ordained by God" (حدود الله), of what to do and what not to do, and of how the right thing should be done, was of utmost importance, for on that depended the success or failure of its ultimate outcome.

The first two verses we have quoted of the three dealing with polygamy, namely, verses 3 and 129 of Surah iv, were revealed at Medina in the fourth year of the Hijra. As we have seen, these two verses, in which is stated textually. وإن خفتم الا تعدلوا فواحدة [="And if you cannot do justice to so many, then (marry) one only"], and: ولن تستطيعوا أن تعدلو بين النساء ولو حرصتم (="And you can *never* deal justly among women, even though you wish to do so"), lay down the principle of monogamic marriage in Islam.

It is thus *after* the fourth year of the Hijra that the principle of monogamic marriage became an integrated part of the Islamic Way of Life, and that adjustments to

this clause of the Ethical Code were made. These adjustments were, first and foremost, necessarily mental ones, i e the acceptance without reservations of the principle in the name of just dealing—*for justice must necessarily govern every act of the Muslim*—and the consequent undertaking to no longer contract polygamous marriages, save in the one exceptional case foreseen by the Holy Qur'an itself, and which we have already considered

It is important to note that the majority of the laws laid down by the Qur'an were not retroactive, i e they were meant to be observed and enforced as from their revelation and promulgation, without its affecting whatever had already taken place prior to that date no blame could legally attach to the commission of an act declared unlawful by the Qur'an, but which was in accordance with pre-Quranic customary law (عرف) and which had been committed *before* the clause relating thereto was revealed. Hence the proviso عفا الله عما سلف ، الا ما قد سلف ، يغفر لهم ما قد سلف , revealed in conjunction with legal clauses An exception, in that it invalidated, and required the immediate rectification of, an act committed before its revelation, is the clause of verse 10 of Surah lx. .

ولا تمسكوا بعصم الكوافر ـ

" And hold not to the ties of disbelieving women "

which was revealed in the year 8 H , and following the revelation of which Syedna 'Umar (رض) at once divorced the two pagan women whom he had married prior to his conversion, and who had failed to accept Islam

Thus polygamous marriages contracted by Muslims *before* the year 4 H , or by persons *before* their conversion to Islam, were not necessarily annulled by the revelation of verses 3 and 129 of Surah iv But it was as from that date (about the end of the year 4 H) that polygamy was to be discountenanced by the Muslims.

We have seen that up to the year 4 H , there was no clearly stated Quranic sanction against the pre-Islamic custom of polygamy Nor was there any in its favour.

About the end of the year 4 H (the time of the revelation of verses 3 and 129 of Surah iv.), the Holy Prophet had four wives. These were Umm ul-Mominin Sauda (رض), then in her late fifties, whom the Prophet had married some six or seven years previously, after the death of Umm ul-Mominin Khadija (رض), in order to afford her, an elderly and helpless Muslim widow, protection from the cruel persecution of the Quraysh She in turn devoted herself to the care of his own bereaved family. Umm ul-Mominin 'Ayesha (رض). Umm ul-Mominin Hafsa (رض), the widowed daughter of Syedna 'Umar, whom the Prophet married in the year 2 H for 'Umar's sake. And Umm ul-Mominin Hind Umm Salma (رض), a destitute widow, mother of two small children, whose husband had given his life in

defence of Islam in the battle of Uhud, and whom the Prophet married in the year 4 H., thus affording her and her children shelter and protection.

Umm ul-Mominin Zaynab (Umm ul-Masakin) (رض), whose husband fell a martyr in the battle of Badr, and who refused several offers to remarry despite her pitiable condition, was also married to the Prophet in the year 4 H , the marriage afforded her relief from destitution, but her death occurred in the same year.

Between the revelation of verses 3 and 129 of Surah iv (end of year 4 H) and that of verse 50 of Surah xxxiii. (end of year 5 H or beginning of year 6 H), the Holy Prophet did not contract any new marriage

Verse 50 of Surah xxxiii. reads

يا ايها النبي انا احللنا لك ازواجك اللاتي آتيت اجورهن وما ملكت يمينك مما افاء الله
عليك وبنات عمك وبنات عماتك وبنات خالك وبنات خالاتك اللاتي هاجرن
معك وامراة مؤمنة ان وهبت نفسها للنبي ان اراد النبي ان يستنكحها خالصة لك من دون المؤمنين
قد علمنا ما فرضنا عليهم في ازواجهم وما ملكت ايمانهم لكيلا يكون عليك حرج وكان الله غفوراً
رحيما -

> "O Prophet, We have made lawful unto thee thy wives to whom thou hast paid their dowries, and those over whom thy right hand hath power of those whom Allah hath given thee as prisoners-of-war, and the daughters of thy paternal uncle, and the daughters of thy paternal aunt, and the daughters of thy maternal uncle, and the daughters of thy maternal aunt, such who emigrated with thee, and a believing woman if she offer herself unto the Prophet and the Prophet wish to ask her in marriage—*a permission granted exclusively to thee, not to (the rest of) the believers*—We are aware of that which We have enjoined upon them concerning their wives and those over whom their right hands have power—that thou mayest be free from blame, for Allah is Forgiving, Merciful "

This verse, besides sanctioning the position of the Holy Prophet in relation to the four ladies who shared at that time the responsibility of his Mission of propagating the Faith, allowed him to enter into further marriages with believing women, with the condition, as we shall see, that their qualities fitted them to fulfil the role of leadership required of them

The remaining marriages contracted by the Holy Prophet took place between the years 6 H and 8 H These later marriages were for political purposes, to help safeguard the still weak Muslim community, beset on all sides by enemies rendered fierce by jealousy and the fear of material loss : each of these subsequent marriages served a

definite purpose: to transform an important enemy group into a friend, or ally, or to avoid serious dissensions in the ranks of the Muslims themselves. All were contracted with women who had been previously married, i.e. who were divorced or widowed. Umm ul-Mominin Maymuna (رضہ), a member of the family of his uncle 'Abbas, was in her fifties. Umm ul-Mominin Ramlah Umm Habiba (رضہ), of the family of the Beni Ummaya, was about forty

It was at the end of the year 7 H. that verse 52 of Surah xxxiii. was revealed, forbidding the Prophet to contract any further marriage

لایحل لک النساء من بعد ولا ان تبدل بهن من ازواج ولو اعجبک حسنهن الا ما ملکت یمینک وکان الله علی کل شیء رقیباً -

> "It is not allowed thee to take (other) women henceforth, nor that thou shouldst change them for other wives even though their (intellectual and moral) qualities please thee, save those over whom thy right hand hath power, and Allah is Watcher over all things"

It should be noted that the word حسن, used in this verse, refers not to physical beauty, but to intellectual and moral beauty, to noble qualities The word for physical beauty is جمال.

As from the year 8 H, the Holy Prophet contracted no further marriages.

An objective understanding of the Holy Prophet's marriages and the reasons for them will best be obtained from the text of the Holy Qur'an itself, and from what historical facts have come down to us divested of all comment based on personal opinions born of sentiment or of the habit of judging others according to one's own mentality and inclinations.

Let us first consider the two above-quoted verses. It is clear from verse 50 of Surah xxxiii that the case of the Prophet was in no way intended to be an example to the Muslims in the matter of plurality of wives The text is unequivocal خالصة لك من دون المؤمنين [= "a (permission granted) *exclusively to thee*, not to (the rest of) the believers"]. In fact, attention should be drawn particularly to the ending of this verse لكيلا يكون عليك حرج (= "that thou mayest be *free from blame*"). In other words, the ordinary Muslim, if in the same position as the Prophet, i e with a plurality of wives (married after the revelation of verses 3 and 129 of Surah iv), would be blameworthy according to Quranic tenets The same verse lays emphasis on the fact قد علمنا ما فرضنا عليهم فی أزواجهم وما ملكت أيمانهم (= "We are Aware of that which We have enjoined upon them concerning their wives and those over whom their right hands have power"), [namely,

verses 3 and 129 of Surah iv , verses 221, 230, and 235 of Surah ii., verses 22 to 25 of Surah iv , verse 5 of Surah v, verses 32 and 33 of Surah xxiv].

Thus if the Prophet's marriages were meant to serve as an example to the Muslims, they were meant to do so only as single instances, i e. that it was lawful for a Muslim to marry a woman in charity, or in order to eliminate a reason for dissension within the social body, or for political reasons . . .

That the Holy Prophet was already married to four women, at the time of the revelation of verses 3 and 129 of Surah iv was also in no way to be an example to the Muslims as to how polygamy could be put into practice in Islam, since verse 3 of Surah iv. clearly and unambiguously states the conditions the Qur'an itself lays down in this respect As for his position in respect of his four wives at the time of the revelation of these two verses (3 and 129 of Surah iv), like that of every other Muslim, it was covered by the fact that the verse was not retroactive, and thus did not affect what had already taken place.

As for the nature of the Holy Prophet's marriages, that these were not normal marriages in the ordinary sense of the term, is indicated in the following verses of the Qur'an itself:

(*a*) Twice the following reminder to the Prophet occurs in the Quranic text

لاتمدن عینیک الی ما متعنا به ازواجاً منهم و لا تحزن علیهم واخفض جناحک للمؤمنین -

"Strain not thine eyes toward that which We cause wedded pairs among them to enjoy, and be not grieved on their account, and lower thy wing (in tenderness) for the believers " (xv 88)

ولا تمدن عینیک الی ما متعنا به ازواجاً منهم زهره الحیوه الدنیا لنفتنهم فیه و رزق ربک خیر و ابقی -

"And strain not thine eyes toward that which We cause wedded pairs among them to enjoy, the flower of the life of the world, that We may try them thereby The provision of thy Lord is better and more lasting" (xx. 131).

زهره الحیوه الدنیا (=the flower of the life of the world) refers to the happiness of married life, a happiness which it was vouchsafed to the Holy Prophet to enjoy during the years of his marriage to Umm ul-Mominin Khadija.

It might be relevant to mention here, concerning the Holy Prophet's character, the well-known description of his own enemies that he was a man of extraordinary

qualities, spiritually inclined, noble, kindly, generous, honest and sincere, brave, self-reliant, extremely patient, and of sober self-restraint

(*b*) The Qur'an likewise reminds those noble women who, of their free will, accepted to share the onerous responsibility of the Holy Prophet's Mission, that theirs was a life of self-sacrifice as worldly standards go, but that, if they preferred the life of the world, i.e the normal life of a married woman, then the Prophet would release them from their covenant and they would be free to live once more the normal life they had foregone

ياايها النبى قل لازواجك ان كنتن تردن الحيوة الدنيا وزينتها فتعالين أمتعكن وأسرحكن سراحاً جميلاً - و ان كنتن تردن الله و رسوله و الدار الاخرة فان الله اعد للمحسنات منكن اجراً عظيماً -

"O Prophet, say unto thy wives If you desire the world's life and its adornment, come I will content you and will release you with a fair release.

"But if you desire Allah and His Messenger and the Abode of the Hereafter, then lo! Allah hath prepared for the good among you an immense reward" (xxxiii 28, 29)

(*c*) They were reminded that they were not like other women

يا نساء النبى لستن كاحد من النساء -

"O ye women of the Prophet, you are not like any other women" (xxxiii 32)

Their position was different, their duties and obligations to the Muslim community were different. As 'Ummahat ul-Mominin' (Mothers of the believers),

النبى اولى بالمؤمنين من انفسهم و ازواجه أمهاتهم -

"The Prophet is closer to the believers than their own selves, and his wives are as their mothers ..." (xxxiii. 6)

they were the leaders in matters social, the teachers chosen by the Prophet himself to help guide and shape the social life of the new nation

يا نساء النبى لستن كاحد من النساء ان اتقيتن فلا تخضعن بالقول فيطمع الذى فى قلبه مرض وقلن قولا معروفاً -

"O women of the Prophet, you are not like any other women. If you keep your duty (to Allah), then be not submissive of speech, lest he in whose

heart is a disease aspire (to you), and speak a known word [i.e. in accordance with the (dictates of the) law]" (xxxiii 32).

Indeed, their position was so very special as spiritual mothers and teachers, and leaders in social matters, of the Muslim community, that none were allowed to marry them after the Prophet

وما كان لكم ان . تنكحوا ازواجه من بعده ابداً ان ذالكم كان عند الله عظيماً ۔

"And it is not for you (Muslims) that . . . you should never marry his (the Prophet's) wives after him. That, in Allah's eyes, would indeed be an enormity" (xxxiii 53).

Special emphasis was laid on their responsibility as teachers

واذكرن ما يتلى في بيوتكن من آيات الله والحكمه ان الله كان لطيفاً خبيراً ۔

"And make mention of that which is recited in your houses of the Revelations of Allah and of wisdom Lo! Allah is Subtile, Aware" (xxxiii, 34).

This responsibility as teachers took on its full importance in regard to the women of the Muslim community here the wives of the Prophet stood in the role of his women-companions to teach the women-folk, and more especially to teach them concerning such matters as it ill-befits a man to teach woman

In a society whose loyalties were, and had been for centuries, first and foremost clannish, and for whom the ties of religion and of national existence meant nothing, the position of the Ummahat ul-Mominin was furthermore a link, at first the all-important link, between Islam and the Muslim community, on the one hand, and the clan to which each belonged, on the other Their presence and position was a guaranty of relative peace and of alliance with their respective clans, in an environment of strife, and during a period of transition from one socio-political system to another not only different but in many aspects opposite to what up to then had been the custom (عرف).

Historically, we see that this period of transition, a painful one, leading from a state of semi-anarchy in every sphere to that of closely knit nationhood based on the fundamental principles of the Divine Law of Nature, allowed for certain exceptional transitional measures, measures which were not to become law as part of the established body-politic of the nation, but merely served to tide over a new-born nation emerging from the Time of Ignorance, until it had found its feet in the midst of the socio-political quicksands of 'Kufr,' 'Shirk,' and 'Ibadat ut-Taghut.'

As an example of the functional aspect of this transition, let us consider the Sanctuary of Islam, the 'Haramain,' forbidden to non-Muslims for politico-religious reasons well known :

In the year 1 H., the Qiblah, which hitherto had been Jerusalem, was changed to the Ka'ba at Mecca (see ii 143, 144, 145) For another period of seven years after this, the Ka'ba remained in pagan hands. The Holy Prophet's first and unsuccessful pilgrimage to the Ka'ba took place in the year 6 H , and ended in the Truce of Hudeybiyah and the promise, given by the pagan Quraysh to the Muslims, that they would be allowed to complete the pilgrimage the following year.

In the year 7 H , the first official Muslim pilgrimage took place, six years after the Ka'ba had been designated as Qiblah.

In the year 8 H , consequent upon the Quraysh's breaking the Truce of Hudeybiyah, Mecca was conquered by the Muslims With Mecca now in Muslim hands, until the year 9 H , the official order of the pilgrimage remained unchanged, the Muslims continuing to perform it in their manner and the pagans in theirs. But in that year, after the pilgrim caravan had left Medina, the verse of the Immunity, or Freedom from Obligation (البرأة) was revealed, in which the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba was henceforth (i e as from the year 10 H , so as to give due warning to the pagans) forbidden to pagans except to those who had a treaty with the Muslims and had not broken their treaty, and who were allowed to perform the pilgrimage as pagans only for the term of their treaty So the year 9 H was the last year of official pilgrimage for non-Muslims with the above-mentioned exception

This was followed by the Prophet's declaration of policy اخرجوا اليهود و النصارى من جزيرة العرب (=" Expel the Jews and the Christians from the Arabian peninsula "), (a policy which the present rulers of the Hedjaz have obviously failed to comprehend). Thus we see that the period of transition from the fixing of the Ka'ba as Qibla to the definite sanctifying of the Haramain was that of full ten years

And once the Declaration of Immunity had been revealed and promulgated, it was not for any Muslim to return to what had been the practice, even of the Prophet, prior to its revelation.

In the task of creating a nation, the Prophet's part was to convey the Message and to show the way His example was to be followed in all matters laid down by the Qur'an except where the Qur'an itself expressedly stated otherwise He was not meant to leave behind him a perfectly constituted nation functioning smoothly without a hitch, but rather ***a perfectly workable constitution with the necessary instructions and guidance as to how society was to***

function in accordance therewith, in the hands of the Muslim nation who were its recipient. It was not his acts in matters where the law was as yet not revealed, or was still incomplete, that were to be definitely binding on the Muslims, but his example in the application of each complete law, with the exceptions clearly set forth in the Qur'an or by the Prophet himself One such exception was, for instance, in the matter of inheritance, when he declared that a Prophet leaves no inheritance Another such was in the matter of Zakat, when he declared all members of his family to be non-eligible for Zakat. And, as we have seen, the great Quranic exception was with reference to the plurality of wives خالصة لك من دون المؤمنين

[*To be continued*]

The DIGEST

THE ORIGIN OF MUSLIM THOUGHT*

I. INTRODUCTORY

ABOUT six hundred years before the Christian era philosophical thought took its birth in four different centres of civilisation in the world China, Persia, India and Greece Of these four different springs of thought, two, the Indian and the Greek, developed into mighty rivers The former of these after a brief shrinkage has again started flowing and seems to have a great destiny But the latter, after fertilising Greece, Alexandria, Rome and Syria for more than fifteen centuries, became more or less merged into Muslim thought and then, in the 10th century A D , the world was left with only two great currents of thought, Indian and Muslim

It is but natural that geographical proximity should lead the flow of water from a higher to a lower place. This analogy holds good in the case of thought India was on the same intellectual plane and in certain respects on a higher plane than the Islamic countries in the 8th and 9th centuries and, therefore, streamlets naturally ran out or distributories were dug out to take modes of thought from India to the world of Islam, and later, when these countries rapidly rose to the highest cultural plane yet reached, back from the world of Islam to India. But the West, being geographically nearer the Islamic countries than India and being in the middle ages on a very much lower spiritual plane, was simply flooded by Muslim philosophy and science.

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* A chapter from Sharif, M M *Muslim Thought, Its Origin & Achievements.*

In the early part of the 7th century A D a new spring of thought burst forth in the deserts of Arabia and soon swelled into a sea seething with life It was Islam. It infused into men a spirit the like of which history had never known before. Persia and Byzantium, the two greatest empires of those days, tried to stem its rising tides, but in the struggle were themselves swept away, and by the first centennial of its founder's death, it spread from the Bay of Biscay to the Indus and the confines of China, and from the Aral Sea to the upper cataracts of the Nile, over more than half of the then known world, wielding an empire greater than the Roman Empire at its zenith. This was an empire, which, in spite of vast changes in its boundaries, and in spite of being now closely now loosely knit, saw its rise till the third quarter of the 16th century It could boast of one language, Arabic, as its *lingua franca*. It had towns with a prosperous population of ten to forty lacs of inhabitants, with tens of thousands of garden villas, lavishly furnished with magnificent paintings, rich tapestries, curtains and chandeliers, with thousands and thousands of public baths and with strongly macadamised roads and solidly paved lanes lighted with public lamps It possessed the largest navy in the medieval world and had mastery over the Atlantic off the coast of Spain and West Africa, the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the China Sea and the Pacific Ocean, and kept a mercantile fleet that made monthly voyages from the Atlantic to the Pacific, touching at all the important ports, including those of Malabar on the way. It ran industries that manufactured highly finished goods such as leather and metallic goods, carpets, tiles, pottery, soaps, perfumery, paper, glass, jewellery and cotton, silk and woolen fabrics admired both in the East and the West, with factories spreading from Persia to the banks of the Danube on the one side and the heights of the Pyrenees on the other. In leather, cotton and silk fabrics alone several European names owe their origin to the Muslims Such are, for example, morocco, cordovan, muslin (from Musul), cotton (from Ar Qutn), baldachine (from Baghdad), damask (from Damascus), fustian (from Fustat), taffeta (from the Persian Tafta), tabis (from Attabic, the name of a silk-manufacturing family in Baghdad) It carried on trade by sea routes from Korea, Japan and the Phillipines to Spain and France, and indirectly through Jewish and European tradesmen, to England, Sweden and Norway and by land routes from North Africa to the heart of Siberia It was the first to manufacture gunpowder, an invention as important in the medieval ages as the atomic bomb today, and to blazon shields of Heraldry and coats of arms and use them in warfare. Its men dived deep into the sea to bring out pearls and penetrated low into the earth to dig out gold, silver, lead, iron, antimony, mercury, marble, turquoise, rubies, lapislazuli, azurite, kaoline, naphtha, cornelian, sulphur, asbestos and tar. They spread a " veritable network " of canals in the lands, through which pass the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Nile, and gave to Europe the taste for spices, scents, ginger, sugar and coffee. They set ideals of civic life,

home life, hygiene, agriculture, architecture, irrigation, calligraphy, music, dress, food, and games for the whole of Europe. And all this centuries before Columbus went westward in his search after the queen of the East and sighting the shores of America shouted with joy " Indiana ! Indiana ! " centuries before Vasco de Gama could reach the land of Columbus's dreams, by the calamitous help of Ahmad, an Arab sailor of repute, whom he entertained as his honoured guest and guide throughout the voyage, and centuries before the time " when there was not " yet " so much as one public lamp in London " and the streets of Paris were yet unpaved, when " the dwellings of the rulers of Germany, France and England were " still " scarcely better than stables, chimneyless, windowless, with a hole in the roof for the smoke to escape," and when the priests of Europe deemed it a great virtue not to bathe and change for months

However, we are not just now concerned with these aspects of the life of the Mussalmans in their days of glory For our present purpose what we want to study, and that too very briefly, is their contribution to the development of thought

II. The Islamic Basis

The remarkable impetus that the spirit of Islam gave to knowledge came direct from the *Qur'an* and the sayings of the Prophet of Islam and this is a fact that the Christian writers of history generally ignore

Let us see what the *Qur'an* says in this connection In the very first verses revealed it commands Muhammad to read in the name of the Beneficent and the most Bountiful Who taught man the use of the pen and gave him the knowledge of things (XCVI-1f) It advises him to pray " O my Lord ! Advance me in knowledge " (XX-114) It says that those who have no knowledge are not on an equality with those who have knowledge (XXXIX-9), that those who do not observe and understand are worse than cattle (VII-179), that those who do not hear, understand and speak are the vilest of animals in God's sight (VII-29), that the details of revelation are given to those " who have knowledge" (VI-98)— " who have understanding" (VI-99), that " whosoever has been given knowledge has indeed been given abundant good " (II-269), that crown is deserved by those who in the eyes of God have preference over others and have physical strength coupled with knowledge (II-247), and that of all things it is knowledge by virtue of which man is superior to angels and is the vicegerent of God on the earth (II-30f). It teaches men to reflect on the phenomena of nature, the creation of the heavens and the earth, the changes of seasons, the cycle of day and night, the sea, the clouds, the winds, the sun, the moon, the stars and the laws they imply. It bids them to ponder over the mysteries of death and birth, growth and decay, of men and nations, and to contemplate sunsets,

dawns, hills, streams, ravines, vineyards, gardens of palms, cattle going out to pasture and returning home, the canopy of the starry heavens, the ships sailing on the sea, and the beauties of the soul more than those of the sense (II-164, III-190, X-6, XIII-2f, CV I-3f, XLI-78f, XL-67, XLV-5) It declared knowledge to be of three degrees in the ascending scale of certitude (1) knowledge by inference, (2) knowledge by observation and (3) knowledge by personal experience (LXIX-50, CII-5f)—a distinction which may be exemplified by my certitude of (1) Fire always burns, (2) it has burnt John's fingers, and (3) it has burnt my fingers.

Deutsch recognises this teaching of the *Qur'an* in these words " The Qur'an is a book by the aid of which the Arabs . came to Europe as kings to hold up the light to humanity while darkness lay around, to raise up the wisdom and knowledge of Hellas from the dead, to teach philosophy, medicine, astronomy and the golden art of song to the West as to the East, to stand at the cradle of modern science and to make us latecomers for ever to weep over the day when Granada fell "

Coming to the sayings of the Prophet, " The first thing created," says he, " was reason " and " God has not created anything better than reason " " He who leaveth his home in search of knowledge walketh in the path of God " , therefore, " To seek knowledge is the duty of every Muslim man and every Muslim woman " " Acquire knowledge," he exhorts , " it enableth the possessor to distinguish right from wrong , it lighteth up the path to Heaven It is our friend in the desert, our security in solitude, our companion when friendless It guideth to happiness, it sustaineth in adversity It is an ornament among friends and an armour against enemies " " Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave " , again ' acquire knowledge, because he who acquireth it in the way of the Lord performeth an act of piety , he who speaketh of it, praiseth the Lord , who seeketh after it, adoreth God , who dispenseth instruction in it, bestoweth alms , and who imparteth it to others, performeth an act of devotion to God " " The angels offer their wings to the seeker of knowledge," and " he dieth not who seeketh knowledge "

A few sayings in which he compares knowledge with devotion are "To listen to the words of the learned and to instil into others the lessons of science is better than religious exercises " " The preference of the learned man above the devotee is as my preferment above the lowest of you " " Whosoever revereth the learned, revereth me." " The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr " " An hour's contemplation and study of God's creation is better than 70 years' prayer " " To listen to the instructions of science and learning for one hour is more meritorious than standing up in prayer for a thousand nights."

With such teaching of the *Qur'an* and the Prophet of Islam, it is no wonder that there was a " meteoric rise " in the intellectual activities of the Mussalmans and that

they drank deep at all the fountains of knowledge, the brinks of which they reached in their forward march to progress

The first of these fountains were those that arose from the very soil of Arabia herself, the *Qur'an* and the Hadis. These were, so to say, the mother's sacred breasts on which Muslim thought was fed from its infancy The *Qur'an* gave the Muslims a new ethics and a new political theory and a new philosophy—a practical ethics, a democratic *politics* and a *monotheistic philosophy Though it gave a clear-cut monotheistic* explanation of the universe in its broad outline, it left the details of this conception open to interpretation All universality ignores particularity and a religion that claims to be universal inevitably has to do so There is one God, but is He transcendent or immanent or both ? He is called by different names, but are these the names of His essential attributes or of the attributes metaphorically so called ? He is eternal, everywhere and nowhere, but what kind of relation has He to time and space ? From Him all actions flow, though men are themselves responsible for their doings, but how is that possible ? Such are the questions which the *Qur'an* left for the human intellect to solve To be a Muslim it was enough to be monotheistic, whatever the details of one's conception of monotheism Hence the differences in this conception even among the most orthodox of Muslim thinkers The *Qur'an* did indeed give guidance to the intellect, but in no way did it chain and fetter it Just as nature gives organisms a start with some inborn impulses and then leaves them to develop in suitable environment , even so were the seeds of Muslim thought supplied by the *Qur'an* and the Hadis and its growth was simply the germination and fruition of these in the congenial soil of some pre-existing modes of thought

III. Other Sources

The rest of those fountains of knowledge at which the Mussalmans drank were in Syria, Egypt and Persia Before the advent of Islam, Hellenistic Philosophy had passed from Greece to Alexandria and from there it had spread to Syria The Neo-Platonism of Plotinus (d 269 A D), combined and fused with Aristotelian elements of Porphyry who taught at Rome towards the end of the 3rd century, was taken up by the Christians of Alexandria, the chief of whom were Clement and Origen Both of them tried to adapt contemporary philosophy with Christian theology. But local intrigue soon compelled Origen to leave Alexandria for Palestine, in which land he founded a school at Caesria on the lines of the one at *Alexandria Shortly after that (in about 270 A D) Malchion* founded a school at Antioch on the same model, and about fifty years later a similar school was established in the midst of a Syriac-speaking community at Nisibis, which

was afterwards removed to *Edessa* and that in the middle of the 5th century brought back to *Nisibis*

A little earlier a controversy had started between the Orthodox Church which held the Alexandrian theory of the eternal fusion of the Divine and human elements in Christ and those associated with the school of Antioch headed by Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who stressed the complete humanity of Christ with a temporary union with God after birth Before this controversy the General Philosophical belief was that there was God the father, the source, the first cause of All things, and the Son or Logos or the created spirit was an emanation from him and therefore God, the Son Also it was believed, under the influence of Alexander of Aphrodisias (about 200 A D), that in every soul and so in that of Christ, besides the power of thinking (material intellect), there was an *active intellect*, which too was an emanation from the Deity The second emanation was supposed to be an emanation of the first emanation. This controversy was really about the relation between the first emanation, the Logos, and the second emanation, the active intellect

The Nestorians *denied the second emanation and believed that the first emanation entered the body of the human Christ temporarily after his birth* This controversy ended in the condemnation by the General Council at Ephesus in 431 A D of Nestorius and his followers as heretics,their gradual banishment from Antioch and the surrounding Greek-speaking Syria, their repudiation of the Orthodox Church and establishment of their own Church, known as the Nestorian Church, and the strengthening of their position at Nisibis under the protection of Persian Kings to whom Nisibis now belonged.

The Nestorians of Nisibis defended their Christian doctrines by theories drawn from Greek Philosophy and thus missionary work became a propaganda not only for their theology but also for Hellenistic philosophy Hence their importance as bearers of the Oriental version of Greek philosophy in the pre-Islamic world Some time after the first schism another controversy arose among scholars in the Alexandrian school One party, holding that *both the emanations had the eternal nature of God*, undermined the humanity of Christ altogether, while the other set of thinkers called the Monophysites or Jacobites, as they were later called after Jacob of Serugh who organised this new Church, held that *though Jesus was human, yet the union between the Logos and the rational soul was* not temporary as the Nestorians held but *eternal* This controversy resulted in the Council of Chalcedon in 448 A D. which expelled the Monophysites from the state church They organised a Church of their own and their Convent at *Qannasrin* (Chalcis) became a new centre of Greek studies

Now the period between the two great controversies in the Christian Church and the conquest of Syria by the Muslims was rich with translations from Greek into Syriac,

commentaries and expositions ; but this activity was chiefly confined to the narrow limits of theology. The study of metaphysics and Aristotelian logic was emphasised but mainly to defend theology The study of medicine, chemistry and astronomy was also undertaken but no originality was shown.

The school of Alexandria engaged itself not only in theology, but also in medicine for which lectures were delivered on sixteen selected works of Galen. Besides medicine the Alexandrian school carried on research in chemistry and astronomy, and on the eve of the Muslim conquest of Syria was known for its scientific studies

In the middle of the 6th century A D Mar Ahba, a convert from Zoroastrianism, established a school at *Seleucia* like the one at Nisibis and a little later the Persian King, Nawsherwan, who had offered a home to the ejected Greek philosophers when the Byzantine emperor, Justinian, closed the schools at Athens, founded a Zoroastrian school at *Jundi Shapur* Here not only Greek and Syriac works, but also Indian writings on philosophy and science were translated into Pahlavi and both Indian and Greek systems of medicine were taught and developed

Besides these, there was a school at *Harran*, established since the time of Alexander which long remained a centre of Greek Paganism and Neo-Platonism as formulated by Porphyry. It remained for long one of the oases of Greek learning

Thus Alexandria, Nisibis, Qannasrin, Seleucia, Jundi Shapur, and Harran, as much as nature itself, became veritable nurseries for the newly born Muslim thought These several schools during their period of existence did not produce many philosophers or scientists of outstanding merit or books of lasting value But they kept alive an intellectual tradition which offered a rich soil for the production of outstanding men And when the seed was supplied by the spirit of Islam, such men were produced not by the dozens but by the hundreds As O'Leary says, these schools " supplied the soil on which Muslim theology, philosophy, and science put forth their luxuriant root "

IV. Capture of Pre-Islamic Learning : Translations

The rise of Muslim though began with a period which, though rich in original thought, was chiefly marked by extensive translations from Sanskrit, Pahlawi, Syriac, and Greek In 762 A D the first Abbasid Caliph, al-Mansur laid the foundations of his new Capital, Baghdad, and he gathered round him scholars from different lands and encouraged translations of scientific and literary works from other tongues, many scholars receiving royal encouragement engaged themselves in translation work in their private capacity.

They were mostly Jews, Christians and new converts to Islam. One of these workers was Abdullah bin-al-Muqaffa' (d 757 A D), a convert from Zoroastrinism, whose best known translation was of *Kalilah wa Damnah*, a Pahlavi version of a Sanskrit work on ethics The Sanskrit original and the Persian translation are lost, but parts of the material of this treatise are found in an expanded form in the *Panchatantra and the Mahabharata*, and from its Arabic version, it has been transmitted to almost all the languages of Europe Another worker was an Indian traveller who helped in the translation of the *Sidhanta* an astronomical work, and of a work on Mathematics Among other translators were a Nestorian physician of al-Mansur's court from Jundi Shapur, George Bakhtishu' (d 771 A D), his sons, Bakhtishu' (d 801 A D) and Jibril (809 A D), his pupil, Isa ibn Thakerbakht, John bar Maserjawayh (a Jewish Syriac physician), Qusta ibn-Luqa (923 A D, al-Hajjaj ibn-Yusuf (between 786 and 833 A D), the first translator of the *Elements* of Euclid and one of the first of Ptolemy's Almagest (the very first being Yahya ibn-Khalid, a vizir of the Caliph al-Rashid), Thawafil ibn-Tuma (L Theophilus, 785 A D), translator of some parts of Homer's *Illiad*), and abu-Yahya (between 796 and 806 A D.) who translated the major works of Galen[1] and Hippocrates,[2] *Quadripartitum* and *Almagest* of Ptolemy, and the Elements of Euclid None of these early Arabic versions of Greek works was however very satisfactory

In 832 A D the Caliph al-Ma'mun founded an academy with an observatory, a library and a translation bureau at Baghdad. As Hitti says, this academy in certain ways proved to be the most important institution after the Alexandrian Museum established in the first half of the 3rd century B C Here works were translated from Syriac and Pahlavi, the Syriac and Pahlavi works being themselves translations from Greek and Sanskrit Yahya bin Masawayh (777-857 A D.), a Nestorian physician and a pupil of Bakhtishu', was appointed as the head of the academy He is said to have translated for the Caliph al-Rashid certain medical manuscripts But the most important work of the academy was done by his pupil Hunayn ibn-Ishaq (L Joannitius, 809-873 A D), also a Nestorian Christian, and his disciples He was first a dispenser to ibn Masawayh, then a manuscript collector in Greek-speaking lands in the service of the sons of Musa ibn-Shakir, then in charge of the academy and its translation bureau, and last of all private physician to the caliph al-Mutawakkil Hunayn, probably with the assistance of a number of collaborators, translated into Arabic the books of Euclid (ca. 300 B C); parts of Galen, Hyppocrates, Archimedes and Apollonius, the Republic, Laws, and *Timaeus* of Plato, the Categories, Physics, *Magna Moralia* and the spurious Minerology of Aristotle, and the commentary of Themistius on book XXX of the Metaphysics, the

1. 200 A D
2. ca 436 B C

Old Testament and medical pandects of Paul Aegina (ca. 650 A D.). His son rendered into Arabic the Sophist of Plato, the Metaphysics, *de anima, de generatione et de corruptione* and the *Hermeneutica* of Aristotle and the commentaries of Porphyry, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Ammonius. Abu-Bishr Matta bin-Yunus (d. 939 A.D), besides writing commentaries on Aristotle's Categories and the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, produced the Arabic version of Aristotle's *Analytica Posteriora* and *Poetica,* Alexander of Aphrodisia's commentary on *de generatione et de corruptione* and Themistius's commentary on Book XXX of the Metaphysics Hunayn's nephew Hubaysh, 'Isa bin-Yahya and Musa ibn-Khalid were other prominent translators of this school

Just as Hunayn was the head of the Nestorian group of translators, so was Thabit ibn-Qurrah (836 A.D), the leader of the Sabian group of workers from Harran, an old seat of learning which had become famous for its philosophical and medical studies. Thabit and his disciples translated the major part of the Greek mathematical and astronomical works and improved upon earlier translations In later life he became a great favourite of the caliph Mu'tadid His work was continued by his sons, Ibrahim and Sinan, his two grandsons, Thabit and Ibrahim, and two great grandsons, Ishaq and Abu-al-Faraj

In the second half of the 10th century rose the school of Jacobite translators, prominent among whom were Yahya ibn-'Adi (d 974 A D) and Abu-'Ali 'Isa ibn-Zurah (1008 A D) The former of these revised many of the early versions and produced fresh translations of the Categories, the Sophist, *Elench* , Poetics, and Metaphysics of Aristotle , *Laws* and the *Temaeus* of Plato, and commentary on the Categories by Alexander of Aphrodisias and on the *Moralia* by Theophrastus. The latter Abu-'Ali 'Isa ibn-Zurah, translated the Categories, the Natural History and *Partibus animalium* with the commentary of John Philoponus.

So extensive was the range of Arabic translation of philosophical and scientific classics, that within eighty years of the establishment of Baghdad, the Arabs were in possession of the greater parts of the works of Aristotle including the spurious mineralogy, mechanics and theology, which last was actually an abridged paraphrase of the last three books of Plotinus's *Enneads,* some of the works of Plato and Neo-Platonists, the important works of Hyppocrates, Galen, Euclid, Ptolemy and subsequent writers and commentators and several Indian writings All this was taking place in the Muslim world when Greek thought was almost unknown in the West " While in the East," says Hitti, " al-Rashid and al-Ma'mun were delving into Greek and Persian philosophy, their contemporaries in the West, Charlemagne and his lords were dabbling in the art of writing their names."

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Editorial . . .

MAN AND GOD—III

WE HAVE argued in the previous editorial that this is a law-dominated universe, because God Who is its Creator and Sustainer is supra-personal force standing in an impartial relation to all persons, nations, and communities, none of whom can enjoy special favours from Him This is exactly what the Qur'an means when it says ليس بامانيكم ولا اماني اهل الكتاب من يعمل سوءا يجز به ["Not your desires nor those of the people of the book (shall decide anything). Whoever does evil, he shall be punished accordingly"] The Qur'an thus upholds the reign of law in social and moral life and says that God is not concerned with the welfare or success of the Muslims or the Jews or the Christians Their success or failure, happiness or misery, depends on their own conduct

However, there is a great gulf between the religious concept of law and causation and the scientific view of the reign of law in the universe The mistake of science is that it regards physical and chemical laws as the only valid ones and seeks to explain all organic, social and religious phenomena in terms of physical and chemical causation. Its apparent success is due to the fact that everywhere in the universe matter is involved in life. There is no manifestation of life which does not have its material component Even in the social and moral spheres, material factors count For example, economic needs determine the conduct of men to a certain extent in social, political and religious life also. Therefore, physical and chemical causes separate at all levels of life, because nowhere has life succeeded in freeing itself from the clutches of matter. Now, in so far as organic, social and religious life involves matter, physical and chemical laws are invariably operative with respect to it. But this is only one side of the picture and scientific materialism and naturalism, by insisting on this single aspect and excluding other aspects from their purview, present a distorted and highly incorrect picture of things The real fact is that, as soon as matter rises above the inorganic level, purely physico-chemical causes cease to operate in their exclusiveness. They are mingled with and interpenetrated by vital laws. Similarly, when life rises to self-consciousness, a new

element appears and vital laws too are displaced by a new set of laws which absorb the physico-chemical and vital laws but are yet distinct from them The new laws which come into operation at the successive levels of life do not exclude the pre-existing physico-chemical and vital laws but considerably modify their working Hence, neither animals nor men are governed by purely physical and chemical laws In human life the moral law takes a predominant position and greatly modifies the physico-chemical, biological and vital laws Therefore, human activity cannot be explained in purely physical and chemical terms It is governed by its own moral laws which operate in conjunction with physico-chemical laws and sometimes cancel their effects That is why all theories of economic or sociological determination fall to the ground when we come to man's socio-political life. Man is, no doubt, influenced by economic factors and his sociological environment and traditions, in so far as he is matter But he is not pure matter. Spirit and self-consciousness have come to add new factors to his life He is, therefore, governed by the laws of the spirit and purely physico-chemical, biological, economic or sociological laws fail to account for his social and moral conduct The physico-chemical view of causation was at the root of all such false doctrines as the theory of the 'economic man' or survival of the fittest (in the sense of the physically and economically fittest). Competition and conflict and mutual extermination were regarded as the law of life The religious view of causation, while taking into account all such factors, denies that man is impelled by purely economic needs and hedonistic impulses or that conflict is the only type of natural selection Religion denies the theory of atomistic individuals, each isolated from the rest and seeking his own advantage There are, no doubt, egoistic hedonistic and atomistic impulses in man, as he is not a disembodied spirit but governed by physical desires too However, with the appearance of spiritual factors and laws, man has also developed altruistic impulses. Cooperation and mutual self-help have added themselves to competitive urges and become new laws of human life. Human life is no longer an aggregate of atomistic individuals each going his own way and exclusively seeking his own advantages Men are bound to each other by deeper relations than mere physical togetherness There are bonds of spiritual sympathy, intellectual affinity and community of ideals existing among mankind and raising them above narrow nationalism and geographical, social and economic affinity or identity of interests The ideal has a greater pull over men than the material, though the latter hampers its activity.

Thus the supra-personal conception of God does not negate the scientific thesis of a universe grounded in law Only its view of law is not so rigid and narrow as that of the materialists and the naturalists It allows room for undetermined possibilities through the operation of the supra-personal force, God, from Whom man draws his sustenance and strength in all his higher ideals The oft-condemned miracles of religion do not imply the arbitrary intervention of a personal God, but the additional strength which human groups receive in the form of increased determination, strength of will and a firmer conviction and optimism about their ultimate success if they work and strive for higher social ideals and are opposed by vested interests and others who stand for the *status quo* when that *status quo* involves economic and social injustice for nations, peoples and classes deprived of the opportunities of respectable existence. God is certainly impersonal in relation to those who have no vision of higher realities, who live and strive for the baser and lower ideals of life But He stands in a personal relation to those whose objectives are higher, whose vision of life is more inclusive, who work not for the benefit or this or that economic and political group but for the higher interests of all human beings irrespective of their race and nation

[*To be continued*].

IQBAL'S LEGAL PHILOSOPHY AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ISLAMIC LAW

Hamidullah Siddiqi
M.A., LL.M

In this article Mr Hamidullah Siddiqi discusses the legal philosophy of Iqbal and his view on the reconstruction of Islamic law This is the most important problem before the Muslim world and on its successful solution depends the future of Islamic polity The primary task is to seek out legal values from the Qur'an the Hadith and the medieval Islamic jurisprudence What is the basic Islamic view about the individual's rights, the rights of property, the obligations entailed by contracts, etc When a scheme of fundamental legal values has been drawn up and their inter-relatedness is studied, it will become easy to examine Western secular law and Muslim medieval jurisprudence with a view to selecting out such parts of them as fit in with Islamic values of life.

As one goes through Iqbal's letters addressed to his friends, one cannot help being impressed by his grave concern over the question of the reconstruction of Islamic law It appears that he had a definite plan to write on the subject which, however, could not materialise because of his protracted illness before his death Piecing together his stray observations scattered in his various writings and judging their direction against the background of his philosophy, it seems possible to catch a glimpse of his juristic views. It would be quite profitable for us to get to know them even in the barest outline Maybe, they prove useful in research on Islamic law undertaken with a view to solving the practical problems with which the Muslims are confronted at present The point at issue is whether Islamic law holds out any prospects of its creative adaptation to their needs in the fast changing world On its successful solution depends their future.

In one of his letters, Iqbal has indicated the method of approach which should be followed in assessing the juristic quality of Islamic law He suggests a critical study of its basic ideas in the light of the standards furnished by modern jurisprudence. It will be agreed that in estimating its worth the only course open to scholars who may engage in the task is to get at the roots of its native elements. Whatever accretions may be

found to have gathered around its structure should be eliminated if they are alien to its spirit or are the product of thought, strictly conditioned by the circumstances peculiar to a certain age Such elements as have become irrelevant to the conditions of modern life will be discarded The next step will be to weld the foundation into an organic unity, guarding ourselves, however, against the lure of building it into a closed system by exclusive logical refinement of its categories The verdict of history is that the finished or the logically completed intellectual disciplines never hold for long and invariably disintegrate in the end The unity achieved must be organic so that the essential function of law as an instrument for ordering human relations may have vitality enough to assimilate any environment In this way alone can it be the living law for Muslims.

Law feeds on social realities within the framework of an attitude determined by man's reflection on his position in the universe, on the one hand, and his ideas of social justice on the other Legal theory which finds its place somewhere between philosophy and political ideology is, therefore, concerned with every department of knowledge. The outlook of law is provided by philosophy and the resultant legal idealism seeks expression in the actualities of life Law will be found at a deeper level to be based upon certain assumptions which are drawn from non-legal sources

Iqbal did not work out any systematic legal philosophy Whatever we know of his views on the subject is diffused in his poems, his disjointed remarks interspersed in some of his letters and finally in his Lecture on "The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam" The difficulties which meet a student who aims at extracting elements of juristic importance from this material can rather be imagined than described They are aggravated considerably by the theological terminology which embodies his legal ideas.

My purpose in this essay is very modest, namely, to make an attempt to deduce juristically important elements from his thought and to see what light they throw on the traditional law of Islam

According to Iqbal, the ultimate ground of life is a rationally directed will which can be conceived as an Ego It is pure duration in which thought, purpose and life so interpenetrate as to give it an organic unity. Its infinity consists in the limitless possibilities of creative activity. How it proceeds to creation is impossible to tell but, judging from the fact that creative activity is essentially discontinuous, it may be said that it will create only ego-unities. What we call "Nature" does not confront it as its veritable "Other" and is only a fleeting moment in its life.

Accordingly, the universe can only be populated with individuals possessing various degrees of reality the extent of which is determined by their capacity to affirm themselves

as individuals. Man alone of this creation is capable of self-affirmation to the highest degree. Although he has a beginning in time, he is perhaps meant to be a permanent element in the constitution of the world. His uniqueness as an individual makes him bear nobody else's burden than his own.

This entitles him only to what he earns by his personal efforts. His quintessence consists in his directive power. For he proceeds from the directive energy of the Ultimate Self He is distinct from and yet completely dependent both for his emergence and life on the Ultimate Ego. Nature which is a system of interrelated events is continuously developing in time It is organic to the Creator in much the same way as man is The conflict of life starts when Nature confronts man as something other than and separate from him Such antinomies as belief and action, thought and will, subject and object, space and time, change and permanence, etc , impress his mind, which seeks to reduce these oppositions to a unity.

Reality, therefore, is an organic whole and, as the notion implies, every element in it contributes to the being of everything else in this whole Individuality is not merely a principle of unity and identity within the individual involving no communication with the outside world On the contrary, individuals lend to the reality of one another.

The world, therefore, is not a disjointed plurality of self-contained units but a system in which the members are perpetually interacting Man can, therefore, develop his uniqueness and mould his career by establishing connections with the reality that confront him It is possible only by exploring the chances of contact with it through knowledge. Observation of nature and adjustment of its forces to his own ideals is one way of establishing intimacy in the interests of his own progress, material as well as spiritual. Self-affirmation is rendered possible by a constant revision of relations with nature in the light of knowledge gained from the world within His ideal is to acquire self-possession, uniqueness and capacity for intense action as an ego The discipline of the individual gains in efficiency in the measure in which his integration is achieved by deeds in conformity with the law of his essential nature The ultimate self is the repository of all values an individual is to fashion his own destiny by a progressive participation in the divine life. This is achieved in two ways, firstly, by a ceaseless pursuit of scientific knowledge with a view to pressing it into the service of his ideals which it is his duty to perpetually create and, secondly, by regulating his inner and outer life by one and the same law

Society is but an association of individuals. The unity that is man must constantly refer to social reality for his own development and amplification. An individual's

progress has no meaning apart from this social reference because he is what he is by virtue largely of what his environment has made him into. This sounds like a truism which even the meanest intellect would claim to know Its significance will, however, be thrown into greater relief in contrast with certain notions that have gained currency in history

The monads of Leibnitz are self-sufficient and as between themselves have no means of communication much less any basis for cooperation. They are, so to speak, windowless, not opening to one another, although, curiously enough, they open to the chief Monad. Each monad is active only in its own self-development They are supposed to be in some sort of indirect relation in consequence of a pre-established harmony On this view society can be conceived only as atomistic That is why the explanation, devised for the emergence of society, could be no better than the myth of social contract. This view left the individual free to pursue his economic interests under the security offered by the principle of laissez-faire

The various Declarations of Human Rights made from time to time proved empty slogans They have rightly been termed as "negative" It is now generally agreed that, apart from recasting the relationship of individual and society on a better footing, it is not possible to remove disequilibrium in social life

There have been two alternatives One of them has been worked out and has failed with untold misery for the whole of mankind, I mean, the National Socialism of Germany and Fascism of Italy which for purposes of present treatment I take as one The philosophy of Hegel was made to yield life to these collectivist creeds His epistemology combined with his political aspirations disguised in his philosophy as determinations of universal reason was › developed by his successors and perverted by ambitious persons as to justify omnipotence of the national State which came to be regarded as a corporate legal person The individual existed for the good of the State as conceived and enunciated by inspired dictations. It is said that this possibility arose as a result of conceiving society as an organic whole.

The use of the word "organic" in relation to Iqbal's philosophy does not mean, in the first instance, negation of the reality of the individual unlike what it meant in the final development of the Hegelian philosophy. Secondly, the reality to which both individual and nature are organic is the will of the Ultimate Mind This will is the ground of their being and their continuance Speaking in the language of law, the *Grundnorm*, considered from the finite point of view, lies outside of the individual as well as the society.

An important juristic implication arising from the nature of relation that individual and society bear to the creative activity of the ultimate ego is, firstly, that the positive law has its ultimate sanction in the objectively real *Grundnorm* and, secondly, that the society as an organised political entity is no more than a legal order to be maintained only so long as it fulfils its obligations imposed by the *Grundnorm* The revolutionary aspects of this juristic principle are quite clear

Now to the other alternative, namely the Dialectic Materialism We all know by now how completely this synthesis has inverted the scale of values The individual's position in the context of material conditions is the sole determinant of the creation and destruction of his rights and duties The idea of universal democracy which it dangles before the world is constituted primarily by economic opportunity as its point of departure In this system, too, the individual loses his bearings and is no more than a cog in the mechanism of the social Collective Similar was his fate in the Hegelian Cosmos we have already seen The reason why man came to be regarded so in both systems of thought is obvious.

Dialectic Materialism is founded on the primacy of matter while Hegel denies reality to time The latter was obvious to the central fact that life is individualistic in character and that history means collective movement of individuals in real time With him, however, time is but a logical construction It is, therefore, apparent why man who can progress by conquest of time alone should have been deprived of his dignity and condemned to serfdom in the collectivist conceptions of society

Iqbal has no patience with national sovereign states either They came into existence as the result of emancipation of Europe from the Papal domination Doubtless, man's mind was set free but see at what a cost ! The universal ethic of Christianity was replaced by national ethic So they became a source of great danger not only to themselves but also to the world at large The last two world wars are amongst so many of bitter fruits of the tree of national sovereignty At any rate, this concept has outlived its utility, if at all it had any.

The events during the last fifteen years point to one lesson for man and that is that an International Community with sufficient power to maintain peace and order in the world is a permanent necessity The other problem which modern jurisprudence has to solve is how to reconcile sovereignty of nation states with paramountcy of such International Organisation So far jurists have not been able to put forward a satisfactory solution. The difficulty arises chiefly from the dualism of the modern positive law which has a tendency to apply the term "law" to characterise the

individual's relations to the state on the one hand, to the relation of the nation state to the international community on the other, in totally different senses.

In one case law is defined as a rule of action backed by the physical force of the state and, in the other, as a rule of action based upon Natural Law. It has been suggested that the contradiction may be removed by regarding a member state's obedience to the World Body as a case of self-limitation of its sovereignty inasmuch as a course of action suggested by the World Body will become law only after a state has voluntarily accepted it This contention is not sound for the simple reason that in case of a conflict between the two what choice will be made is a foregone conclusion.

If I am right in interpreting the trend of Iqbal's thought, I venture to say that this conflict between state sovereignty and the hegemony of international organisation can be removed by treating both of these entities as Legal Orders which, considered as moral instruments, are subject alike to the rule of the *Grundnorm* On this view the idea of state coercion as a necessary element in the definition of law shall have to be replaced by an extra-territorial recognition by courts of its enforceability on the basis of some sort of federalism The International Body along with member states will, therefore, be an hierarchic structure The idea of sovereignty of nation states prevents effective collaboration not only between states *inter se* but also presents a hurdle in the evolution of a world order

The conception of treating them all, the world organisation as well as the member states, as so many legal orders more in the nature of legal trusts than as juristic persons will pave the way for the emergence of an effective world order This, in my opinion, will be Iqbal's most important contribution to jurisprudence Undoubtedly this would have been his position The principle, outlined in the following passage, although directly in reference to Muslim polity, would equally apply to international political organisation without any theoretical difficulty

> "It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members "

Another unsolved problem of law is How far is it permissible, nay, obligatory, on an individual or group of individuals to revolt against the state ? This right is being slowly recognised although when it may be exercised it is not clear K C. Wheare says, "There are circumstances in which it is morally right to rebel, to refuse to obey the constitution, to upset it, A constitution may be the foundation of law and order in a community, but

mere law and order is not enough. It must be good law and good order" (*Modern Constitutions*, page 93) In the Nuremberg trial the same question arose in a different form but was left undecided. In my view, with the recognition of political organisation of society as a legal order, the right to revolt would accrue when such a legal order, in flagrant disregard of the higher law, persists in a certain defined course of action. Difference of opinion on the mere question of method will, however, be no ground for the exercise of this right.

Iqbal has emphasised three things Spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual and the basic principles of universal import directing the evolution of human society on spiritual basis. According to him, therefore, law is essentially concerned with the discovery of a system of truths which would provide both the basis of positive law and its ideals Here we are reminded of the various theories of Natural Law propounded from time to time since the dawn of critical thought.

The Greeks gave us the elements of legal idealism based upon the conception of the universal law applicable equally to all men irrespective of their differences as to race, colour, language, etc. It was argued that as man is part of an objective rational order, he must guide his actions by the law of Reason The Stoics elaborated this conception and the Romans, later on, made a constructive use of it when they, on the basis of reasonableness of usages of non-Roman subjects, amplified the structure of *Jus Gentium*, finally to be absorbed into their own law In this way they were able to broaden the base of the old civil law and turn it into a cosmopolitan system.

The history of legal thought, however, reveals that natural law has been used at times as a cloak for political aspirations of people against tyranny and at times to further vested interest in clear breach of the requirements of general social well-being For instance, the German Emperors sought emancipation from the Papal authority in the name of natural law Later on, they sought to use it also to perpetuate their hegemony and power on their subjects It is an irony of fate that natural law has often been used to support contradictory claims That is why it has been dubbed as a useless idea

The judgment of history is said to have gone against Natural Law. It is pointed out, for example, that whatever rights were secured to the individual in various Declarations of Human Rights turned out to be mere moonshine because conditions for their realisation in practice were not ensured.

The truth of the matter is that no system can work without higher law for any length of time, for there can be one and only one alternative to its abandonments,

namely, absolute relativism The reason why natural law failed was that it was conceived as completely transcendent to human life It gave us theory but no practical guidance in the matter of regulating human relations

It was easy, therefore, to use it in the service of any creed by giving it a twist in such a manner as to befit it to its needs Mere general statements of ideals, therefore, proved to be of no consequence The higher law must be palpably felt in its dispensation in the socio-political structure of society In other words, within the ideal framework, social realities have got to be adjusted Iqbal is very explicit on this point. He says.

> "With Islam, the ideal and the real are not two opposing forces which cannot be reconciled The life of the ideal consists, not in a total breach with the real which would tend to shatter the organic wholeness of life into painful oppositions, but in the perpetual endeavour of the ideal to appropriate the real with a view eventually to absorb it, to convert it into itself and to illuminate its whole being
>
> "Islam, recognizing the contact of the ideal with the real, says 'yes' to the world of matter and points the way to master it with a view to discover a basis for a realistic regulation of life."

In opposition to natural law ideology, sociological conception of law has made its appearance on the scene It contends that values arise in the context of social phenomena and a society is in constant flux, values are variable and are, accordingly, the function of social process Immanence replaces transcendence This approach to law ushers in an era of complete relativism If the law as transcendent originates in immobility, then the law as immanent rests upon change The former seeks to glorify the "idea" whereas the latter deifies the concrete fact The truth lies halfway The eternalisation of the concrete would denude life of its ideals and deprive it of spiritual direction by laying bare its roots to the ruthlessness of evil forces Abandonment of higher purposes means abandonment of search after a foothold for law in the fluency of the contingent This attitude presents an alternative too dreadful to contemplate, namely a crude relativism with no solid foundation for thought, life and value. It sows the seeds of anarchy through and through

In Iqbal's view, worshipping of ideals without at the same time seeing how they should relate to the concreteness of life would impede man's material and spiritual progress Since, they have a formalism and rigidity to which actualities more often than not refuse to submit. The norm should be so flexible as to leave room for experimentation. It should be elastic enough to provide scope for its absorption within the limita-

tions of the spatio-temporal order On the other hand, if values were conceived as relative to material conditions, man would lose his personality and society its character by being lost in the endless possibilities of changing behaviour It is obvious, therefore, that the situation can be saved only if the higher law was at once the ground and a regulative principle of positive law Within its ideal scaffolding the norm should leave ample margin of freedom for the creative contributions of legal idealism.

Iqbal has a clear idea as to the nature of law when he thus comments on the controversy on the question of Qias between the Hanafi school of law on the one hand and the Shafi'i and Maliki schools on the other

> "This was really a controversy between the advocates of deductive and inductive methods in legal research The legists of Iraq originally emphasised the eternal aspect of the 'notion,' while those of Hedjaz laid stress on its temporal aspect "

And further

> "Their criticism of Abu Hanifa and his school, however, emancipated the concrete, as it were, and brought out the necessity of observing the actual movement and variety of life in the interpretation of juristic principles "

An organic view of reality like that of Iqbal is based on the recognition of both the relata and their relations as real. Reality, therefore, is both immanent and transcendent and so should be the law.

He says.

> "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life, for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change which, according to the Qur'an, is one of the greatest 'signs' of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature "

An important element in Iqbal's notion of law appears to be the necessity of perpetually creating legal ideals with an eye on how they function in society When the material goods are limited and the number of claimants many, a sound legal theory must provide on pain of its own disintegration for validity of concept of limitations to the operation of law. The search for an absolute standard of justice is necessarily

circumscribed by social facts That is how sociological approach to the law serves as a supplement to the idealist theory

Apart from its social reference, the law would always remain theoretical. It may, therefore, be said that rights as well as duties of individuals are neither created nor destroyed by positive law They are only recognised, suspended, limited or amplified as the case may be On Iqbal's view, it would be possible, therefore, to hold that what we call the fundamental rights of man are the creatures of the higher law and the positive law simply declares them It is said, for instance, there was a time when the right of property was recognised as a necessity of social justice

It then meant only a right to possess tools or means of production The functional method, against the background of modern conditions would be to form a newer conception of the right of property in view of its having been used to the disadvantage of society as a whole With the change in the real function of property now used as a means for furtherance of vested interests and for the exploitation of the masses, there must be a corresponding change in its notion In short, the development of law should take place through a perpetual modification of its ideal by a fresh conception of the limitations of its application in society

A legal system necessarily formulates its own technique This depends upon evolving notions under strict discipline of legal logic. We have, for instance, notions of property, lease mortgage, negligence, compensation, damages, etc , in legal vocabulary. When they are excessively worked out in the administration of law or in speculative jurisprudence, they tend to lose touch with reality The explanation is to be found in the increasing degree of abstraction from the particulars of actual existence.

An unrestrained logical refinement would render any law rigid and formal When this stage is reached, law becomes an instrument of oppression. Justice then becomes a technical affair, often very unmindful of the actual requirements of individual cases. This truth has been exemplified over and over again in human history The first known instance is the Jewish law at the time of the advent of Christianity Strict conformity to the letter of Jewish law with its own logic came to be regarded as a condition precedent to the dispensation of justice, ignoring equities altogether in the interests of its technical perfection. It had become very harsh in its application and austere in its attitude.

Christianity, it is said, was a historic protest, in one of its aspects, against the static and reactionary character of Jewish law It provided relief to the prevailing conception of justice by its revolutionary idea of universal love. Another instance is

provided by the stationary condition of Islamic law. So many causes responsible for its decay have been listed and one of them is the neat chiselling of its instrumental notions which in the end tore it off from the throb of human life.

Allama Khudri of Egypt tells us that in the later stages of its decadence, Muslim law became a plaything in the hands of sharp-witted polemically-disposed legists They imagined fantastic cases with a view to displaying their legal lore in a hair-splitting manner. They virtually degraded it to the level of casuistry He observes that in one book alone he came across quite a couple of thousands of such imaginary cases which are never likely to occur in society

The third instance is furnished by the state of our own law in force here and now The entire constitutional law has broken down before our own eyes As to that portion of positive law which is reflected in litigation before courts, we shall do well to remember an address given some time ago by ex-Chief Justice Sir Abdur Rashid at Lahore in which His Lordship pointedly referred to the ever-widening gulf between the substantive and procedural law If one looks deep into the matter, one would realise that the present condition of our law has been brought about by a steady process of analytical mood into which legal functionaries imperceptibly drift for the sake of logical consistency and culture of legal idiom.

When such a stage arrives in the history of a legal system, it is surely symptomatic of a deep malaise which has already consumed its pulp. One of the visible effects of this decay is that the roles of man and law are reversed Law becomes the master and man its slave.

It may, however, be admitted in fairness to legal logic that law must offer certainty and uniformity. In other words, it should be predictable, for one of the main functions of law is to impart a sense of security to legal relations. It is, therefore, quite entitled to fashion its categories in the light of logical criteria so as to encompass the routine aspects of these relations which are legion But there is another side to the picture and that is that in exceptional cases, because of their qualitative importance, it may be positively unjust to treat them on a par with routine cases. Maybe, the ends of justice would be met in such cases only when non-legal factors are also given due consideration

Iqbal was alive to this truth who, while assessing a tendency among the early doctors of Islam to interpret law on the basis of Aristotelian logic, remarked

> "The intricate behaviour of life cannot be subjected to hard and fast rules, logically deducible from certain general notions.

> "Yet looked through the spectacles of Aristotle's logic it appears to be a mechanism pure and simple with no internal principle of movement."

This acute observation of Iqbal is true of any legal system at any time. His view is amply borne out by eminent modern judges and jurists. The following are some of the extracts on this issue. As per Lord MacMillan in 1947 A.C., page 175:

> "Arguments based on legal consistency are apt to mislead, for the common law is a practical code adapted to deal with the manifold diversities of human life and, as a great American judge has reminded us, 'the life of the law has not been logic, it has been experience.'"

As per Holmes J. in "Johns V. United States" (163 F. 30):

> "Of course it is true that the words used, even in their literal sense, are the primary, and ordinarily the most reliable source of interpreting the meaning of any writing, be it a statute, a contract or anything else. But it is one of the surest indexes of a mature and developed jurisprudence not to make a fortress out of the dictionary, but to remember that statutes always have some purpose or object to accomplish, whose sympathetic and imaginative discovery is the surest guide to their meaning."

Another important notion which Iqbal would like to work in his legal system is that of the hierarchy of legal values. This follows straight from his philosophical view that there are degrees of reality. The gradation of legal values is particularly very important in the law relating to crimes and damages. For example, threat to life would be taken more seriously than, say, threat of injury to property.

To summarise, Iqbal's legal theory provides the conception of a higher law as the most fundamental element in its structure. It is eternal but not rigid. It is capable of being experimented upon in the light of social reality whose integration into the ideal structure is permitted very largely subject to one limitation, namely, that it will not stifle basic values. The admission of facts drawn from total experience would be balanced as against fundamental human insight with a view to keeping law immune from fossilisation. Its technique and logic must never be allowed to go astray from social reality, otherwise there is a great danger of its becoming inhuman and cruel.

The validity of positive law is judged with reference to its conformity to the higher norm so that if it conflicts with the latter, it shall become invalid and unenforceable. A sound legal system must prepare lists of rights and corresponding duties which should continuously be checked and rechecked in the light of advancing knowledge and

experience so as to revise their respective values in the hierarchical structure. This is possible only when one formulates every now and again the conception of limitation to their operation against the social background In interpreting law, particularly in the case of statutes, the needs of legal logic should be fulfilled to ensure uniformity and certainty in legal relations The formal side of law should be asserted but in cases of special qualitative importance when regard to logical consistency of technique would either plainly defeat broad purposes or involve itself into contradiction with the established principles specific to another aspect of the legal organism, logic should be sacrificed to save the plain reality

Iqbal who had before him the tragic vicissitudes through which the conception of Natural Law had passed could not incline himself to accept it in its abstract form The reason is that Natural Law ideologies which have appeared during the last 2,500 years as off-shoots of European idealism share in common the dualism of European philosophy European thought, which, in the words of Prof Whitehead, has only been a footnote to Plato's philosophy could not recognise the reality of time The concrete fact acquired value, no doubt, as a factor in scientific conception of physical reality but it was relatively unimportant in the realm of valuations

Christianity made a great contribution by discovering "an independent content for spiritual life which, according to the insight of its founder," says Iqbal, "could be elevated not by the force of a world external to the soul of man but by the revelation of a new world within his soul Islam fully agrees with this insight and supplements it by the further insight that the illumination of the new world thus revealed is not something foreign to the world of matter but permeates it through and through "

The conception of natural law as evolved within the tradition of European thought was highly abstract and that is why it fell a prey time and again in the course of history to demonic forces whose purposes it gladly served The finitude of human reason is truly reflected in the conception of Natural Law ideologies

In the following words Iqbal explains why he could not feel attracted to the West's legal philosophy, incidentally also giving the reason for his acceptance of Islam's legal idealism

> "Modern Europe has, no doubt, built idealistic systems on these lines, but experience shows that truth revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing that fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring. This is the reason why pure thought has so little influenced men, while religion has always elevated individuals, and transformed whole

societies The idealism of Europe never became a living factor in her life, and the result is a perverted ego seeking itself through mutually intolerant democracies whose sole function is to exploit the poor in the interest of the rich. Believe me, Europe today is the greatest hinderance in the way of man's ethical advancement The Muslim, on the other hand, is in possession of these ultimate ideas on the basis of a revelation which, speaking from the inmost depths of life, internalizes its own apparent externality "

On comparing Iqbal's legal ideas with the leading concepts of Muslim jurisprudence, we discover between them a remarkable affinity The ideal element is constituted by the absolute injunctions of the Qur'an and those in the established Sunna The Consensus which is the third source of Muslim law is designed to serve the purpose of extraction of new legal values as well as for their conservation When qualified jurists agree on a certain point of law, it is considered to be as deserving of absolute obedience as those derived from the primary sources, namely, the Qur'an and the Sunna Iqbal clears away the misunderstanding which prevails in certain quarters that Ijma' (Consensus) can repeal even the absolute injunctions of the Qur'an This misconception has arisen as a result of an uncorroborated observation made by Aghnides in his book called *Muhammadan Theories of Finance.*

Ijma' is a democratic principle which, according to Iqbal, provides the basis for participation in the affairs of state by Muslims in general Abdul Rahim also shares this view In some quarters the impression is that as the qualifications prescribed for a Mujtahid who can participate in Ijma' decisions cannot be fulfilled by every man, the institution of Ijma' cannot serve as a basis for democratic government in an Islamic polity.

This view appears to be unsound The reason is that an opinion of a jurist does not become law unless other jurists also agree in either of these two ways—either when all agree upon it or when the majority admits it and gives a ruling accordingly. In the past these unanimous and democratic decisions have been of two kinds each—firstly, those which have always been unanimously accepted by the Muslim community or have had the approval of the majority of Muslims—secondly, those on which Muslims of a particular country recorded their total agreement or when they were accepted by a majority. Ijma' decisions are not revisable but democratic decisions which will be accepted when the majority of Muslims in a particular country at a certain age will show readiness to accept them. As to future Ijma' decisions, there is no limitation whatsoever.

In arriving at a democratic or Ijma' decision the representatives of a Muslim community cannot remain unaffected by contemporary social realities. In fact, the

institution of Ijma' is the focal point at which the ideal comes into living relationship with the actual.

The fourth source is Analogy which covers partly the domain of legal precedent and partly that of undetermined possibilities. Through this instrument, it becomes possible by processes of logical deduction to determine new legal values, of course with a greater emphasis on conservatism. In my opinion, analogical reason, on Iqbal's view of logic, can be recast in a new way with far greater usefulness Our traditional conception of Qias has been rigidly determined by Aristotle's view of logical proposition which treated knowledge as a sort of external relation between subject and object For, in the subject-object form of proposition the two terms, namely—the subject and object—are presumed to be exclusive of each other

According to Iqbal's theory, elements of reality contribute to the being of one another and, therefore, it cannot be said that subject and object in a logical proposition are self-sufficient and independent A fresh conception of Analogy both in respect of its structure and function in accordance with Iqbal's view would reveal in law certain creative possibilities hithero unsuspected

I need not say more than make a reference in passing to Ijtihad which is the fifth source of law. Iqbal calls it "the principle of movement in the structure of Islam." Its sweep is unlimited. It operates on data derived from multifarious sources, as, for instance, juristic equity, public good, usages and customs when they do not conflict with the fundamentals of Islamic law. With such a vast range for operation at its disposal, Ijtihad truly constitutes the dynamics of Muslim law.

The concept of Legal Order which emerges from the background of Iqbāl's thought, in my opinion, throws into bold relief Islam's polity, the ruler is to enforce law in society according to Islam's notions of good and bad The moment he ceases to do so, it becomes the individual responsibility of a Muslim to break the legal order

Looking back at the whole discourse, it should be obvious that Iqbal's legal theory is but a modern version of Islam's law Now when the existing legal structure in Pakistan lies in ruins, the only way, in my view, to save us from further and more critical times is to make use of the Islamic conception of law to guarantee the safety of our future. It is very risky to be a prophet but I cannot refrain from observing that whatever little of law remains cannot last us for more than a decade or two. It would be a great folly to found our new legal system under the inspiration of European philosophy. I have already shown its onesidedness. Europe itself seems to be oscillating between extremes with the lurking fear of some unknown danger. A modern European jurist says.

"It is easy to deride natural law as it is to deride the futility of mankind's social and political life in general, in its unceasing but hitherto vain search for a way out of the injustice and imperfection, for which so far Western Civilization at any rate had found no other solution but to move between one extreme and another" (Fieldmann)

In contrast to any legal discipline both in the past and present, Islam's law presents a structure of incomparable beauty and grandeur It is a vast mine of powerful juristic principles and abounds in rare distinctions Its catholicity and dynamism are of unequalled range An astute lawyer like Edmund Burke, while delivering his famous impeachment speech, cried out

"We have referred you to the Muhammadan Law, which is binding on all from the Crowned head to the meanest subject, a law, interwoven with a system of the wisest, the most learned and most enlightened jurisprudence that perhaps ever existed in the world

"He takes advantage of a defect in the technical language of our law which, I am sorry to say, is not in many parts as correct in its distinctions and as wise in its provisions as the Muhammadan Law"

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

Muhammad: The Holy Prophet	10	0
The Shadowless Prophet of Islam	6	0
Muhammad of Arabia	1	0
Muhammad: Upon Whom be Peace	0	12
The Saint of Jilan	2	0
Heroes & Heroines of Islam		
Book I	0	12
Book II	0	12
Book III	0	12
My Life: A Fragment	6	0
Mohammad Ali Jinnah—A Political Study	12	8
Ibn as-Sikkit	1	4
Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit	17	1
Falaki-i-Shirwani—His Times, Life and Works	10	2
Dara Shukoh	8	0
A Prince of Arabia	17	1
Abu'l Ala the Syrian	3	8
Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan	17	1
Don Juan of Persia (a Shi'ah Catholic, 1560-1604)	10	2
Muhammad the Prophet	1	0
The Prophet of the Desert	3	0
The Image of Greatness	1	0
The Greatest Man	1	0
The Messenger (Life of Mohammad	7	8
The Prophet & Islam	1	0
Wives of the Prophet	4	0
The Holy Saint of Ajmer	3	4
Sayyidah Zainab: the Heroine of Karbala	2	0
As-Sajjad	2	8
Meet Mr. Jinnah	7	8
The Great Leader	3	0
Life Story of Quaid-i-Azam	2	4
Architects of Pakistan	1	8
Falcon of Spain	4	0
Ibn al-Arabi	2	0
Ibn Khaldun—His Life and Works	6	0
History of Shah Ismail Safawi	10	0
Life & Works of Ibn er Rumi	10	2
Muhammad Ali Hazin	6	0
Sher Shah Suri	2	0
Munir-ud-Dowlah	6	0
Iqbal's Mind & Thought	3	0
Oriental Assembly	6	9
Traveller's Prelude	14	10
Beyond Euphrates	10	5
Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India	10	0
An Account of the Rise & Progress of Mahometanism with the Life of Mahomet	6	0

THE RIGHT PERSPECTIVE

Prof.
Muhammad Azraf

This is the second instalment of the article published in the previous issue of the Islamic Literature Prof Muhammad Azraf deals in this part with the charge made by Bertrand Russell that Islam, like other religions, encourages the deductive spirit and is, therefore, opposed to the inductive, i e the scientific spirit Prof Muhammad Azraf rightly points out that if this charge had any truth the Muslims could not have been the pioneers in the scientific field and they could hardly have ventured in the field of scientific experiments The fact is that the whole spirit of the Qur'an is scientific in attitude It is empirical in the sense that it relies on the senses and regards them as trustworthy organs of knowledge Thus the Qur'an says that man will be held answerable in regard to the use of all his external senses the hearing, the seeing and the heart

THE DEDUCTIVE AND THE INDUCTIVE ATTITUDE IN ISLAM

Russell's view on Deductive Method and the Attitude of the Muslims

GREAT minds are always above all pettinesses and they are expected to be impartial in their attitudes towards all the cultures of the world They study the different creeds with an impartial and disinterested motive in order to assign their respective places in the history of the world.

Bertand Russell's is undoubtedly a mind which is renowned for its acuteness in thought, unbiassed and unprejudiced attitude towards the different contributions of the world But it is really strange to note that sometimes his remarks run contrary to the facts of history, and distort things, which shook even the most casual readers In him the impartial intellectual is at times overpowered by the enthusiast for a scientific outlook on life. At times, he remarks on creeds without sufficient study and goes even to caricature cultures without sufficient justification His scientific outlook is a glaring instance to the point In it he has contradicted himself in so many places Apart from the general contradiction in his argument which consists in extolling scientific attitude and denouncing it simultaneously for having no consideration for values, there are remarks on Islam and other creeds which do not speak well of his scientific mind

Russell is a realist and naturally therefore he must have some bias towards induction. Because it is through induction and induction alone that causal connection can be discovered which lies at the basis of all scientific researches. He must therefore decry it by all possible means. History bears ample testimony to the fact that deduction was

a handmaid to religion throughout the middle ages. And in the hands of the clergy, it was a means of establishing the principles of Christianity with the help of Aristotelian logic. Deductive Logic, therefore, lost its independent role at their hands and it was always subservient to revealed religion Revelation was thus bolstered up at the cost of free thinking Since the Renaissance, the spirit of men revolted against this servitude of thought and reasserted its spirit in rescuing it from this tether.

This spirit found its culmination in Francis Bacon who tried to have its complete freedom from the domination of so many idols But still the spirit of thraldom and slavery masqueraded with some modifications and stood in the way of sciences during the preceding centuries. Deductive spirit, interpreted in this sense, must be denounced by all thinkers of higher rank We therefore thoroughly agree with Russell when he remarks "Those who believe in deduction as a method of arriving at knowledge are compelled to find their premises somewhere, usually in a sacred book "[1] By "sacred" he must have necessarily meant religious, philosophical, legal and very many other subjects as is clear from his succeeding pronouncements But when in the same breath he pronounces his sarcastic judgment "Deduction from inspired books is the method of arriving at truth employed by jurists, Christians, Mohamedans and the communists,"[2] we should accept his remarks with some caution. For, strangely enough, he has blown hot and cold in the same breath On the achievements of the Arabs in scientific fields his praises are overflowing "The Arabs were more experimental than the Greeks especially in Chemistry. They hoped to transmute base metals into gold, to discover the philosopher's stone and to concoct the elixir of life Partly on this account, chemical investigations were viewed with favour. Throughout the dark ages it was mainly by the Arabs that the tradition of civilisation was carried on, and it was largely from them that Christians such as Roger Bacon acquired whatever scientific knowledge the latter middle ages possessed."[3]

This is indeed a flat contradiction in being the praise of the Arabs who were inspired by Islam in their inductive and scientific outlook and a condemnation of Islam for being thoroughly deductive in method Neither has he drawn a sharp line between deductive method and deductive spirit in order to show that though Islam always adopts deductive method in drawing consequences from the Qur'an and the tradition, its spirit is not deductive altogether and that at times it allowed free research with a view to finding out the marvels of the Universe. Nor has he shown that there is a difference

1. B Russell, *Scientific Outlook*, p 33.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp 21-22.

between the attitude of the Muslims, particularly the Arabs and that of Islam, and that, though Islam is singularly deductive in attitude, the Muslims are not so always, so that the achievements of the Muslims were at variance with the teaching of the Qur'an.

A fresh examination of the principles of Islam and of the relation between Islam and Muslims on the one hand and of the relative importance of Induction and Deduction in Islam, on the other, are therefore very necessary before an evaluation of these judgments is made

Examination of the Principles of Islam

Deduction from inspired book is certainly the method of arriving at truth by Muslims in their religious, social and political spheres To a true Muslim the Qur'an is the guide in many aspects of his life As a Muslim he is also bound to take the life as a whole and interpret its different aspects in relation to the whole Whenever, therefore, he thinks, he thinks of his entire life So if he has to accept any principle, it must solve all the problems that arise from it Such a solution is not possible without refering them to a unitary principle from which they owe their being The best principle for society must have an alignment with the state Otherwise there is a possibility of warfare between them Similarly the world-view in intellectual sphere must have a respect for moral values which are also integral parts of men's lives Such a demand necessitates the adoption of a comprehensive concept that is most varied in its content to satisfy the entire man 'Allah' is such a concept and, like other rich concepts, it has also undergone a process of evolution for centuries The various deductions from this principle only illustrate its richness. They are meant for the right guidance of men in different spheres of life But such a concept does not debar us from thinking that it is also the product of a series of thoughts carried on for generations and that it is also the result of induction, though not consciously avowed Leaving aside, for the time being, the controversy whether the concept of Allah is the result of induction, or a product of intuition it might be safely asserted that even taking it to be a concept revealed, the doors of fresh enquiries and generalisations are not prohibited by it.

Russell's language suggests something like a tether which has tied the Muslims for ever to remain within the circle, never to be able to think and look at the world, all by themselves. In fact the real import of prophecy in Islam indicates the revolt of the human spirit to have an independent role in searching out its own track without the guidance of any authority. As the excellent Dr Iqbal says "In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves the

keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings, that in order to achieve consciousness man must finally be thrown back on its own resources "[1]

In Islam Hazrat Muhammad (Salam) is taken to be the last of the Prophets thereby indicating the need of the abolition of prophethood for the future. The role of the prophets in the past had been to guide men in accordance with the revealed scriptures which demanded a strict adherence to them Humanity was therefore compelled to follow their tracks without any question But, thus clung to the leading strings, it loses all power for initiative and free thinking Prophecy therefore had to be abolished in order to allow humanity to find out its own path independent of any authority The necessity of the abolition of prophethood thus felt by Islam is itself an indication of the growth of inductive spirit in men Moreover, "the Qur'an draws a distinction between 'Ilm,' the knowledge gained by intuition,' 'Hikmat,' 'knowledge gained by scientific research, and it postulates that one who is granted the latter receives the supreme advantage Hence the importance of scientific knowledge and research in Islam "[2] Inductive attitude therefore had been encouraged and appreciated by Islam since its inception and it led to the marvellous researches by the Arabs during the middle ages when the entire world was steeped in darkness

It is an undisputed fact of history that the Arabs were a wild and nomadic race thoroughly bereft of any trace of culture before the birth of the Prophet. Before the revelation of the Qur'an, there were so many malpractices prevalent among them that a student of history has to be shocked at every line that he has to pass through The Prophet revolutionised their entire outlook on life as if by a magic wand The Qur'an changed their views on life all of a sudden They were therefore at first bewildered and it took a pretty long time before they could assimilate them It is certainly the inspiration of the Qur an that was the cause of their progress in scientific sphere in later periods Had the Quranic viewpoints been hostile to the experimental, scientific and the inductive spirit, there could not have been any progress in these branches by the Arabs who were the first torch-bearers of Islam in the world In fact there is not a single principle in Islam which stands against the inductive and scientific spirit To the contrary, Islam encourages fresh and independent enquiries by individuals

Sources of Confusion

There are two sources of confusion in interpreting this deductive method amongst the Muslims One is the attempt of the Muslims to deduce consequences from the

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1 Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*

2 Abdus Salam Khan, *The Essence of the Teaching of the Quran*, p 185

injunctions and conception of the Qur'an and the other is an identification of Islam with the Muslims

As a rule the Muslims deduce by-laws from the injunctions of the Qur'an in order to regulate their lives But this attitude is after all dependent on the belief in the revelation of Allah to Prophet Muhammad (Salam). Ultimately it depends on the strength of the conviction about Allah's existence and power Let us therefore deal with it first of all

The concept of Allah has various significance Allah connotes all-powerfulness, sovereignty and all the higher attributes conceived of by man The Qur'an has been revealed by Him to the Prophet for guidance From it the syllogistic conclusion might be there is no knowledge which lies outside the tenets of the Qur'an From the ethical point of view, it is the only duty of mankind to realise those principles in life

But this is certainly a very superficial and partial estimate of the principles of the Qur'an. As has been mentioned above, the concept of Allah as found in the Qur'an has several meanings Allah is the very postulate of thought, the Creator of the Universe, its Architect, the Substance of the world, and thus it has led to many systems of philosophy in later periods of history He is the postulate of thought for without the acceptance of His existence there cannot be any start even of the enquiry in any branch of human knowledge Knowledge requires two factors—a knowing mind and an object of thought which are technically known in Psychology as subject and object But besidess these two there should be a belief in their correspondence That means there must be a belief in the adjustment of the subject and the object In plain and simple language, it means that there should be belief in the existence of a Being who is the guarantee or warrant of this correspondence The knower must believe that the Universe is after all not the creation of a Devil to delude us into thinking that we as men have the power to know and that both the subject and the object are not figments of imagination This belief is tantamount to a belief in the spiritual values of the Universe of which the belief in God is an integral factor Put in native language, it expresses a belief in a Being far superior to human intelligence, and ingenuity But expressed in philosophical terminology, it means a belief in the attainments of humanity in a spiritually ordered Universe Islam has therefore accepted the existence of Allah as a postulate of thought without which no advance in knowledge is possible

There are other conceptions of godhead which when expressed in modern terms might be called Deistic, Pantheistic and Panentheistic, meant for different levels of human thought against which Russell might have a ground of objection He might have

objected to these beliefs being imposed on humanity. For, do they not block the passage of free thought? If these concepts are accepted before a free enquiry be started, then they would certainly lead the enquirers nowhere Enquiry, then, according to the spirit of Islam, thus interpreted would strictly mean an enquiry as to how the Universe is created and formed or how can the illusion come to have an appearance at all. The 'why' and 'what' of the enquiry are settled once for all For it has been accepted beforehand that Allah has created or made the world to appear as it is and the real stuff of the world is Allah's will and power, not any other materials

But this is only an apparent version of these conceptions laid down in the Qur'an Material and spiritual causes are not homogeneous and, though the former can be ascertained and measured by human intelligence, accurately spiritual causes cannot be brought under scientific investigations Neither Deistic, Pantheistic nor Panentheistic conceptions have any direct bearing on scientific investigations They are so many directives to human thought which should be resorted to, in order to have a comprehensive view of the universe Scientific achievements are divorced from spiritual significance As Russell himself admits, "The sphere of values lies outside science except in so far as science consists in the pursuit of knowledge Science as the pursuit of power must not obtrude upon the sphere of values, and scientific technique, if it is to enrich human life, must not outweigh the ends which it should serve" [1]

Scientific achievement divorced from values means only an advance in intellectual sphere and applied sciences contribute their mites towards the material prosperity of man But man is not certainly intellect alone He has his other sides as well which require satisfaction It is therefore necessary that in every advancement in scientific achievement, there should be a corresponding view of the world in which all the values hithero evolved should have a place to preserve themselves In other words, what the Germans call *Weltanchuang* or world-view can only be legitimately formed when the results arrived at by scientific investigations are supplemented by religious and moral conceptions The Deistic, Pantheistic or the Panentheistic conceptions as set forth in the Qur'an therefore play supplementary role in the formation of world-view which is required by human nature The values have got justification from the pragmatic point of view It has been admitted by all right-minded thinkers of the world that unless and until the achievements of the sciences are supplemented by a respect for the moral and spiritual values, they only work havoc and destruction The invention of the atomic energy has been utilised for the amelioration of humanity On the contrary, it has been used as a deadly weapon to destroy enemies Russell himself admits it · "A new moral

1. Russell, *Scientific Outlook*, p. 275

outlook is called for in which submission to the powers of nature is replaced by the respect for what is best in man. It is where this respect is lacking that scientific technique is dangerous. So long as it is present, science having delivered man from bondage to nature can proceed to deliver him from bondage to the slavish part of himself The dangers exist, but they are not inevitable and hope for the future is at least as rational as fear "[1]

But though Russell has suggested a means of escape from this situation he has not clearly indicated the way to it. You cannot have a respect for what is best in men unless you believe the source of all that is best in men, to be itself an object of respect That means you are to believe in the moral government of the Universe.

The Qur'an has therefore warned humanity not to indulge in frivolities and asked to use their intelligence in such a way as not to do harm to anybody and themselves.

The Qur'an does not claim to contain all the principles of the sciences and the arts which humanity in its onward march might find for itself It does not contain the principles of Mechanics or of Evolution discovered by Newton or Darwin Nor does it contain the theory of Relativity as found out by Prof. Albert Einstein. These are the results of inductive enquiries. What the Qur'an emphasises is to supplement the results of these enquiries What Qur'an emphasises is to supplement the result of these enquiries by the respect for moral and spiritual values That is equivalent to saying that humanity at all levels must fall back on the respect for these values if it at all desires to survive

The conception of Allah as the sovereign of the universe has its direct bearing on social and political lives of men As He is the sovereign of the Universe, both the society and the state should be so formed as to be approved of by Him He is the embodiment of the best ideals. The best ideals in men are undoubtedly fraternity, equality and justice A society or a state to be best must be so formed as to realise these ideals to the fullest extent In spite of its faith in the tenets of the Qur'an, Islam therefore can safely allow the excercise of judgment technically called 'Ijtihad' in all spheres of life. Its only concern is to see whether the ideal principles are going to be realised or not So, examined thoroughly, Islam does not stand in the way of inductive generalisations

The other source of confusion might be the identification of Islam with the Muslims

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1 Russell, *Scientific Outlook*, p 279

As is customary with almost all the non-Muslim thinkers, Russell might have confused Islam with the manners and methods of the Muslims

It is a well-known fact of history that after the lapse of the emotional period, a religion loses its true spirit amongst its votaries The Christians of the present age are very far away from Christianity So also the Buddhists have gone astray from the path of Gautama Buddha. Muslims have also deviated to a considerable extent from the goal of Islam

After the termination of the golden rule of the Khulafa-i-Rashideen, Khilafat was converted into monarchy by a sudden blow, which violated the main principles of the Qur'an and the Sunna During the succeeding periods ending in the dethronement of the so-called Khalifa Vahiduddin, Muslims have in general caricatured the main principles of Islam From 661 A D (i e after the assassination of Hazrat 'Ali) till now, the Muslims of the world are passing through their dark ages And although there were signs of renaissance in different periods in the persons of Imam Abu Hanifa, Ibn Taymia, Ibn Hazm, Syed Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, Mufti 'Abduhu and others and the spirit of reawakening culminated in the person of Dr Muhammad Iqbal, the Muslims in general are still in darkness They have still to be imbued with the true spirit of Islam, in order to justify its principles Of course the Muslims might have been the torch-bearers of light and learning throughout the middle ages But that is a partial achievement of the Muslims in one sphere of life Severed from other spheres, and particularly politics, it is really a meagre achievement Had the Muslims been imbued with the best spirit of Islam, they could have changed the entire outlook of man

Muslims might be engaged now in deducing consequences from the Qur'an and the Sunna leaving aside any consideration for inductive researches and generalisations, but it does not mean that they are enjoined on by their religion to do so Islam, in no way, requires men to be deductive in all walks of life

We have next to consider the difference between deductive spirit and deductive method and see whether there is an identity between them or not.

Deductive Spirit and Deductive Method

Russell has not differentiated deductive spirit from deductive method throughout his whole line of argument Deductive method is always taken recourse to by the scientists in deducing conclusions from their discovered premises The Law of Gravitation had been verified by the deduction of consequences from it So also Einstein's theory of Relativity had to be established on statistics Deductive method interpreted in this sense is therefore in use even in this scientific age. It has nothing harmful in it

But deductive spirit in the sense of relying on premises as ultimate and infallible is certainly a very great stunt in human knowledge Interpreted in this sense, human mind in its enquiry would be circumscribed in a tether and its only duty would be to draw conclusions from already accepted principles and formulas It would not be allowed to have a fresh examination of the premises with which it starts in deduction. As has already been mentioned, deductive spirit benumbs the active attitude towards life In this sense deductive spirit is a pernicious element in human life

We have preferred the expression "attitude" to method because it covers both the spirit and method We are now to see whether Islam is deductive in spirit or in method

The Deductive and the Inductive Attitude in Islam

Islam is not at all deductive in spirit But in its social and political outlook it is deductive in method. An Islamic state or an Islamic society, if it is to be built at all, must have due consideration for the main principle as laid down in the Quran The time place and the circumstance might vary but the principles are invariable They are to be applied according to the needs and requirements of the time. Sovereignty of God and vicegerency of man are the fundamental principles in Islamic politics and society They are to be accepted without further question if the state or the society are to be Islamic at all In this sense an Islamic state is Deductive But thereby it is not prohibited to have due consideration for the economic, social, geographical and linguistic factors of a particular country in order to apply those principles in society The ascertainment of these facts and arriving at the generalisation on their basis are the results of inductive enquiry in Islam And in this sense, Islam encourages an inductive outlook on life But amongst the Muslims this spirit is altogether perverted now and Muslims as a nation have been too indolent and shy in their lives to undergo any free research without the aid of any authority As is common with all the idle people who have lost the power of initiative, Muslims were drawing inferences from the established premises and using their distorted consequences in order to lead a life of ease and comfort For centuries together theirs has been a life running counter to the very spirit of Islam and at the same time confessing to be the best upholders of it

Russell might have mistaken Muslims of the past or present generation to be the real representatives of Islam and has uttered this inadvertent judgment We hope, with a better understanding of the spirit of Islam, Russell will be compelled to change his view For we know there is nothing final in his philosophy Russellianism is more an attitude than a finished product of thought We wish Russell were able to realise it himself!

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SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
KASHMIRI BAZAR - LAHORE

DEMOCRACY OF THE MEDINESE PERIOD OF KHILAFAT

Muhammad
Abdur Rahman

In this article Prof Abdur Rahman gives a brief sketch of Islamic democracy as it existed during the period of the four rightly guided Caliphs There is no doubt that this was democracy in the real sense of the word The failure of this Islamic democracy may be traced to many causes among which the most powerful was the inflow of excessive wealth into the hands of a few persons and the consequent moral and spiritual degeneration But another important cause was the absence of a regular constitution [illegible] safe electoral method, whereby only genuine representatives of the people could be elected and military adventurers could be prevented from taking advantage of the situation The early history of Islam, therefore, teaches us the lesson that a democracy is unworkable without an agreed constitution in which people are allowed to elect their rulers from time to time and are not made to depend on the personal virtues and vices of their rulers Secondly, excessive wealth concentrated in any one class or group of people is fatal for democracy, because the rich can easily influence and dominate over the many poor Democracy can function only where wealth is so diffused and distributed that the majority of the people enjoy a relative economic independence, so that their votes and opinions cannot too easily be influenced

THE Medinese period of Khilafat lasted hardly thirty years, but such marvellous deeds were performed by the newly converted Muslim Arabs in this short period that it appears unique in world history The most characteristic feature of the period was its true democratic spirit, perfectly sincere and free from any kind of chicanery and sophistry

Democracy is usually described as a form of government in which political power is distributed among those recognised as having rights of citizenship, but may nevertheless exclude women or subject populations The Medinese democracy was based on generous human sympathy, heart-to-heart understanding of the interests of the community and implicit faith in God Representatives of the people were chosen from among the best known members of the community for their integrity, piety and philanthropy

Decisions were arrived at by free discussions and exchange of views unhampered by time limit or arbitrary rights of veto The methods of election to office or conduct

of administration may appear to have been crude or clumsy from modern showy or high sounding standards, but were based firmly on pure Islamic principles, true and simple, generous and all-convincing

On the death of the Holy Prophet, Ansars and Muhajirs cooperated one and all in electing the venerable Abu Bakr as the First Khalifah of Islam He confidently applied appropriate bold measures to overcome all mischievous attempts at breaking up the solidarity of Islam Through his zeal and firmness Islam took possession of the whole of Arabia and began to penetrate into the surrounding regions also

After his brief but thoroughly successful regime of two years, 'Umar, the unswerving champion of justice, was elected successor with the unanimous consent of the whole Muslim community

Tribal spirit vanished under the leadership of the Quraysh as it was through one of them—the Holy Prophet himself—that the true faith was revealed to mankind, but there was not the slightest attempt on their part to dominate over others The state was communal (*not* communistic) Every member of the community was imbued with the genuine spirit of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity All the functions of life were based on Islam and Islam itself was Life and Soul All members of the community, men, women and children, whether rich or poor, free or slaves, identified themselves with Islam and cooperated for the one object of living according to the precepts of Islam There was no thought of one's own aggrandisement or monopolisation of power

Islam, the precious gift of Allah, was meant to be shared with all human beings It was not to be reserved for the select few as in some other religions If people voluntarily joined the ranks of Islam, they were welcome as brothers If they preferred to remain aloof, they were offered friendly terms of peaceful life—reserved for *Dhimmis*, on payment of a small poll-tax for exemption from military duties and were at liberty to follow their own laws under Islam's benevolent protection This tax was insignificant compared to what the Muslims had to pay as *Zakat*, and nothing compared to the taxes levied by modern civilised governments The Muslims were in honour bound to protect the *Dhimmis* against their foes If they were unable to do so they were enjoined to return the poll-tax peremptorily, as was done by Abu 'Ubaydah ibn Jarrah on a well-known occasion

The status of the *Dhimmis* was by no means undignified Apart from freedom to follow the tenets of their own religions unmolested (in contrast with their co-religionists under their own sovereigns, if they differed ever so little from the *"Orthodox"* state religion), they were given every facility to acquire wealth and prosperity, so long as they did not intrigue against Islam There was always the possibility of their voluntary con-

version to Islam and joining the general Muslim community, so no wonder that Christians and Jews (and later Zoroastrians and Sabeans as well) rose to the highest positions under state service like Muslims Their places of worship—churches and synagogues, fire temples, etc —were as scrupulously protected as the Muslim mosques

The democratic spirit of Islam reached its zenith during the regime of the Second Khalifah His election also was simple and based on genuine whole-hearted consent of Muslims from all tribes and classes

As all Muslims were regarded as members of the same family or fraternity, elaborate present-day schemes of voting, polling stations and other perplexing paraphernalia were not felt necessary It would seem, in fact, that the resolutions adopted were so clearly thought out and scrupulously judged beforehand that there was scarcely any room for difference of opinion or vote of dissent It was this unanimous consent and universal cooperation that gave such weight and importance to early Muslim decisions

But ever-increasing wealth and power (as was feared by the far-sighted 'Umar) brought about a change in the mentality and mode of life of many of the Arabs The tribal proclivities of pre-Muslim period and family pretensions that had been banned and suppressed by the Holy Prophet began to creep in and undermined the noble edifice of Muslim solidarity Intrigues, subtle and insidious, resulted suddenly in the murder of the great 'Umar by a Persian slave (named Abu Lulu Firoz)—a calamity of irreparable loss to the entire Muslim world To safeguard against future disruptions and discords 'Umar on his death-bed appointed a select body of the surviving members of 'Ashra'e-Mubashsharah[1] to elect his successor, after consulting all the eminent Muslims that had gathered in Medina at the time One of these Ten, Abu 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrah (who had explicitly withdrawn his candidature for Khilafat) was unanimously entrusted with the work of collecting votes After ceaseless toil he announced the result of his enquiries and declared the election of the benevolent 'Uthman to the vacant Khilafat The announcement was unanimously accepted and all went well for a time

After some years, however, his selfish relations began to take undue advantage of his magnanimous nature and paved the way for revival of the old pre-Islamic feud between the Bani-Umayyah and the Bani-Hashim Nepotism, indiscriminate patronage, misappropriation of public money by avaricious partisans of officers in power led to

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1 *'Ashra'e Mubashsharah* = The Ten Companions of the Prophet assured of Salvation and Divine Favour in the hereafter

general discontent in the provinces which resulted eventually in revolts against the Khalifah himself Finally, poor unsuspecting 'Uthman was ruthlessly put to death by his unscrupulous antagonists Chaos prevailed in Medina and the entire Muslim world for a number of days, until at last peace-loving leaders of the community entreated the chivalrous 'Ali to take up the reins of government and restore law and order once more He yielded to this appeal very reluctantly after repeated refusals as a matter of dangerous responsibility solely in the interests of Muslim solidarity He did his utmost (according to his own unprejudiced personal judgment and advice of his trusted supporters) to restore discipline among the various exponents of Muslim interests But discord and disintegration in the body politic of Islam had gone too far and too deep and the loyatly to Islam of the first decade of the Khilafat had vanished altogether

Muslim leaders began to arrange themselves into a number of antagonistic parties (evidently each party judging itself to be exclusively in the right) which terminated eventually in terrible civil wars and assassination of brave 'Ali himself It is estimated that these civil wars caused more bloodshed than all the previous wars of Islam against the Infidels put together In this chaos the fine democracy of the Medinese Khilafat came to an end and a Bani-Umayyah *Amarat* (monarchy) was established at Demascus in 661 A C

Sound state administration is by no means easy The best brains of approved honesty must be employed to provide for it History shows that even in countries generally regarded as most advanced, the confidence, happiness and security of the early days of Medinese Khilafat are wanting, simply owing to lack of real sincerity and faith in God Our most enlightened administrations must at best be regarded as caricatures, not true pictures of sound and judicious government Democracy has prevailed in the world both before and after the advent of Islam for different periods and with various degrees of success When wealth multiplies and power infatuates the lucky, the state drifts to oligarchy, autocracy, monarchy, or even dictatorship (Fascism)

All modes of administration need careful watching not to let power fall into the hands of unscrupulous politicians or ambitious militarists. The best and perhaps the longest example of limited monarchy or empire, that of the United Kingdom, shows clearly how difficult it is to manage the affairs of the people when the possessions and responsibilities of the state spread out more and more Queer as it appears, Great Britain acquired her unique success in administration through the chance offer of her royal crown to a distant relation holding a petty overlordship in a foreign domain, thus giving a free hand to British intelligentsia to manage their public affairs in the best manner possible.

The U S A. is generally considered to be the most successful example of modern democracy But her success is due really to a number of complicated causes More or less well-educated, well-to-do people of mercantile mentality, seeking freedom of worship and fair treatment by the sovereign state, migrated in instalments to the "New World" then inhabited by people of still very primitive civilisation and took possession of their undeveloped and unprotected lands With modern facilities of advanced civilisation they 'conquered' the New World, obliterating practically all the traces of her puerile 'culture' and raising it eventually to a position of pre-eminence over the entire earth

Here too democracy has had its ups and downs and had to differentiate between Immediate Democracy,[1] Representative Democracy,[2] Republicanism,[3] Federalism,[4] Socialism,[5] etc, stumbling against employment of Slave Labour, High Tariffs,[6] Spoils System,[7] and "Boss Rule"[8] The world is now faced with the

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1 *Immediate Democracy* = Government by whole people reaching its own decisions Impossible except when governing unit is small enough for all to attend meetings Found in ancient City States, Services in U S A in Town Meetings

2 *Representative Democracy* = Government by representatives elected by a body comprising large proportion of population Governing body small compared to number of voters, but responsible to electorate

3 *Republic* = State without hereditary head in which supreme power vests in group of persons, sometimes small, sometimes the whole population

Republican Party in U S A formed originally to favour centralisation associated with High Tariffs and manufacturing interest

4 *Federation* = Political system in which several states, each preserving internal independence, are united under one legislative body as far as foreign affairs and other subjects of common interest are concerned

5 *Socialism* = Political Economic theory, advocating total or partial abolition of privately owned capital and competitive industry in favour of ownership by central democratic authority (State Socialism), or by workers (Syndicalism), of all instruments of production (land and capital)

6. *Tariffs* = List of duties or customs to be paid on imports or exports

7 *Spoils System* = Political system especially in U S A by which successful party disposes of paid appointments, public contracts, etc

8 *Boss Rule*, associated with an organ of the Democratic Party of U S A, formed originally to favour decentralisation, as against centralisation of Federal Government Under most famous boss, Tweed (1867), amount corruptly plundered from the city of New York is estimated at two hundred million dollars

gigantic struggle for overlordship between Capitalism and Communism. Heaven alone knows what the ultimate result would be It would be in the best interests of the Human Race if unprejudiced truth-loving scholars of all countries were to study critically the conditions that led to the marvellous success of the Medinese Khilafat with its meteoric flight to splendour and learn useful lessons from that brief but unsurpassed regime

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ISLAM AND POLYGAMY

A de Zayas Abbasi

This article by A de Zayas Abbasi is a continuation of previous articles on the subject of polygamy The writer maintains that polygamy was permitted by the Qur an only in the abnormal circumstances created by the presence of war orphans In this issue the writer shows how the Islamic injunctions with regard to polygamy continued to be disobeyed by the Muslims The argument is that, due to the rapid progress of Islam and the influx of innumerable converts, a proper Islamic education could not be ensured Another cause, according to the writer was that Medina lost its spiritual and intellectual primacy and in the new centres of Islamic learning, like Kufa and Basra, local practices were accorded legal sanction by the jurists under the influence of Hellenistic and Persian cultures

IF, as we have seen from our analysis of the Quranic text, the Holy Qur'an lays down the principle of monogamic marriage in Islam—with the single exception of limited polygamy as an act of charity where the safeguarding of the rights and interests of war-orphans are at stake (iv 3)—it may well be asked How have succeeding generations of Muslims, many of them sincerely attached to their Faith and wholeheartedly devoted to living righteous lives, indulged in or approved of the practice of polygamy in the name of observing the letter of the Qur'an? The question is indeed a legitimate one. Its answer reveals a weakness which gradually took shape in the course of the development of the Muslim social body, a weakness which it urgently behoves us to extirpate from our midst if we are ever to achieve the wholesome social order preconised by the Holy Qur'an.

It is a well known fact that when Syedna Abu Bakr (رض) assumed the charge of Caliph, the body of Muslims did not yet constitute a homogeneous whole. It had not yet

achieved within its ranks the socio-political unity of thought, feeling and expression which is the attestation of national maturity. It had yet to become inherently, and organically, Islamised as a national unit, i e to become the organic national expression of the Quranic socio-political ideal and purpose it stood for

Among the first problems Syedna Abu Bakr had to deal with upon accepting the Caliphal responsibility was the very serious one of the Beni Yarbu's refusal to pay the Zakat, the giving of which is an integral part of the Faith In their refusal, we have an example of the mentality then prevailing among some of the recent converts to Islam. The conditions first put by the people of Ta'if to the Prophet (ص) himself for their acceptance of Islam, and which they ultimately forewent, are another typical example of that mentality

It is natural that a social order which insisted upon and enforced strict rules of morality would not long be popular among peoples accustomed to the lax and easy-going ways of idolatry and that, with the death of the Prophet (ص), many of the tribes should seek to rid themselves of what they considered unnecessary fetters to their freedom of self-indulgence

Again we should remember that the conversion of the people of Mecca, following upon its conquest, was naturally more for personal interests—to be in the good graces of the conquering power—rather than from true conviction The conforming of their subsequent behaviour—and the same was the case for all the conquered peoples who accepted Islam—to the Quranic standard necessarily depended on the degree and quality of their proselytisation, which in turn naturally depended as well on the sincerity and fervour of the proselytisers and on their organising ability and their capacity to rule and to enforce the law they preached, as on the capacity of the new converts to understand the real nature of the social order they had accepted and on their firmness of purpose in observing its rules It was necessary that they—the new converts—be fired with the same enthusiasm, imbued with the same spirit of self-dedication to the ideal of the cause they had espoused, as were its first adherents And yet another condition was necessary that there be sufficient teachers on hand to successfully undertake this ever-increasing work of proselytisation or, in other words, that the number of new converts should not exceed the capacity of proselytisation of the available competent teachers. Mass conversions, with the consequent insufficient proselytisation that inevitably accompanies them, have ever been the reef on which social reforms have come to grief

The second Caliph, Syedna 'Umar (رض), foresaw the danger to which mass conversions exposed the new, Islamic, social order and, in a famous phrase, expressed his

serious concern at the sudden spread of the Muslim domain after the battle of Qadisia, and the entering into the fold of Islam of large numbers of the inhabitants of the conquered lands.

Hardly a decade after the death of the Prophet (ﷺ), the Muslim nation had expanded a thousandfold, far beyond the wildest dreams of the early Muhajirin and Ansar, and comprised peoples of the most varied backgrounds and habits, whose pre-Islamic beliefs, social customs and political traditions had only too often been in direct conflict with Quranic Principles Among these were Jewish and Christian tribes belonging to different sects, Sabeans, Zoroastrians, and pagans both Hellenic and non-Hellenic, and, a few decades later, even Hindus, Buddhists and Chinese In the absence of a thoroughly organised, methodical proselytisation embracing each new convert, man and woman, or of facilities to carry on such a systematic proselytisation with continued effect, a number of these pre-Islamic beliefs and habits, social customs and political traditions were bound to find their way into Muslim society and, with the passing of time and the failure to test their acceptability constantly on the touchstone of Quranic sanction, become part not of the Muslim way of things but of the way of things among Muslims And this is what actually happened

The Companions who had been close to the Holy Prophet taught the Faith by word and example, and the best among their followers were sincere to follow in their footsteps. But soon the growing number of converts turned into an overwhelming flood beyond their capacity to cope with, with the systematic thoroughness required And, as a result, the everyday private life of the new converts was not lived in the intimate atmosphere of Quranic Islam as was that of the early converts of the Prophet's time. Their acceptance of Islam was, in many cases, for personal material interests, in others, it was an acceptance of Principles which, because of insufficient training, did not always entail the application in practice of all the details of those Principles to their everyday existence The consequences of this fact were particularly important in the matter of women-converts who, as mistresses of their households, wives and mothers, were the shapers of society and of the following generations

Two factors played a decisive part in not bringing pressure to bear on the private life of the individual within the four walls of his home the Quranic spirit of tolerance, and the sense of the sanctity of the home, two admirable qualities which, throughout the centuries and with the rarest exceptions, have characterised Muslim society

For the Qur'an itself guarantees to the individual the privacy of his/her home, his/her sanctuary or 'haram' (This is the true meaning of 'haram' in Islam.) Famous is the example of Caliph 'Umar who one evening passed by a house from which could be

heard coming the sounds of drunken revelry. Wanting to put a stop to it, he knocked at the front door without receiving any response Whereupon he found his way into the place from the back But when he attempted to call the inmates to order, he was reminded by the master of the house that he himself was at fault, for the Qur'an expressedly forbids entering an occupied house uninvited, or from the back way except by permission of its folk

The fact that during the period of Islamic expansion which followed the Prophet's (ص) death, the Muslims came into direct contact, and had to deal in practice, with a number of different sets of customary law, as well as with Roman law, the Justinian Code and Sassanian law, had a very definite effect on the subsequent development of Muslim 'Fiqh,' the influence of these cross-currents and counter-currents on the Islamic environment making itself felt from the very beginning This influence was increased by the fact that Medina, which had been the centre of the early expounding of Muslim legal thought (until the death of Syedna 'Uthman (رض) and which should have retained more of the imprint of the Prophet's 'Sunna,' lost its position of leadership to Basra and Kufa with the transfer of the seat of government to Iraq for strategic reasons by Syedna 'Ali (رض), and, following the vicissitudes which it suffered in the time of the Umayyads, became more susceptible to the influence of Arab tribal customary law which had, as yet, not been completely replaced by, or adjusted to, Quranic Law[1] Both Basra and Kufa were naturally more open to Iranian (Sassanian) cultural and social influences than was the Hedjaz, and to these were added Roman, Byzantine, and Hellenic influences when, with the accession of Mu'awiya to the Caliphate, Damascus became the capital of the Empire.

As a result of their extensive conquests, the most urgent preoccupation of the Muslim Government was naturally to weld the various parts of the growing empire into a strong administrative unit, and to establish a healthy state of peace conducive to the prosperity of its inhabitants. In order to ensure the latter's support, the Muslims followed a policy of strict non-interference in matters concerning the beliefs and customs of their non-Muslim subjects, a wise policy indeed, and which was absolutely in accordance with the Quranic Injunction of Tolerance and with the Prophet's own example, but one which should not have been extended to the converts to Islam For these, by the act of their conversion, had bound themselves to observe the spirit and the letter of Quranic Law and were responsible to their fellow-Muslims for doing so.

Until the end of the Umayyad period, justice was administered, and legal matters settled, by the provincial governors and their delegated agents, who found

1 For the study of this interesting problem, see Imam Shafi'i, " Kitab-ul Umm."

themselves performing the task of conciliating customary law (popular practice) with Quranic Principles, and not seldom giving decisions according to customary law in cases where, in their understanding, it seemed proper to do so And where only those parts of customary law as conformed entirely to Quranic dictates should have been accepted and incorporated into Muslim practice, this was not always the case the process of Islamisation (so extremely important) was slow and gradual It was, in fact, never completed, due to the reasons cited above, and to the weight of other (political) reasons besides. To mention a few from among some more important examples of customary law prevailing over Quranic Principles as from Mu'awiya we see dynastical rule hold sway and become, for centuries, the commonly accepted rule among Muslims, although it is contrary to Quranic dictates In the second century H , Muslims still legislated regarding the buying and selling of slaves, when the Quranic purpose was to abolish slavery, and one hundred years was far more than sufficient time in which to achieve this aim In fact, we even find *Muslim* slaves at a much later date, despite the fact that, according to basic Quranic tenets, the Muslim, by the very reason of his/her Islam, is a free person among his/her fellow-Muslims In spite of the clear Quranic injunctions regarding the punishment of habitual thieves (v 38) and of adulterers (xxiv 2), Muslim judges often inflicted the customary punishment of flogging in the former, and the Jewish penalty of lapidation in the latter, case In like manner, laws regulating concubinage and polygamy, belonging to the customary practice of pre-Islamic Arabia and to that of the conquered peoples, were incorporated into the body of Muslim 'Fiqh,' in disregard of the Quranic text and of the Quranic purpose In fact, the Quranic text was actually interpreted in such a manner as to justify customary practice. . in accordance with the mentality of those who interpreted it, but with disastrous results for the health of the Islamic socio-political order

History is there to prove that 'vox populi' is not necessarily 'vox Dei' The acts and opinions of a majority are not, for that, necessarily correct ones the fact that the majority of Muslims have, during the course of their history, acquiesced in hereditary kingship, does not confer Quranic sanction on that institution

Nor does the fact that the majority of Muslims have, for centuries, warred among themselves for selfish purposes, gain Quranic approval for the habit

Centuries of indulgence in alcoholic drinks by Muslims of certain parts of the Muslim world, have not changed the meaning of the Quranic prohibition of intoxicants And slavery and concubinage are not Quranic institutions, for all that Muslims may have 'legalised' them in the past.

And in like manner, the Quranic text concerning polygamy is quite clear, despite the reluctance of our Muslim brothers throughout the ages to admit the fact and give up the practice

Statistics of various countries are often quoted to prove that women usually outnumber men, and that polygamy is consequently not only advisable but necessary in a well-ordered society Physiological, psychological and moral reasons are usually advanced in support of the argument

Yet statistics can be very misleading if not properly interpreted and this is especially true of such statistics as refer to human acts which, far from being of a mechanical nature, are normally the result of sentimental inclinations, as marriage most certainly is—or should be

It is a fact that in certain countries the number of adult women (above eighteen years of age) is actually slightly more than that of adult men. But this proportion is not a fixed one it varies from year to year Sometimes, and in some places, it is reversed. The birth and death rates on which it depends, in turn, depend on a variety of factors, the result of the interplay of which is by no means a foreseeable certainty Both vary from year to year And while the proportion of males to females in the overall birth-rate remains, curiously enough, more or less even, rarely registering any serious variant, that of the death-rate is less predictable The causes of death common illnesses, epidemics, natural calamities (earthquakes, storms, floods, etc), accidents, political disturbances, wars, crime, famine, childbirth, old age, etc , all concur to make it fluctuate slightly more. Still, taking the world-population as a whole, the more or less even proportion of men to women is maintained by Nature at a fair constant

When we want to apply population statistics to the question of marriage, if we want to be honest, we find that in actual fact we must take a number of other factors into consideration in order to obtain an accurate picture, corresponding to reality We cannot conclude, for instance, that since in such and such a place there are 102 women for every 100 men, two women will necessarily have no chance to marry, and, therefore, in the case of two men, polygamy should be sanctioned so as to safeguard the morality of the two surplus women. Such a pat conclusion would hardly be realistic And, before falling into it, we should carefully ascertain all the facts about these 102 women how many are married, how many divorced, how many widowed, to what age-groups do the

unmarried women, divorcees and widows belong, how many of these, who are of marriageable age, have any aim or desire to marry or remarry, how many of them are in ill health, or invalidated to the extent of excluding marriage And then we should know how many of the married women are happily married, how many are dissatisfied with their married life, and the reasons for their dissatisfaction, etc.

After this, we should ascertain similar facts concerning our 100 men, and we should furthermore know how many of the married and unmarried men are actually fit (mentally, morally and physically) to undertake the responsibilities of a married life When we have thus discovered the real proportion of men and women actually eligible for marriage, and willing to marry—and that real proportion will, in many cases, come as a shock to the protagonists of polygamy—we would still have to find out another point How many of the actually eligible women would be willing to marry from among the actually eligible men, and vice versa? And the answer would again come as a shock to many, for human beings are not to be considered in the light of cattle and their lives regulated accordingly. Even among animals and birds, the choosing of a mate is a selective process On the human plane, the question is far more complex New factors intervene which give to the relationship of marriage an ethical, a psychological, and even a metaphysical complexion To put it crudely, the purpose of marriage, in Islam, is not the mere legalisation of the process of breeding among human beings. Nor is its purpose the satisfying of lust within the bounds of legality.

The Qur'an regards marriage as the union of *two* souls who seek their completion in one another The physical relationship is the natural consequence of the psychological one, and not the other way round.

Legally, the Qur'an considers the man and the woman as two *equal* partners in the marriage relationship The Qur'an does not subordinate woman to man The myth of woman's creation from the rib of man, on which is based the idea of woman's subjection to, and dependence on, man in the Hebrew and Christian cosmogony, is totally ignored by the Qur'an. The wording of the Quranic account is particularly significant

يا ايها الناس اتقوا ربكم الذى خلقكم من نفس واحده وخلق منها زوجها -

"O human beings! Abide by (the Commands of) your Lord Who created you from a single soul (f) and created from her, her mate (m)" (iv. 1)

It should be noted that the gender of نفس is feminine, and that the term زوج used to designate each member of the pair, or mate, created from the first نفس الانسان or human soul (f), is in the masculine form. This would indeed indicate a reversal of the

Biblical roles It guides the human being to the scientific understanding of evolutive creation, the great miracle of God, the principle of which the Qur'an lays down in further verses xxi 30, xxv. 54; xxxii 7, xv. 26, xxiii 12 to 17

آدم, the first man (as distinct from the animal) is referred to in the Qur'an both as an individual (to whom God has given—as a potentiality—the knowledge of all created things), i e homo sapiens, and as a nation Thus the Adam of the Qur'an does not correspond to the Biblical concept of the first man.

The first pair, or couple, are described by the Qur'an as sharing the same rights and responsibilities In organised society, where the sharing of responsibilities is defined, the Qur'an has amended this basic equality of rights and responsibilities between man and woman with one single point in favour of the man (ii. 229), and that one in the economic field (namely, that a woman who is, for whatever reason, dependent on the earning power of a man—his wife, mother, sister, daughter, etc —for her living expenses, must perforce live within his means A man in the same situation must conform to the same rule On the other hand, a woman has every right to live from her own means or to provide for herself if she so wishes) Beyond this single factor, the Qur'an gives the Muslim wife *the same* rights over her husband as it does to the Muslim husband over his wife.

ولهن مثل الذی علیهن بالمعروف ۔

> " And they (the women) have the same rights (over the men) as (the men have) over them according to what is (made) known (i e the Law) " (ii 229)

And by this very fact the Qur'an reasserts its rejection of the institution of polygamy, contained in verses 3 and 129 of Surah iv

Further, considering the relationship of husband and wife as defined in the Qur'an, we find both husband and wife designated by the term زوج, 'the half of a pair.' Now more than two do not make a pair Three, in fact, form a trio Still less may the parties to the marriage bond be termed a pair where their number is brought to four or five And when it is objected that the Holy Prophet himself possessed, to the end of his life, more than one wife, the objection is disallowed by the Qur'an itself in the clause of verse 50, Surah xxxiii خالصة لك من دون المؤمنين [" a permission granted exclusively to thee, not to the rest of the believers"]

The Qur'an also designates the husband as the بعل (possessor, owner) of his wife (ii 228) It likewise designates the wife as the صاحبه (mistress, owner) of her husband (lxxx 36) A polygamous set-up is tantamount to requiring the wife to relinquish her possession or ownership of her husband's person which the Qur'an vouchsafes to her, and

reducing her status to that of part-owner, co-owner, or shareholder Nowhere in the Qur'an is sanction given for such a relinquishing of rights Nor is the status of the husband of a polygamous marriage on the level of that of a monogamous husband. To cite a Quranic similitude

صرب الله مثلاً رجلاً فيه سركاء متساكسون و رجلاً سلماً لرجل هل يستويان مثلاً الحمد لله بل اكثرهم لا يعلمون ـ

> "Allah coineth a similitude A man in relation to whom are several part-owners, contending, and a man belonging wholly to one person Are the two equal in similitude? Praise be to Allah But most of them know not" (xxxix 29)

The following verse of the Holy Qur'an lays still further emphasis on the clearly negative attitude of the Qur'an towards polygamy Addressed *to both men* **and women** it enjoins upon the Muslims to marry those among them *who are unmarried*

وانكحوا الايامى منكم والصالحين من عبادكم وامائكم ـ

> "And marry *those who are single* among you and the good from among your men-servants and maid-servants (or slaves)' (xxiv 32)

The term ايم (pl ايامى) means 'unmarried person' (man or woman), bachelor, it is used to refer to all unmarried persons, including divorced persons, widows and widowers

It is especially interesting to note that, with the sole exception of the Holy Prophet himself, wherever any matter concerning husband and wife is referred to in the Qur'an, if the term 'husband' is in the singular, the term 'wife' is also invariably in the singular Nor does the Quranic Law of Inheritance make any provision whatever for a plurality of wives The provision laid down in the 'Fiqh,' namely that in the case of a man leaving behind two or more wives, these should divide equally among themselves the share the Qur'an assigns to the widow, i e the fourth or, if the deceased leaves children, the eighth part of his estate, is an example—one of a number in the body of the 'Fiqh'—of the endeavour to reconcile the Quranic Legal Code with pre-Islamic and non-Islamic custom.

[To be concluded]

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Practical Dictionary of the Colloquial Arabic of the Middle East, English-Arabic ..	6	0
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An Anthology of Moorish Poetry ...	14	10
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A Literary History of Arabs	24	6
Persian-English Dictionary	63	0
A Grammar of the Arabic Language	36	9
Arabic for Beginners	22	8
Colloquial Arabic .	6	2
Practical Grammar and Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic	4	8
A Handbook of Spoken Egyptian Arabic	2	7
Pocket Dictionary, English-Arabic & Arabic-English	8	8
Modern Dictionary, English-Arabic ..	40	0
English-Arabic Dictionary	20	0
Arabic-Arabic Dictionary (Fakihatul-Bustan)	30	0
Arabic-Arabic Dictionary (Al-Bustan)	60	0
Mumtaz Practical Dictionary (Urdu-English)	7	8
Domestic Hindustani ...	3	0
Hindustani Without a Master ..	3	0
Hindustani Manual	5	0
Modern Pushtu Instructor Vol. I ...	8	8
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Anvar-i-Suhaili (The Lights of Canopus)	15	0
Diwan of Zeb-un-Nissa	2	8
Rose-Garden of Sa'di ...	1	8
Iraqi, Mystic Poet of Iran	1	12
Omar Khayam (Translation of Rubaiyat)	6	9
Thoughts of Shakespeare ...	6	4
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Readers' Forum

Islamic Civilisation Versus Western Civilisation

Jhelum
13th March, 1956

My dear Ashraf,

I am writing this to apologise for not sending in the required article on Islamic Civilisation versus Western Civilisation Not that I did not make an attempt to write it, no, I wrote it, but the result is not to my satisfaction and I have to withhold it! Frankly speaking, the subject completely put me off It sounds so peculiar to my ears. I shall now await your special number, and see if I can re-orientate myself to the subject I did not wish to write in the old-fashioned stereotyped style glorifying the achievements of the Muslims and produce long quotations from Winwood Reade's *Martyrdom of Man*, Robert Brifault's *Making of Humanity*, William Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe* and, of course, Spengler's *Decline of the West.* You see Toynbee has said a great deal in his monumental work *A Study of History* which is disputable. His *Civilisation on Trial* is an interesting study, but, I have my differences with him there too. His theory of Continuity of Civilisations has to be tackled very carefully Spengler is at some pains to deal with the Muslim arts, poetry, and mysticism But he is far away from the real issue of Islamic Civilisation whose main stress lay on the achievement and accumulation of scientific knowledge He is lost in the Magian soul and does not seem to discover the real spirit which Islam infused into what we call today the Western Civilisation This all needs deep thinking

Another thing that has to be gone into is the fact of repetition of inventions, both scientific and cultural Historians are apt to give priority to Muslims in the way of several inventions Perhaps they were correct in doing so when they discovered their achievements in the last century But today, we have passed beyond all this, and find that many of the inventions attributed to them had already been discovered, and the Muslims only improved upon them It is the same thing as certain inventions and discoveries which are attributed to Western scholars had been invented by the Muslims! This invention and discovery is a very ancient process, and one has now to study the history of

its evolution I give you an example electroplating with an electric cell was prevalent in the first century B C ! The Greeks were using Gynaecological instruments in their properly built operation theatres, of which we possess photographs today

It appears to me that civilisation is a gradually evolving process, and each nation that came merely improved upon the methods and ways of its predecessor In other words, each civilisation was the grown-up child of its predecessor There has never been any conflict between the civilisatiors They have behaved quite in a gentlemanly manner with each other The destruction that we see occurs as a result of the temporary conflict for supremacy. It soon cools down and the process continues

The civilisations never die in my opinion, it is only the nations and people that are extirminated And there again the law of rise and fall of nations comes in, which I am afraid Toynbee has not fully described Ibn Khaldun has attempted this, but not fully We see certain nations which have completely disappeared yet others have survived There is a Divine Law for this I have no time to tell you this in this short letter of mine which I send as an apology, but, having gained from your special issue, I shall try and send you my idea of how the subject you have suggested should have been presented !

With best wishes

Yours sincerely,
K A Rashid
Lieutenant Colonel

Economic System of Islam

We reproduce below a letter sent by one of our subscribers and also the article attached therewith As will be seen the learned correspondent criticises our editorial series on the economic system of Islam His argument is that the Holy Qur'an is a perfect book valid for all times, and, therefore, any suggestion that its rules and regulations require amendments is opposed to the teachings of Islam

The objection raised by the correspondent is based on a misunderstanding of the objects of the Holy Book No religious book can give us rules and regulations for all times, simply because life institutions, human relations, economic facts and even men's ideas change from time to time The law of change is, therefore the law of God When conditions of life change, human relations have to be regulated on a new basis and old rules cease to apply If they are applied, they cause injustices not because they were imperfect, but because they undertook to regulate a system of relations which ceases to exist But the objectives and principles underlying particular rules and regulations do not depend on social and economic conditions Therefore, they can be treated as universally valid and any changes made by the human legislator ought to conform to those objectives Therefore, when we advocate changes in specific rules, we at the same time insist that such changes should not violate the fundamental teachings, values and principles of the Qur'an In this way the eternal sanctity of the Holy Qur'an is preserved, and at the same time the changes in situations and conditions are taken account of The difficulty comes from the fact that people look upon the Holy Qur'an as a book of law, whereas it is essentially an exposition of the fundamental principles governing human legislation

Noakhali.
3rd Feb , 1956.

SIR—You have been publishing a series of editorials under the above caption in your journal, The Islamic Literature, but I must point out to you the great harm that *those editorials are doing against the God's* Book, the el-Kitab, el-Hakeem, el-Quran Those purport to show that God's laws as given in the Quran which was published to the world by Rasulullah Muhammad (صلعم) are alterable and should be given up if need be The editorials of The Islamic Literature should not be biased and must not stand on the theory that all editors are right and infallible. The editorials of a learned journal like yours should show that it is open to correction where that can be shown to be in error. The editorials often evince the plain attitude that el-Quran is not perfect and must be altered to suit present-day historical situation and economic condition

That erroneous attitude and action arises from not understanding the Arabic language of God's words and not translating into the other language accurately and comprehensively I would request you to publish the following in your learned journal (no copyright) which would prove beyond shadow of doubt that *God's Quran still holds the field* On page 4 of Islamic Literature of January 1956, a wrong and inaccurate translation has been given of verse 60 of Surah Tauba.

I am sure you will revise at once the theories you have built up on wrong translations of God's Arabic words Further discussion I can make on economic and taxation principles as given in the Quran

My article is appended. I am a subscriber to your journal Khoda Hafiz.

Your faithfully,
A Majid

A. Majid's Article

God's El-Quran

That the Book of God followed by Muslims of the world is still of use in this modern industrialised machine age is not appreciated by Muslims and Muslim legislators and rulers That's why Muslims are lagging behind and under-developed, and are almost wholly under political and economic control of Western Christian peoples and of Jewish Communism of Russia, the religion of Iblis-shaitan and of Mazdak and Karl Marx. I shall fully translate a verse which has been much discussed and very much mistranslated and therefore adversely criticised by Muslims and others

In a country controlled by 'El-Muminoon,' the Muslim people, are not divided into (1) the Rulers, i e the Government, and (2) the Ruled, i e the public That must be remembered in order to

[understand fiscal and taxation and economic policy laid down by God and His Rasul Muhammad (صلعم).

Industrialisation of the Country

God has plainly indicated utilisation of Community resources and of learned scientific and technological men for the setting up of industries and thus creating employment and so good living standard for all Much misunderstanding has been caused by taking the word 'el-Zakat' the same as 'el-Sadaqat' The former word is singular in number and the latter plural El-Zakat simply means tax, tithe, cess, duty and is collected by all peoples and all governments in the world today Thus giving el-Zakat is no peculiarity of Muslim peoples Christians and Jews and others are paying it, perhaps in greater amount and quantity

'El-Sadaqat' means goods and exchangeable coins (not paper currency) which has been pooled by compulsory taxes and duties and voluntary gifts, endowments, given openly or secretly or anonymously The verse 60 of Surah Tauba of the Holy Quran in Arabic is انما الصدقت للفقرآء و المسكين و العاملين عليها و المؤلفة قلوبهم و في الرقاب و الغارمين و في سبيل الله و ابن السبيل - فريضة من الله - الله عليم حكيم [Translation " The goods and things of 'Sadaqa' are only for el-Fuqara and 'el-Masakin 'and the skilled workers on them and for unification of their hearts and for the sake of 'el-rikab' and 'el-Gharimun' and for the sake of God's law and of the son or the build of the road, a distribution or allocation from God. And God is a Scientist and a Technologist "].

The Arabic words are to be translated in detail الفقرآء ['el-Fuqara '] plural, singular is الفقير 'Faquir' It is derived from verb فقر - فقر [Faqara, Faqura,] which means (1) to incise, (2) to perforate, to drill, (3) to dig, to mine, to cultivate, (4) to break the spine, bones

So the word 'Faquir' means—inciser, ophthalmic and orthopaedic surgeon, tailor, cobbler, cultivator, tree planter, miner, digger, potter, digger of canals, ditches, troughs, and again مفقر as اسم مفعول means the dug out, canal, irrigation channel, water trough, basin, tank, the injured of bone, the wounded (for whom medical and surgical treatment is necessary)

In all parts of the world it is found that these classes of people, the cultivator, the digger of earth, the miner, the cobbler, the tree planter, the tailor, the potter are the poorest and the most neglected, and much less attention is paid to them , and so according to God they need the topmost priority help from the community and the government or the rulers, and also it is God's intention that the unemployed people be engaged on those types of works, cultivation, digging, mining of all kinds of ores—leading on to the industrialisation of the country, and cutting of irrigating canals and drilling for water, oil and gas, steam and molten metals (extraction of naturally occurring metals, i.e. mercury,

silver, etc). المساكين [el-Masakin] is plural and is governed by preposition ل [li] so that real plural is of two types (1) المساكون (2) المساكين. The singular word is of several kinds—from (1) it is مساك [masak] that which holds back or stops anything flowing, e g dam in a river, weir or barrage in a river, e g. Sukkur Barrage, Damodar river weir or dam, it also means waterworks reservoir from which water flows out when desired. Thus hydro-electric power can be developed from dams or barrages, and that power can create industry and employment

The word مساك is derived from verb مسك to hold up or back, to stop up, to grasp, catch, grip (1) Singular is also المسكان meaning forceps, gripper, etc. (2) And again the singular is المسكان [miskan] from verb سكن [sakana] to cut, to give ease. مسكان is instrument of cutting, or instrument to give ease and comfort And (3) the singular is المسكن [Musken] meaning (*a*) that which provides lodging or place of stopping, or who gives lodging to another, e g the Hotel, the Saraikhana, Musafir-Khana, and the person who lodges a guest, and (*b*) that instrument which stops, e g. brakes, rudder, that which keeps anything still, e g gyroscope.

And (4) the singular is مسكون and (5) the singular is المسكين meaning (*a*) an instrument which stops frequently, and secondarily applied to (*b*) unemployed person, one who has to stop or keep still, having no work, i e popularly known as poor man in our country. مسكان ، مسكين meaning instrument which cuts and stops or keeps still—that may be a paddle of a steamer, a propellor of a steamer, of aeroplane or of other vehicle, because it cuts through and also stops fluid, liquid or air, that also may mean a water or gas turbine which when used in a dam will provide electric power by rotating an electric generator and wind (air or gas) turbine also And thus المساكون and المساكين mean so many different kinds of machines and instruments and machine parts and sundries, a huge number of which have been invented and manufactured in Europe, America and Russia and Germany and other countries Now العاملين عليها [Amilina alaiha] has not been properly translated. ها [Hah] pronoun refers to الفقرآء - الصدقات - المساكين, and not merely to the word الصدقات [es-Sadaqat] as is usually understood. 'Amiloon' is a plural word and means manufacturers, skilled workers, mechanics and managers

Then في الرقاب [Firriqab] current translations of which are all far-fetched. The word الرقاب can be a noun of action, infinitive noun, it means to observe or watch from a distance with or without instrument, observation from above, also by going up into sky in any machine, e g. aeroplane, or on towers, astronomical observation, to telescope distant objects, aerial photography of earth's surface, aerial survey with even electromagnetic methods to get knowledge of invisible

underground minerals, oil, gas, etc., e g with Geiger-Muller counter one can locate uranium ores in America, Australia, Russia. مرقب [Marqab] means observatory, watch tower. الغارمون [gharimoon] from غرم [gharama] meaning (1) to lose in trade, to be overburdened (trader) Trader who has lost in trade, or any one who is overburdened (2) To be enterprising, to be in love with something useful or profitable, e g knowledge, technique, manufacturing skill, invention, etc, Enterpriser! 'Fisabilila' means in the defence of God's law or God's way, for defence and military purposes.

"Fi ibnis-sabil' means for the benefit of the son or the build of the road—that can be done in three ways:

1st. Roads and bridges are to be built, also ports, harbours, stations, ghats

2nd Locomotor vehicles and ships, e.g. motor cars, railway cars, ships, aeroplanes, etc

3rd All amenities and stopping and feeding places on the roads, rivers and oceans and aeroplanes

These are the community efforts and activities of Muslims; and many more are yet to be invented and manufactured.

HISTORY

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Editorial . . .

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION VS WESTERN CIVILISATION

I

TO understand the Western civilisation in its fulness, one must go back to the history of philosophic ideas The medieval world was too much obsessed with the sense of a bare undifferentiated unity behind observable phenomena, a unity which is called God In the search for the ultimate causes, everything was ascribed to the divine will, while the phenomena themselves escaped notice, the importance of the proximate and the immediate being overlooked. It was only when the search for proximate causes began after the Ranaissance that mankind began to master the forces of nature and gained the means of controlling events This could not happen before Aristotle and Plato had been dislodged from their pre-eminence. Now, the search for the efficient causes of things necessarily implied a restriction of the field of observation Science could progress only if specialised attention were given to particular fields and the whole, for the moment, was disregarded Before synthesis could be possible, much analytic work in special fields had to be undertaken Hence arose

what is called Atomic sensationalism, the attention to particular bits of truth as embodied and illustrated in particular sense experiences Descartes began the process with the separation of the soul and body But he retained the notion of a unity called the substance although there was no longer one substance, but two—a material substance and a soul substance Leibniz's doctrine of the plurality of monads, each reflecting the whole universe from its own peculiar and individual viewpoint, was also basically a revolt against the medieval monistic conception of God. The Neo-Platonic concept of a unity that could admit of no diversity and reduced to a shadowy appearance, everything, human and material, had too long dominated the world. The time was coming when man was to assert his reality Leibniz did in philosophy what the West, as a whole, has done in the social, political and industrial spheres But much else was to follow Hume took the further step of denying the 'substance' itself and so dethroning Aristotle Experience was reduced to a flux of sensations without an over-arching unity *Knowledge consisted of isolated perceptions, but there was no* knowing self to connect and synthesise this knowledge.

Such was the picture of reality established by sensational Atomism The Western mind was fast under the spell of the discrete, the concrete and the measurable

A necessary result of this philosophy was to exalt the calculable and condemn to unreality the imponderable elements of nature Locke had already shown that sounds, colours, etc , the secondary qualities, were not in nature That is, things qualitative, and beyond the reach of the measuring instruments of science, had to take a back place, if they were not altogether denied This was the natural evolution of Atomism For the total and the one, as such, could hardly come within the *calculations of the mathematicians. But discrete bits of reality, the many, could be* counted and measured Therefore, all that was quantitative and measurable was held up as the real, while that which escaped the laws of mechanics and methematical probability was reduced to a secondary position, if not to nonentity The Western civilisation, thus, rests on the discrete, the measurable, the quantitative, the concrete and the plural

II

All the characteristic phenomena of the modern Western civilisation, its Nationalism, Secularism, its cold Realism, its Democracy and mechanical efficiency spring from its view of reality as made up of discrete elements One may or may not agree with this view of reality, but undoubtedly it was a great advance over the bare undifferentiated unity posited by Neo-Platonism which had held the medieval world under its long spell

For bare unity gives you nothing except an object of static contemplation, while the richness of the world arises from its concrete differences

The West developed Nationalism as against the Universalism of the Roman Church because nations were discrete bits of humanity which allowed for the differences of human culture, language and social patterns, while the medieval world, with its universal empires, was as colourless as the unity posited by Plotinus The universal empires swallowed up all genuine differences in socio-cultural patterns The West was secular, because it made a distinction between strictly religious matters and worldly affairs If did not have a view of religion which would accommodate all human concerns within the framework of religion. Man had lost himself too long in the mystic, contemplative and one-sided spiritualism built up by Plotinus on the foundations of Platonic philosophy Now came the reaction, but one which was rather extreme by the necessity of the case Too much religion breeds too much worldliness This is what happened in the West Religion had become the passive enjoyment of Nature and the helpless endurance of brute necessity Henceforward man was going to take control of natural forces and use them for his own advantage Secularism meant not so much the repudiation of religion as the repudiation of that irreligious attitude which finds in the processes of Nature nothing but the working of a blind destiny The method of secular control resulted in the development of man's rational faculty to an extent unknown in the previous ages, when, under Aristotle's influence, men looked to the ends of things and events, their completed forms, rather than to their beginnings and first causes

The West has been charged with commercialism, because its expansion took place under the spur of industrialisation. But this is a rather superficial view of the matter It would be truer to say that the West is coldly realistic Because the medieval world was much too idealistic and monistic, the modern man has swung to the opposite extreme Born in reaction against blind faith and supernatural authority, the West suffers from too much scepticism and spiritual cynicism. It would believe nothing that defies measurement and calculation Even in spiritual matters, it is prone to go by the measuring rod and the law of statistical averages With sociologists, like Max Weber, it is inclined to explain Prophethood as charisma and place Moses and Hitler side by side, forgetting the unforgettable differences between simple charismatic heroes and the genuinely spiritual leaders of mankind Because it is exclusively concerned with the impermanent and the changing, the measurable and the calculable, its greatest triumphs have been in mathematical Physics which, according to Prof Northrope, lies at the basis of the Western outlook, not in religion or aesthetics Even towards its best friends, the response of the West is always calculated But this attitude has its advantages It is a safeguard against the hasty emotionalism and over-pitched idealism

of the Easterner It has further exposed the unreality of much that masqueraded as lofty religious idealism and chivalry and what not

The mechanical efficiency of the West also can be traced to its dealings with reality as closed, unconnected and disparate fields of activity All success comes from limitation So long as the whole of knowledge was regarded as a single field, nothing much could be accomplished due to the uncontrollable vastness of the field But when fields of knowledge were separated and isolated, each could be studied with minute care and fruitfully experimented with Tremendous results were obtained in this way, in mechanics, physics, chemistry and biology The narrowness of each field and its self-enclosed nature made possible the mechanical triumphs of the great industrial age Specialisation inevitably leads to a narrowing of the vision, but at the same time it makes for the practical mastery of the subject and the discovery of detailed facts of supreme practical significance To this day, in the Western universities, scholars spend years and years of research on their doctorate theses, and consider it a great personal triumph if they are able to discover that a comma placed in one of the current versions of Avicenna's work must be changed to a semicolon, in order to be a faithful transcription of the original

III

Atomic Sensationalism, father of Nationalism, Secularism, and Democracy, was productive of much good and evil No civilisation has ever been an unmixed blessing In life one has to accept some evil for the attainment of a good that is ardently desired All true greatness involves essential deprivations No joy there is that does not exclude other joys. For any event to come to pass, as Whitehead says, innumerable possibilities have to be rejected Such are also the mixed blessings of the Western civilisation Let us note its triumphs in order to be able to assess its perils

Nationalism in its earlier stages released the creative urges of man to an extent undreamt of by previous civilisations By narrowing the geographical field of activity, it intensified the constructive loyalties of men and accomplished in the socio-political realms what had been achieved by the release of knowledge from the fetters of dogmatic narrow-minded theologians who could not face plain facts Just as intensified research in special fields of knowledge was possible only when knowledge as a whole was broken into bits, so intensive creativity in human beings could be realised only when their loyalties were centred about a smaller geographical territory In the previous age, the area of the state was so immense as almost to make it invisible and intangible to the common citizen The universal states of the Middle Ages were like the universal ideas of Plato, dim, far-off and unable to harness the creative loyalties of men But now the national state was here, a visible embodiment of the aspirations of a sizeable group. Here was something for which the citizen could live and die and

to whose interests he could devote himself with a religious fervour In the universal states of the Muslims and the Christians, power was generally monopolised by one or two socio cultural groups leaving others in an inferior position The rest of the excluded socio-cultural groups could not identify themselves with the state Whether one studies the history of the Austro-Hungarian Empire or that of the Muslim Turkish Empire, one notices the same phenomenon, namely, a lack of identification with the purposes of the state on the part of the large majority of the socio-cultural groups The Nation-State solved this problem by creating a state in which only one culture, one language and one race predominated The problem of national minorities was not solved, because it was impossible to give all minorities, however small and widely dispersed, a separate state of their own Nevertheless, its complexity and immensity was reduced to manageable proportions The individual now felt himself at one with his state and worked towards its glory and efficiency with the zeal of religious intensity Immense constructive work was accomplished by the new states After a time, however, the disadvantages of nationalism began to outweigh its advantages When the period of internal consolidation was over, the bigger national states fell out among themselves in the division of the backward and unexplored world Fratricidal strife began to destroy what the creativity of the individuals had achieved Class divisions began to cut across national loyalties, because capitalist expansion had gone too far and too rapidly at the expense of the common man The loyalty of the poorer nationals was severely strained, because the ideal of the welfare state was not practised owing to the reluctance, cupidity and influence of the capitalist class

Similarly, the Secularism of the West was not without its advantages It did for the West what Islam had already done for the Middle East, that is, it took away the control of men and things from an organised priesthood and freed knowledge from the over-all control of theology But in both cases the process was incomplete The West still retains an organised priesthood divested of political power but having considerable influence over educational institutions and even over some of the universities That is what prevents the Western mind from being impartial and objective in matters of religion It is prone either to disparage religion totally, which is not an objective attitude, or study and evaluate other religions in terms of its own In Islam, the process was incomplete because the 'Ulema were in the vanguard of educational activity at a time when there was no other agency of education at hand Hence they controlled both education and the sciences This was inevitable at a time when mass education could not be undertaken, and the scientific knowledge of man was limited So Islam's failure in this respect sprang from historical necessity, not from its unwillingness to destroy priesthood

However, the West achieved two distinct advantages by virtue of adopting the secular outlook In the first place, freed from the tentacles of outworn dogmas, science

and philosophy pursued their untramelled and unimpeded course and were able to enrich mankind with the hitherto unrevealed treasures of knowledge Secondly, the state was freed from the incubus of dogmas which appealed to authority rather than the rational faculty of man As a result of this, religion itself was cleansed of its accretions The Christianity of the modern West is a much more purified religion than the one which drove Machiavelli to condemn Rome with the characteristic remark "The nearer Rome, the worse Christian." Again Christian theology was forced to revise its presuppositions in the light of new knowledge, a process which Islamic theology is still undergoing with exasperating slowness

There is no doubt, however, that the West went too far in the direction of secularism and is now suffering from its inevitable consequences. By making religion a purely private affair in man's life, it left international morality at the mercy of Machiavellian expediency and freed the individual from all socio-moral control, except that of the state and its externally imposed laws which may or may not command the spontaneous loyalty of the individual Nothing is so strictly private in life as not to have social repercussions Least of all can this be said about religion, which is and has always been of significant social phenomenon The more acute minds of the West have noted the dangers of the situation For example, Whitehead writes, "The doctrine of minds, as independent substances, leads directly not merely to private worlds of experience, but also to private worlds of morals The moral intuitions can be held to apply only to the strictly private world of psychological experience Accordingly, self respect and making the most of your own individual opportunities, together, constituted the efficient morality of the leaders among the industrialists of that period The Western world is now suffering from the limited moral outlook of three previous generations" (*Science and the Modern World*, The New American Library, page 195)

IV

The great thing about the West is its democracy Not all the cavils and carping criticisms of totalitarian-minded people can detract from the greatness of Western democracy No system of government can be perfect Democracy is still in its infancy, an experiment some two hundred years old Naturally, it is not free from imperfections But it is a system which can get rid of its imperfections because it brings into being a self-perfecting and self-improving machinery It is only when the West overthrew monarchical autocracy and feudal aristocracy that the creative ability of the common man and the intelligentsia came into play The individuals in a state can hardly serve it with creative joy or identify themselves with its interests, if they find themselves treated like dumb-driven cattle, if their aspirations, views and opinions are flouted by those in power, and if they feel that all avenues of progress, advancement and social prestige are reserved for the few that hold supreme political and economic power and their friends and

relations It is only where power is diffused and broadbased, where the individual feels that he has a say in the affairs of his country, where political leadership, arising from below, keeps itself in continuous living touch with the common man, that corruption, inefficiency, favouritism nepotism, high-handedness, disrespect for the common people and all other evils of bureaucracy and officialdom can be effectively stamped out Democracy can have as many forms as there are nations in the world It is a system of government suited to the genius of all peoples, races and cultures, because it embodies the universal principles of impersonal reason and impartial justice The idea that a nation is unfit for democracy has no foundation in facts It is at bottom the same old argument of the imperialists that backward and uneducated people are unfit for self-government The answer, in the one case as in the other, is that unless men are allowed to go into the water, they cannot learn to swim Give the common man an opportunity to select his leaders, exercise his judgment in public affairs, shoulder burdens of responsibility and he will be quite a different creature from what he will be, if he is treated as a mere subject born to obey laws imposed from above in the shaping of which his own voice does not count Democracy is thus an education by itself When vital state affairs are brought forward in the arena of public discussion, when the merits and demerits of public programmes and political parties are submitted to the judgment of the common man, when important moral and religious issues are raised and the free unfettered light of public reason is allowed to play upon them, men's intellectual energies are quickened, their moral and national spirit is put to test, their capacity for objective approach to problems and impartiality in assessing the worth of men and programmes is called into life and activity This is a process of schooling and education worth a hundred universities and a thousand colleges

Democracy has never been, except in the days of the Athenian ascendancy, the rule of the ignorant multitude It is always the rule of the most intelligent and the least dull-headed But what differentiates it from aristocracy, autocracy and dictatorship is that it enables even the dull heads to learn by their mistakes and profit from the lessons of past experience and thus gain wisdom It is also a source of courage and inspiration to all men who have a latent capacity for leadership because it is only under a democratic system that new leaders can arise and take the place of those whose creative energy has been exhausted Under a dictatorship or an oligarchy of feudal and industrial interests, power always resides in the same minority Persons may change, but the group, as a whole, perpetuates its power and when its energies are atrophied, the nation looks in vain for more virile and vigorous rulers, because no alternative leadership has been built or trained itself for the exercise of power In other words, democracy is a method by which the nation is kept continually supplied with fresh and creative leadership

It would be futile to deny that democracy has its own dangers and imperfections Its peril arises from the power of the moneyed class and the inherent tendency of the

leaders to pander to the low instincts of the multitude The task of democratic leadership is to guide the people, not to bow to their wishes If the democratic leaders of a country are anxious to retain or obtain power at all costs, they begin to follow rather than lead the masses The prejudices, national and religious, of the common people are exploited by the politicians with a view to obtain their votes. The industrial and commercial interests are appeased at the cost of vital moral principles The remedy for these ills lies in the widest diffusion of the wealth Democracy can function only when it is accompanied by a proper and equitable distribution of wealth In a society in which land and industry are monopolised by a small section of the people, democracy is apt to be transformed into a plutocracy But the absence of an equitable economic system in which wealth is so widely diffused as to lead to the economic independence of a large number of people, cannot be made an argument to destroy or overthrow democracy It means only that certain economic preconditions are necessary for the proper functioning of democracy But the important thing to note is that these conditions can be created only by democratic processes and methods No totalitarian and autocratic system can create the substance of economic equity

As for the evil of pandering to the lower instincts of the masses and their national, religious and sectarian prejudices, the solution lies in harnessing to the democratic process the forces of an enlightened religion, and moderating the exaggerated nationalism and secularism of the modern times Most of the failures of the Western democracies spring from these two sources The secular spirit has released forces of greed and cupidity which the Western democracy has been unable to bring under control Nationalism has so narrowed men's outlook and their universal human nature that they cannot think of other people except as their rivals, if not enemies or as instruments for furthering the policy of their own nation The capitalists, unrestrained by moral or religious scruples, have mercilessly exploited the backward people of the world. In this way, they have produced stresses and strains which threaten to engulf them Radical Secularism, again, destroyed the God-consciousness of man Had it limited itself to the refutation of the theological hotch potch built up by the medieval age, its service to mankind would have been pure and unalloyed with injury But it went on to empty the life of the spirit, the life that a man lives all alone with his Maker and which sends him back to society cleansed and transformed In other words, it destroyed the *Universal Man* in man The separation of the Church and the State in the West has brought no real independence and freedom to religion which is unable to guide or control the secular arm and the reason is that the Church too depends for its maintenance on the individuals whose ultimate loyalty in Western countries is to the State and the nation, not to the Christian community as resting on the ideals of Christianity This is a feature in which Islam differs sharply from the West Among the Muslims, the ultimate loyalty is to certain ideals of life

Islam does not disapprove of patriotism, if it means the defence of legitimate interests of one's nation But national interests should not become the supreme and exclusive object of devotion The abiding values of humanity and the great moral principles of mankind should be defended even against the interests of one's nation The Holy Qur'an says " There should be a group among you whose task would be to call to virtue, to command that which is morally righteous and forbid that which is disapproved (by the moral instincts of mankind) " (iii 105) Unfortunately, the Muslims have taken this verse in a very narrow sense as meaning the preaching of ordinary virtues and forbidding what is considered unlawful by the theologians But the plain import of the verse is that a religious man should not allow the domestic and foreign policy of his nation to deviate from the path of rectitude The verse covers all matters, economic, social and educational Thus the great ideals and principles of humanity should be the real objects of loyalty, not persons, groups or nations For nothing is clearer than that the life of the state and the life of religion do not always harmonise The life of the one consists in the defence of certain material interests, but the life of the other is the life of truth, of harmonised human relations, of proportioned justice to all mankind It is the life of the *Universal Man* who cares more for the abiding spiritual values of humanity than for the defence of ephemeral interests When the life of such religion (not the religion of doctrinal dogmas) is infused into the life of the state, it becomes the embodiment of true spirituality When not so infused by the religious spirit, it degenerates into an instrument of oppression and the defence of the established interests This is the Islamic concept of the state which should not be confused with the idea that the state is bound to defend or preach any theological doctrines to the exclusion of others.

In conclusion, it must be noted that Western democracy rests, in the ultimate analysis, on the same Atomic sensationalism that lies at the back of secularism and nationalism There can be no democracy with an absolutistic outlook, whether religious or secular For democracy recognises the individuality and distinctness of persons, whereas absolutism, both religious and secular, merges the human person in a pantheistic God or an Absolute Idea, so that the individual becomes an unreal shadow by the side of the Absolute Hence Muslim Sufism has always been an indirect support of kings, dictators and autocrats and for the same reason Hegelian idealism in Germany and Dialectical Materialism in Russia led to the formation of absolute totalitarian states All three are the children of Plotinus and Plato whom Iqbal condemned as an other-worldly recluse

V

What of the future of the West and its relations with Islam? The great peril of the Western civilisation comes, as I have said above, from its exaggerated nationalism

and secularism, both of which, however, contain an element of truth And yet the Western civilisation stands at a peculiar advantage compared to other civilisations, for it has developed a rational outlook which regards nothing as finally settled and determined No truth is eternal in its eyes, for man keeps transcending himself again and again This encourages the hope that the West will take stock of its spiritual situation and transcend its exaggerated secularism and nationalism.

However, the danger of false pride remains When civilisations become proud of *their achievements, they refuse to revise their presuppositions and sink down into* a settled assurance that their basic postulates are beyond challenge A false sense of superiority makes them complacent This is what happened to the Islamic civilisation The superiority cult of the Muslims and their refusal to re-examine their basic presuppositions landed them into disaster There is nothing more destructive than pride, nothing more pleasing to God than humility. He raises up the humble and brings down the arrogant Is the West going to repeat the story of the Muslim civilisation and rest in its undoubted superiority, which may not be final? That is the question of all questions. Will it recognise that spiritual bonds and community of intellectual outlook are more important than passing expediency and temporary political alliances founded merely on worldly interest? Will it acknowledge the common bonds which, despite differences, unite the Muslim and the Christian worlds in more than one way? And will it accept the obvious truth that Islam has a right to go its own way and create its regeneration out of its own soul rather than follow the West in all its windings?

Is the West, again, prepared to re-examine its rigorous deterministic and sociological outlook which is doing great harm to its own spiritual vitality? For determinism leads to the view that all societies, at the same stage of development, follow the same socio-cultural patterns, whatever the initial impulsion of their history and the nature of their ideals Sociological determinism denies the reality and power of the ideal forces in society and looks only to the mechanics of social change But the two are always interlocked in mutual interaction and the resultant is neither the purely ideal nor the purely mechanical but a modification of the one by the other This determinism springs from the same atomistic view of Reality to which reference has been made earlier and represents *an excessive and extreme reaction against medieval idealism and monism* Is the West going to succumb to this modern fatalism, as the Muslims succumbed to theological fatalism?

As far as the impact of the West on the Muslims is concerned, the West has strangely failed to effect any significant reform in Muslim society, beyond the negative one of weakening the hold of medievalism on the educated minority. It has given us neither

its democratic outlook, nor the legal and economic equality enjoyed by the ordinary people in the West. Educationally, it has produced a mercenary opportunistic outlook in the younger generation that is indifferent to all collective causes and ideals and unable to assess their comparative worth The modern educated man in Muslim society has lost the spirit of social service and the zeal for common uplift. Intellectually, the Western system of education has given us good administrators, technicians, legal and economic experts, but neither creative thought nor political vision The liberal, rational outlook of the Western man with his objective approach to problems is not much in evidence among the Muslim educated classes Those in our midst who are most zealous in their Westernism have only borrowed the outer trappings and the external glamour of the Western life which has cut them off from the common people Inside their hearts, they remain pure orientals with the same undemocratic outlook Some of them are steeped in the worst and most irrational superstitions A complicated disease or a serious threat to their material interests sends them flying, like any other superstitious man, to spiritual jugglers and tombs of wonder-working saints They have missed all that is really great and good in the West, its scientific outlook, its respect for human dignity, its objectivity in social problems, its liberalism and freedom from sectarianism Some of our Westernists are as fanatical when their sectarian dogmas are questioned, as the most ignorant commoner They are ready to deny God and the Prophet and the teachings of Islam, but this makes little difference to their sectarian outlook Here is good material for the psychologist Their Westernism consists only in their negative, nihilistic attitude towards Islam and antipathy to their own language, culture, and traditions They have totally misrepresented the West and brought great discredit on it

The great weakness of our cheap and spurious Westernism is that it is undemocratic in character and outlook, because it is led by people who have no roots in their own culture and are out of touch with the common man, in whose eyes Westernism means only luxurious and costly living at his own expense The danger is that this false Westernism may produce a violent reaction involving the West itself and all that is really valuable in its culture.

Why has the liberalism, the rationalism and the non-sectarianism of the West failed to impress itself on the Muslim mind during these two hundred years of Western influence? Is it the fault of the West? Is it the inherent incapacity of the Muslim mind? I believe that it is neither The fact is that we have passively appropriated what the West consciously aimed and struggled for The ideals for which men struggle and suffer enter into their mental framework But when others, who never moved a finger for those same ideals, begin to appropriate their fruits, it is only the outer garb and the superficial accessories that can reach them They can nither enter into the real spirit of the

institutions, nor catch the moral and spiritual outlook that permeates the builders. So the West has touched us only in its superficialities and externalities In this situation the thinking minds of the Muslims are bound to go back to their own age of idealism, while yet the spirit of truth was alive among the Muslims And when the Muslims retrace their history, what do they find ? All that is the most liberal, rational, non-sectarian, truthful and just belongs to the days of the Holy Prophet and his immediate successors. All that is narrow, fanatical, autocratic, superstitious and dogmatic belongs to the medieval period of Islam What Muslim can forget the glorious, liberal and democratic tradition of early Islam, and the period that followed, despite its material achievements, was one of increasing moral degeneration, sectarian illiberalism, autocratic governments, theological dogmas, and hair-splitting worship of the letter

Little wonder that the Muslims look for inspiration to the earliest period of their history And why should the West view with suspicion this attempt of theirs to throw off their medievalism by re-absorbing the spirit of early Islam, and condemn it as fanaticism, revivalism, orthodoxy and dogmatism ? Where are the Muslims to look for inspiration, if not to the earliest period of Islam ? Can the noble martyrdom of Bruno, the high idealism of the French revolutionaries, the truthfulness of a Spinoza or a Kant have the same invigorating effect on their moral and intellectual life ? The tragedy of the situation is that the Western civilisation began to influence the Muslims not when it was at its best. Only when the West was past its moral and intellectual prime that its rays penetrated the Muslim lands Therefore, such Westernism as exists in the Muslim countries can offer no basis for their mental and moral reformation

Let us hope that the West will revise its attitude towards Islam and the Muslims and its methods of approach, specially in the field of Islamic studies, and shed its prejudices, as the Muslims should shed their own The world has come to a stage of development when no culture can claim absolute superiority over others When the Muslim culture was superior, it conquered the larger part of world When the Western civilisation was superior, it controlled the greater portion of civilised word Both had a mission to perform which they have mostly fulfilled Now there can be no repetition of religious or secular expansionism It is an idle hope that the course of evolution in the Islamic world will follow the pattern of the West in every respect The sooner our Westernists disabuse their minds of this notion, the better for them and for others. Similarly, it is a vain hope that a regenerated Islam will repeat its past glories in almost every respect This is a delusion from which our religious classes suffer But the past never repeats itself There may be broad recurrences in history, but they are recurrences with basic differences, because identical situations never repeat themselves Neither the seventh century of Islam with its religious expansion, nor the nineteenth century of Europe with its unrestrained God-denying capitalism can return to the earth again,

for the lesson of the Soviet experiment cannot be lost on the world and specially on a country like ours The future will always be different from the past, both from the Islamic past and the Western past Therefore, the cultures of the West and Islam can mutually co-exist and cooperate to the good of the entire world Neither can impose itself on the other Let the two march together in unison and understanding for the betterment of mankind But before this can happen, old and deep rooted prejudices will have to be overcome, and a real spirit of broadmindedness and liberalism created on both sides Much depends on the Western powers who are as yet superior in knowledge, technique and material resources The kind of forces that they help and encourage will determine the attitude of Muslims towards the West and their spirit or lack of spirit of cooperation

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THE FLEXIBILITY OF APPLICATION OF ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES AS A CHARACTERISTIC OF THE ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

M Raihan Sharif

In this article Mr Raihan Sharif claims that Islamic civilisation has preserved its continuity because its principles were flexible and lacked rigidity He quotes a tradition from the Holy Prophet, wherein it is stated that the Prophet displayed his displeasure of those who asked him questions concerning what is lawful and what is unlawful, because the Prophet did not want that the Muslims should commit themselves to rigid rules of conduct About the Western civilisation, Mr Raihan Sharif is of opinion that it courted decadence by cutting itself completely off from its spiritual moorings The technological devices developed by this civilisation were not accompanied by a corresponding spiritual enlightenment While we have no opinion to hazard about his estimate of the Western civilisation we are not fully sure whether the Muslims in general really believe in the flexibility of Islamic principles To the vast majority of the Muslims even among the intellectuals, Islam is 'irreconcilable' its principles and rules of life, being God given are incapable of any modification It is this attitude which is dangerous The Jewish mentality has permeated the Muslim mind too deeply and, if it continues the Islamic civilisation my be diverted from its spiritual moorings just as the Western civilisation was, for, as Mr Raihan Sharif says some degree of flexibility is essential for the preservation of cultural and religious values

IN a narrow sense, civilisation refers to technical and material progress achieved by a nation through a period of history, while culture refers to the mental, moral and personal accomplishments and refinements accumulated by a nation through generations [1]

Meaning and Nature of Civilisation

In old times, the distinction was particularly emphasised in order to demarcate one nation's progress from another contemporary nation Ancient Greeks and Romans, by virtue of this distinction, regarded themselves truly

1 Vide *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol 3, p 528 Cf "The word culture is at times used synonymously with civilisation, but it is better to use the two terms distinctively, reserving civilisation for a special aspect of more advanced cultures Culture comprises inherited artifacts, goods technical processes, ideas, habits and values Social organisation cannot be understood except as a part of culture, and all special lines of inquiry referring to human activities human groupings and human ideas and beliefs can meet and become cross fertilized in the comparative study of cultures '—*Enclyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol 4, p 622

civilised by combining civilisation (of narrow connotation) with culture Other neighbouring nations of the contemporary period were in their view barbarians since they lacked culture. Modern inclinations are not, however, in favour of treating other nations as barbarians simply because they lack a culture of a particular brand Even different culture types and shades are considered by sociologists and anthropologists as possible and sometimes essential under the scope of one civilisation The distinction is, however, yet to be maintained in the interest of clear thinking, for, civilisation is directly related to political factors while culture is only remotely related as the final result of all forces including political The known history of the world and mankind has witnessed the rise and fall of many civilisations Modern historical philosophers from Montesquieu to Guglielmo Ferrero have tried to explain the 'grandeur et decadence' of the Roman Empire by establishing a causal relationship between political changes in civilisation The great civilisations of Central and South America have decayed and disappeared unmistakably None need be dogmatic on the persistence of the historic European civilisation, too, which is weakening fast through departures from fundamental classical and medieval traditions of Europe, particularly in revolutionary Russia and peaceful America Continuity of Chinese civilisation could have been indicated as a characteristic mark of its permanence until recently when it embraced a radical political and economic change transforming into a new pattern under Chinese Communism As a sharp contrast to these phenomena, Islamic civilisation has not suffered from serious setbacks, although political swings and intellectual stagnation had brought in an era of static continuity for the last five centuries The present era has again opened up new prospects for a dynamic role of Islam as has been demonstrated by the Islamic civilisation in its glorious past It is needless to point out that the Islamic civilisation has had its unique achievements and that uniqueness has been the result of a unique social and economic system sustained by the characteristic Islamic principles It is on the interpretation and application of these fundamental Islamic principles that the fate of the Islamic civilisation has relied in the past and will rely in future That the Islamic civilisation has survived all odds of dismal history and lays a claim on its immortality is, at bottom, due to the distinctive flexibility in the application of those fundamental principles This aspect of the Islamic principles and their application has to be emphasised at the present stage of revival of Islamic thought For, there exists some degree of fumbling, even amongst Muslims, about the applicability of Islamic principles in the modern environment when this environment is largely influenced by what is known as Western civilisation The fumbling is, however, natural after a long spell of slumber and stagnation

A civilisation must, of necessity, pass through phases of change and a process of assimilation and diversification, and its strength or weakness depends on its ability or

inability to adjust with this changing environment without surrendering its fundamental characteristics and principles. From old times, a theory of social determinism seems to have been influencing social and political thinkers. The doctrine holds a view like this: the past determines the present and the present is the amplified version of the past. This view stresses the importance of historical cultural environment and often regarded as the doctrine of culture continuity. This was implicit in many Roman and Greek writers and has been first expounded explicitly by the French writers like Bodin, Fontenelle, Turgot and Condorcet. This was one side of the medal that underlined the influence of environment on the mental life of man without giving the subtle but important side of it that mental and moral life of man also influences the environment. It is the former unsubtle side that gave a handle to the historical materialists for developing their one-sided philosophy so patently embodied in the writings of Karl Marx. Any civilisation that can take note of both the sides of the medal in an integrated fashion is likely to assimilate all new forces through time and will embody a new type of culture continuity.

Influence of technology and knowledge

The reasons are obvious. Man works in and on his environment. But the tools with which he works and shapes his civilisation are not just the products of physical environment. The environment only furnishes the building materials while man makes all the planning required for constructing and also really constructs the houses, which is true of any creative activity in society. With different ideas and different techniques, man builds contrasting types of houses, although in comparable environments. In the same way, the highest achievements of civilisation, as is evident from history, have not been confined to a given environment. There is no shadow of doubt in what Mr Wilson D Wallis says: "Indeed, at least in all the higher civilisations the changes which the culture has made upon environment are more notable than the changes which environment has effected in the culture. Culture's ability to cope with environment depends largely upon two factors—technology and knowledge." [1]

The survival of a civilisation has thus essentially to depend on the two dynamic factors of technology and knowledge, and this assumes two things: (i) state of technology and knowledge with reference to requirements for optimum development of culture and life, and (ii) optimum use of existing technology and knowledge. The superiority of a culture over another is established by the influence it can command and exert over others. The healthy domain of the superior culture over neighbouring or other cultures in a linked system gives rise to a civilisation which is sustained by advanced technology and knowledge. The moment technology and knowledge start ceasing to hold their own

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1 Vide *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. 5, p 567.

on an advanced level, the civilisation heads for a decline This explains how Islamic civilisation held a unique sway over world history for so many centuries before stagnation set in during the medieval age That also explains how various nations and peoples have faced ruin and extinction from the face of the earth as hinted in the Qur'an

Many were the ways of Life
That have passed away
Before you, travel through
The earth, and see what was
The end of those
Who rejected Truth (Q iii 137)

And also

So lose not heart
Nor fall into despair
For ye must gain mastery
If ye are true in Faith (Q iii 139)

Technology and knowledge in a Muslim society were necessarily conditioned by the characteristic Islamic attitude to the goal of life which has been put as happiness (or *sa'ada*) by Al-Ghazzali This concept of happiness has some special significance, for, in this, the Hereafter, i e the life after death, is treated as the culmination of all human strivings directed to that ultimate goal strictly on the basis of righteousness through obedience to the Islamic Laws Mr G E Von Grunebaum says "The Muslim's apprehension of the purpose of his earthly life as the outreach for felicity, saada, through service, 'ibada, has shaped the fundamental aspirations of his civilization both on the political and on the epistemological levels "[1] Pursuit of arts and sciences was thus naturally attuned to this objective

Special Attitude of Muslim Society

Since technology follows knowledge, the latter was given the utmost importance in the Qur'an and Hadith, making pursuit of knowledge obligatory on each individual, male and female In this pursuit of knowledge, however, the prerequisite training has been stressed in the field of knowledge of God This has been explicitly stated by Al Ghazzali "Thus, knowledge of Him which is the science of (His) unity, tauhid, will be the most excellent, most glorious and most perfect

1 Vide his book *Islam* (chap Muslim World View and Sciences), published by Routledge and Kegun Paul, Ltd, London 1955

branch of knowledge It is 'necessary knowledge' the acquisition of which is required of every intelligent person, 'aqil" [1] Hence interpretation, systematisation, codification of Canon Law and formulation of practices for observing such laws received the earliest attention of Muslim intelligentsia This in itself being only a prerequisite to earthly existence and social organisation, problems of organisation control, administration and prosperity in course of social life were then to be tackled by them in various fields Objectivity in inquiry and research was to be maintained throughout but all phenomena and data were to be treated as 'signs of God' That is how scientific knowledge and inquiry were combined with knowledge of God It is this special attitude which is usually missing in the body of scientific knowledge contributed by Western scientists during the modern period of history It is true that Arabs inherited many branches of sciences from sources like Greek and Persian but they developed them immensely and, what is more important, added that special attitude that linked human knowledge with the ultimate source of all knowledge, God Thus calligraphy, philology, political administration and public finance geography, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, jurisprudence, navigation, etc , were simultaneously receiving attention in the hands of Muslim scholars while they were dealing with the prerequisite part of knowledge Subsequently, inquiry was also extended to many other fields like psychology, philosophy, science of history, sociology, physics, economics, etc , which are covered by modern writers in the West more fully deviating from the special attitude through

In those days of sparse population spread over the globe with immense virgin soil and undiscovered wealth, high priority was given by advanced civilisations to discovery of new lands and trade in wealth available in those regions The Islamic civilisation carried the same tradition rather more successfully than the Roman and Byzantine civilisations New lands were discovered and conquered and trade relationships were firmly established which in its turn exerted its ideological pull throughout the world This implies that knowledge was combined with enterprise and adventure and hence technology was also suited to these requirements Engineering was mostly confined to architecture and house-building, navigation and military strategy In the absence of steam power, hydroelectric power and atomic power, technology in those days did not devote to organisation of heavy industries and mass production of manufactured goods as is evident now

Modern technology with its awe-inspiring manifestations has developed too fast in recent decades The knowledge that has produced this giant is however lacking the

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1 Quoted by Grunebaum, op cit

Modern Techno logy and Social Maladjustment

foundation of the prerequisite integrated in the scheme of knowledge for Muslims As a result a giant has been let loose without the controlling cord around its neck, upsetting social and economic life in numerous ways Marxism is said to be the result of this maladjustment and confusion Mr Emil Lederer, in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*,[1] says

> "Marx reduced all crises in European history to an ever-recurring contradiction, founded in the dialectic of history, between the increasing productive forces and their relationship to social exploitation This thesis is undeniably applicable to the present situation and the prevalence of the purchasing power argument is an economic expression of this fact Upon the solution of the inner contradictions, that is, the elimination of the hindrances to the utilisation of technological potentialities, ultimately depends the possibility that society may do away with the permanent dangers of crises and provide for cultural productivity together with an undisturbed dynamic course of production For technology in itself is indifferent"

Modern technology does indeed furnish the means for mass domination The decadence of the European civilisation is said to be greatly influenced by technological development, but yet one is not wholly dependent on the other The looseness of dependence is particularly demonstrated by the peoples of the Far East, say, Japan, who have successfully withstood the psychic influences of modern technology That is to say, the genius of a nation or civilisation may certainly be strong enough to offset the psychic reactions, nay even social and economic crises associated with modern technology Islamic principles analysed in the right perspective indicate the inherent forces of control to be exercised on the conduct of the giant of modern technology, negating the scope for Marxist utilisation of phenomena for a devastating gospel. It is a pity that the Muslim world fell behind the Western scientists in breaking new grounds and establishing completeness of scientific knowledge on material objectivity For, the vigour and enterprise evinced by Muslim scholars up to the tenth century could have, as a matter of course, carried them to modern achievements sparing to Islamic civilisation the blot of decadence it suffered from

Control of Forces of Industry

Allama Iqbal's words explain beautifully how Islamic civilisation became static and decadent

> "The ultimate spiritual basis of life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change A society based on such a conception

1 Vide Volume 14, p 559

of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life, for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change which, according to the Qur'an, is one of the greatest 'signs' of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature The failure of Europe in political and social sciences illustrates the former principle, the immobility of Islam during the last 500 years illustrates the latter " [1]

That control of religion through eternal principles is essential for the attainment of social good as has been acknowledged by no less a revolutionary advocate of democracy than Rousseau Mr Albert Schniz mentions

"In the end Rousseau decided that the only absolute guaranty reposed in the citizen's inner sense of obligation to obey the laws, and that such a sense could be derived only from religion Thus in the final chapter of the 'Contract Social' he advocated as essential to the absolute security of the state the exclusion of all who refused to subscribe to the seven dogmas of the 'religion civile' Apart from this creed, which centered chiefly about the belief in a God of justice and in an after life, Rousseau was an eloquent foe of intolerance " [2]

In the continuation and maintenance of the dynamic forces of a civilisation, it is needless to think of any drifting away from the eternal principles on which it is basically founded Renowned researchers have delved into Islamic history and revealed that the Islamic civilisation did well so long as it accommodated adjustment with elements of cultural environment around and promoted elasticity of thought and laws It has been pointed out by Professor Horten of the University of Bonn that not less than one hundred systems of theology alone appeared in Islam between the eighth and the tenth centuries which bears ample testimony to the elasticity of Islamic thought and ceaseless activity of early Muslim thinkers Even the period of history that was marked by orthodox and doctrinnaire wrangling on Islamic jurisprudence to the utter neglect of science and technology, gives evidence of a spirit of adjustment and elasticity in interpretation and thinking [3]

One overall dynamic principle that has given the Islamic civilisation and its tradition a moving force has been what is known as *ijtehad* (or to exert) In the field

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1 Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 1954, p 147

2 *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol 13, p 446

3 Vide Sir Muhammad Iqbal, op cit, p 164, and also p 148

The Role of *Ijtehad*

of Islamic law, it implies exertion towards forming an independent judgment on a legal question Exertion with reasoning and judgment leads to some enlightenment in a perplexing situation That is what is hinted in the Quranic dictum "And to those who exert, We show Our path." The inadequacy of the use of this principle in the background of relative intellectual indolence and love of personal extravagance had in fact brought about the situation of stagnation and the downward trend of decadence in Islamic civilisation The salvage work, if at all, should also be handled by this instrument in the present age of reawakening of the Muslim world When we talk of Islamic Laws based on the Qur'an and Sunnah, we must remember the role the dynamic principle of *ijtehad* should play in reconstructing Islamic society It is crystal clear that the Quranic principles and laws are general in nature intended to set up a fundamental framework suiting the needs of evolution in human society The holy Prophet was also equally conscious of the fact that no rigid code, however comprehensive, could be expected to cover all situations of human life As a matter of fact, he was averse to putting tight interpretations to rules of conduct which is evident from an authentic tradition It is said that "he was very angry with a man who pestered him about details of what is lawful and what is unlawful to be eaten He said 'Do not put me questions unnecessarily and be content with what God has allowed or forbidden I am afraid, any answer that I give to your questions would become binding on the followers of Islam and thus curtail their liberties in the spheres of life that have been left free for rational judgment ' Such a questioner would indirectly do injustice to human liberty, and he added that former nations were crushed by a spate of regulations which were the result of too much questioning and inquisitiveness " [1]

I would consider this aspect of flexibility of the Islamic civilisation through the application of rational judgment or *ijtehad* as forming the most distinctive characteristic of its genius that made the civilisation a world force in the past and is likely to restore its dynamism progressively in future, provided *ijtehad* is given its due place in our contemporary thought towards shaping the future

There is nothing called Christian civilisation since Christianity was bound by rigidity against which effective protests led to protestantism and secularisation of knowledge and technology, the latter being the proud pillar of Western civilisation The impact of the modern technological revolution based on the wonders of sciences on life and society was not studied before neuroses, tensions, perversions and social ills assumed gigantic magnitudes in advanced countries in the West The findings of sociologists and philosophers like Bertrand Russell and Margaret Meade about this

1 Vide Khalifa A Hakim, *Islamic Ideology*, 2nd Ed., 1953, p 217.

impact point to the truth that secularisation of knowledge and technology has given man boundless power without developing in him the spiritual and human force to control such power and free himself from psychological conflicts and social misbehaviour. The inherent weakness of Western civilisation is thus making its appearance in the form of a fundamental social crisis which tends to grow more and more acute as more and more material achievements are scored on the technology front. The astounding Kinsey Report on sex behaviour patterns in the U. S. A., the staggering rate of increase in the juvenile delinquency figures, almost universal alcoholism, neuroses and mental diseases, etc., are but important indicators of the basic social maladjustment in societies claiming Western civilisation. Had Christianity the elasticity of Islam to accommodate environmental changes, Western civilisation would not have drifted away from the spiritual background of which just a perfect form was provided by Islam. The Islamic civilisation has however paid dearly for its intellectual indolence and inertia for technological adjustment. The characteristic of flexibility of the fundamental framework of Islam has saved the Islamic civilisation from going the way Christianity did. That is again the aspect on which lie all hopes of seeing Islamic civilisation to assume its destined role. Application of *ijtehad* now has to confront a challenge of the age to purge knowledge and technology with faith and dynamic principles for integrating the best of modern sciences and technology in a social equilibrium which constitutes the pride of the Islamic civilisation.

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ISLAMIC CIVILISATION VERSUS WESTERN CIVILISATION

This article by Lieut Col Rashid contains much good sense We agree with him when he says that civilisations never die but nations do because civilisations are reborn with new features out of the womb of the older civilisation Each civilisation has a distinct mission to fulfil, after which it passes on its essence to the next We also agree with him when he says that the Western Civilisation is essentially a continuation of Islamic Civilisation if this is not taken to mean that everything Western is Islamic or that everything Western is opposed to Islam, neither of which are true

We disagree with Col Rashid on two points He seems to think that the decline of the West is imminent As has been pointed out in the leading article, the West has a decided advantage in this respect over previous civilisations If it is not carried away by false pride it may re-examine its postulates and presuppositions because it is not fettered by the dogma that everything in religion, morals or the intellectual field is final It may also strengthen itself by contact and cooperation with the Muslims But here again deep rooted prejudices and old memories of the crusades stand in the way of the West However the situation is hopeful as some leaders of the West and Christianity seem to be shedding their prejudices and realising that Islam has a strong case for its historical expansion in the Middle Ages

We also disagree with Col Rashid on his views about polygamy While we do not support unconditional polygamy, we think that polygamy is not and has never been one of our major problems In some cases it actually proved useful, because it prevented the Muslims from becoming too exclusive When they could marry the women of other sacred religions their exclusive spirit was toned down and a tolerant attitude was fostered What Col Rashid should have attacked is not polygamy but the Persian and Byzantine traditions of monarchy and autocratic rule which the Arabs began learning since the time of Muawiya and which destroyed the democratic spirit and outlook inculcated by Islam

LIEUT COLONEL
K A. Rashid, PAMC

Prologue

YOU have again asked me to write on this peculiar subject , something that I was trying to avoid I had expressed my feelings fully in my letter which you so kindly published in your April issue I wanted to acquire an insight into the real meaning of the proposed subject from the learned articles to be published in your special number Now, you insist that I must write for this special number myself, and, perhaps, be the target of criticism , for, I know fully well, I shall not come up to your

standard, and may not be able to make my readers understand, which, of sure, I do not understand myself! But, as you must have it, let me make it clear that I do not agree with Rene Grousset, when he argues his thesis of the destruction of civilisations In what he says, "No civilisation is destroyed from without unless it has first brought about its own ruin," he really means, 'a people' or a 'nation' Civilisations in my opinion do not die, they merely change hands or locations Civilisations at the same time implement each other and do not oppose each other He is also wrong when he says, "Civilisation does not resist for ever" It not only resists but also persists through all adversities It leaves ample traces on the sands of time which have to be perceived through an untinted sight

In the English dictionary, the words Civilisation and Culture both mean a state of refinement Spengler uses both these terms synonymously, and most other authors do the same I am inclined to think differently With scientific advancement and industrial progress, the term civilisation has come to mean the gathering together of scientific knowledge, in order to safeguard the cultural creations, which pertain to manner and customs of the arts of life. Culture, which is not the product of abstract thought, lacks scientific investigations, and pertains to domestic life of a people only, while civilisation, being the outcome of abstract thought, is goaded on by scientific investigation, and concerns the world outside the home There is, therefore, never a clash between the culture and civilisation of a people, on the other hand, civilisation provides safeguards for the flourishing of culture Nor was there ever a conflict between the different civilisations Where one ended, the other took over for the perpetuation of humanity, which is the unconscious goal of all nations It is the nation and its people that die, but never the civilisation

The Emergence of Civilisations

Toynbee's denial of the 'Unity of Civilisation' is surprising Any civilisation is the child of its predecessor, grown into manhood They, of necessity, merge into each other and are hence continuous While the preceding hands over to the succeeding, the later improves upon it, and the process continues as a unified whole Nothing beyond this ought to mean by the 'Unity of Civilisation'

Religion in the days prior to Islam primarily moulded the culture of a people Islam infused a spirit of scientific investigation into the soul of civilisation, which today is the main source and impetus of its advance and progress Islamic civilisation is not dead It is the moving force in the modern civilisation which has been named as the Western civilisation. The Western civilisation is not a Christian civilisation either, as some may think, Christ was born in the East! In the light of what I have just now said, Spengler's historical Psuedomorphosis seems equally untangible What-

ever may have been behind the Islamic civilisation, it cannot be denied that the vigour of this rapidly spreading force had the impetus of Islam at its back This affected the future destiny of Europe Its entire garb in the future centuries was to remain the same as its weavers had fashioned it I shall repeat what I said in my letter "Spengler is at some pains to deal with the Muslim arts, poetry, and mysticism , but he is far away from the real issue of Islamic civilisation, whose main stress lay on the achievement and accumulation of scientific knowledge He is lost in the Magian soul, and does not seem to discover the real spirit, which Islam infused into what we call today the Western civilisation "

In order to dwell upon the subject fully, I have to traverse a wider field to describe the historical development of the subject I have reluctantly undertaken to discuss I will, therefore, divide it into the following few paragraphs

(1) Islamic Achievements in the West ,
(2) The Crusades and After ,
(3) The Renaissance ,
(4) The Inquisition, and
(5) Scientific Investigation in Europe and its Civilisation

Islamic Achievement in the West

The sudden change which the world experienced at the advent of Islam was its civilising influence based upon the relationship between Man and his Creator The Islamic civilisation therefore represented the Whole Man, whereas, the previous civilisations only represented certain instincts in the Man In the embellishment of Islamic civilisation, therefore, all the arts and sciences got mingled together to form a decorative pattern Even the industry became an art Today, all art has become industry. This is one of the main differences between the Islamic civilisation and the Western civilisation One represented the Whole Man, the other only certain aspects of him, whose individual urges swept him away from the real purpose of life

It is the habit of civilisations to have parallel existence in their own state of refinement and development, at the same time reinforcing the leading civilisation which has absorbed all the past Each commands its own position, and acts as the torch-bearer to the other, till such time the other has evolved new dimensions to suit the progressing times, and out-steps the bounds of its predecessor, which loses value as an expanding force, but stays as the basic pattern

Undoubtedly, Islamic civilisation took over the heritage of the Greeks, the Egyptians, and the Persians All in them was absorbed by the Muslims , and all that is now to be found in the Western civilisation was absorbed from Islamic sources , and all

that exists in the Western civilisation today will be found incorporated in the future civilisation of tomorrow But, it goes without saying, that the present-day Western civilisation started as a result of the impact of Islamic civilisation Western civilisation is not a Christian civilisation, as I have just said Christianity was born outside the domain of the Western world Had the Crusades succeeded, there would perhaps have been no Islamic civilisation , for, it had not yet evolved

From its very onset Islam evolved a society based on the acquisition of knowledge, toleration, and equality This was the superstructure of its civilisation, while its foundations lay on the firm rock of relationship between Man and his Creator From its limited resources, it gathered together the wisdom of the by-gone people , new vistas of research were opened out and scientific investigations started to explain some of the vital verses of the Holy Qur'an that immediately affected the progress of Muslim life The first attacks were aimed at Nature itself Astronomy, Physics, and Irrigation were the first targets Side by side with this developed the arts of Warfare, Agriculture and Architecture, both defensive and religious

The Crusades and After

By the time the Crusades had started, Islam was ruling over almost the whole of the Middle East, and the Byzantine Empire was threatened in its western domain of the Fertile Crescent This conflict infused a spirit of scientific investigation and invention, in just the same manner as happened during the last two world wars, when there was a race for scientific inventions The Muslims achieved a great deal Perhaps their achievement was no less than the invention of Atom Bombs in these days ! They invented the gun-powder and artillery was evolved Hydraulics and defensive architecture were created The Crusades weakened the Byzantine Empire and extended the Islamic rule to the Straits of Gibraltar and into the very heart of the continent of Europe By this time Islam had also spread into India and China, and the Muslims were fast acquiring the knowledge of these people

Islam passed on to Spain Here a most dramatic change took place It was the nearest spot to all the Continental places from where knowledge could be dispersed with equal ease to all the European countries Europeans flocked to this centre of civilisation in great numbers to acquire the arts and sciences of life They wore Muslim garments and spoke the Islamic language We feel amazed at the modern houses fitted with the latest sanitary fittings During the days of Islam in Spain, houses were fitted with hot and cold water pipes, with bathrooms having floors of marble tiles Ecclesiastics from throughout Europe thronged the universities of Spain Several learned men from England are reported by Western historians to have come and sat at the feet of Muslim scholars who taught to all alike Peter, the Venerable, and people like the French

Ecclesiastic Gerber, known as Sylvester II, took pride in wearing Muslim garments and conversing in the language of the Qur'an The Muslims laid beautiful gardens, the delicious fragrance of whose flowers was conveyed through corridors to the main buildings, a system which has been applied in several buildings in the twentieth century in England Perhaps equally good arrangements existed in the days of Queen Semi Ramis who laid the foundations of the Hanging Gardens in Babylon The Muslims develeped music which today forms the basis of the Western music In India, they completely transformed the Indian classical music, and invented musical instruments which are known after their names

The houses of the Muslims had polished floors, in spite of the fact they had no cement in those days All the household furniture which we today attribute to Western civilisation was invented by the Muslims and still carries Arabic names The words table, chair, and sofa testify to their ingenuity, and refined cultural tastes

Streets were first seen to have lights in Europe in Muslim Spain The streets were properly paved, and planned Fruit cultivation advanced a great deal Different types of flowers were cultivated The art of grafting fruit and flowers was developed For the purpose of facilitating irrigation, hydraulic work and artificial lakes were constructed. Difficult surgical operations were being performed in well-organised operation theatres, and evidence exists that even mechanical experiments on flying machines were in vogue But, of course, there were no automobiles and atom bombs, and wireless or photography The credit of these modern inventions must go to the Western civilisation But it has recently been discovered that some sort of electricity was being produced in the first century B C in Babylon A complete cell with electroplating apparatus has been excavated

It will now have become clear that after the Muslims had established themselves well in Spain, they went headlong for evolving a civilisation That had to be, for the conditions had become settled, and the arts of life had to be invented to make the people comfortable after their struggle for initial survival They made great strides in every walk of life which left its stamp on every activity of the later-day West It was not merely a spade work They dug up the foundations of older civilisations and laid bare their achievements upon which they raised an enviable structure which became difficult for the West to discard in the later days of their victory The present-day Western civilisation had therefore continued to work on the superstructure of the Muslims, the foundations of which had been laid by them on earlier civilisations Inventions come in with gradual work Things are invented again and again But each time they were improved upon Originality and invention are not the monopoly of any one people, it is a continuous process which is indebted to several minds spread over centuries.

"Many of the essential inventions of civilised life have been invented over and over again In distant times and countries, as different nations have reached those particular points of social advancement when those inventions were first needed "

I need not dwell on this any further as ample material is to be found in the books referred to by me in my letter published by you on this subject in your April issue

The present-day Western civilisation is a grown-up child of the Islamic civilisation We have, therefore, nothing to be frightened of We have now to carry on from where the West will leave over to us, as the decline of the West is now imminent Even if we have to adopt their language to acquire their knowledge, we shall have to do so We may even have to take to the Western type of garments, for, they are most suitable for this machine age, unless we can mould the shape of their machine to suit our cumbersome dress! This of course is not possible Even the modern Western dress is a development of the Muslim dress in the West We should therefore have no hesitation in taking it back It will be worth while pointing out here that dress and langage is not the monopoly of any nation These two things belong to civilisation and civilisation alone. The language and dress of civilisation continues till the nation taking over can evolve a better one to suit its own times and conditions It is noteworthy that Prof Hitti considers the Islamic civilisation as their "Half Sister,' and having a "firm footing on the Continent '

The Renaissance

Renaissance having started in Italy in the eleventh century A D was interrupted by Muslim invasions, and their subsequent conquests This attracted the intelligentsia of European countries to Islamic cultural centres thus diverting the Renaissance energies into Muslim channels Renaissance therefore merged with the Muslim civilising efforts This continued for five centuries "The inability of the Italian states to unite their mortal feuds, under the very eyes of the 'barbarians,' ended by delivering them over to the Spanish rule For three centuries the Italian lost his 'Fatherland ' To this loss he adapted himself very well "

Uptil the modern times, the only country in Europe, which has influenced the trend of thought of its people, is Germany And the entire German thought is non-European It has driven its inspiration from the spiritual climate of the Mediterranean, which had been predominantly influenced by Islamic thought and civilisation

European Renaissance thus received its vigour and inspiration from the Islamic centres of civilisation in that continent, for a considerably long time The spread of Muslim light was followed in the Christian lands by heresy The crushing of heresy in the south of France lead to the wave of Inquisition

The Inquisition

The religious history of all nations has experienced such periods during their life-time It is, therefore, nothing to be wondered at that the Christian world passed through this phase of fanatical and heretical intrigues What is really to be wondered at is that they got over these bad days The Muslims are unfortunately still struggling to get out of this rut !

However, it was the time of atrocities "Ecclesiastical vengeance rioted in luxury' Intellectual revolts spread in every direction of Catholic Europe It was Innocent the III who put an end to this, by permitting the study of Aristotle's dialectics, which came through the Arabic channels ! All this was being done under the shelter of the Church In other words, the Church and the Inquisition were part of the environment of European science in the thirteenth century Gregory the IX was eighty when he was made a Pope, and he deliberately organised the Inquisition He is also said to have postponed the Renaissance by a hundred years by putting up the fight with Frederick II I am inclined to think that the reason why Inquisition had to be enforced was the failure of the Crurades, which was virtually the failure of the Christian Church, and which produced a secret doubt in the minds of the Christians regarding the Divine origin of their faith The defeated Crusaders returned to their country to slay their own kith and kin in a frenzy of mental protest Inquisition, however, stamped out the heretics by introducing orthodoxy It is interesting to note that Inquisition never took hold of England, form where people kept on pouring into Muslim Spain to acquire knowledge

Scientific Investigations in Europe and its Civilisation

This in short is the history of development of the Western civilisation No epochs ever emerge with comparative suddenness, as Whitehead seems to think It is always a gradual emergence, as outlined in the theory of Emergent Evolution The newly emerged society covers its adversities and consciously hides the achievements of its predecessors, so as to make it look as if nothing existed before its own advent It takes the credit of having achieved everything overnight ! This is only a partial truth, and against the facts of history Therefore, the emergence of Western civilisation was not a sudden phenomenon The process of taking over from the Islamic civilisation centres had been in force quite for some time. When the Muslims faded out off the European scene, the Europeans had absorbed everything that was Islamic, and were continuing on the same lines in their own countries Western civilisation it is evident, did not emerge overnight It took at least three centuries for the West to acquire all that had been accumulated by the Muslims in Spain It was actually in the sixteenth century that the rise of modern science began , and it was Bruno's martyrdom which ushered in this era in Europe (1600 A D) From this date starts the European reformation period, by which

I understand that the Europeans gathered together all that they had learnt in the Islamic universities All the Islamic sciences were restored in the minds of the Europeans The inventions of the Muslims had already started to stimulate the minds of the European scholars The Spain of the Middle Ages formed an admirable training ground for the intellectuals of Europe And all that we find today in the Western civilisation is the outcome of Islamic civilisation, the seeds of which were sown in Europe by the Muslims

Epilogue

After having discussed various aspects of the two civilisations, it now remains to be seen in what manner we ought to accept the Western civilisation To the orthodox Muslim the Western civilisation is repugnant, for the average it is obnoxious There is a cry in the Muslim world, "Back to the days of the Khalifs" This is not practicable A Muslim has to carry himself forward He has no need to be scared of imaginary phobias With a little reorientation and readjustment of his outlook, a Muslim can fit himself anywhere He can observe all the religious injunctions while living in the most up-to-date Western society It must not be lost sight of that there are Muslims living outside the predominantly Muslim countries They live a wholesome life, perhaps, more wholesome than what we are accustomed to see amidst ourselves in these days, and in our own countries A living nation lives to move forward It looks back only to review its mistakes and take a lesson We should therefore not hesitate to accept all that is utilitarian and ignore the ignoble The greatest stress has been laid on the acquisition of knowledge in Islam It is one of the very few passports to human salvation and recompense And what after all is civilisation, but the acquisition and application of knowledge which word, according to the definitions of Islam, is scientific knowledge For the acquisition of this God has made Nature subservient to Man He can conquer it and make himself comfortable

I have maintained that civilisations do not die, they merely change locations at the downfall of nations It is the nations that die and not the civilisations Let us probe into the causes of the downfall of the Muslim nation which resulted in the overtaking of the Islamic civilisation by the West Such causes have been variously discussed by eminent scholars in the past and also in the present day I will only mention the name of three such scholars, and they are (1) Ibn Khaldun, (2) Allama Shakib Arslan and (3) Toynbee There is some variation in their line of thought It is probable that each has been influenced according to the defects perceptible in his own time and country There have been several others who have devoted much attention to this subject, but they have profited from the sources left to us by the three above-mentioned scholars I have been constrained to see that one of the most important and glaring causes of the downfall of the Muslim nation has been left out by all I

take liberty to put it forward for the first time in the history of Muslim thought This cause is Polygamy ! I am sure some will jump at this suggestion, but there is no need to get horrified Just let me explain it to you The intrigues of the Harem have upset empires, and have caused so much murder as was never caused in Europe even in the days of the Inquisition. The cause was Polygamy Heirs from different wives were set against each other to achieve the throne and supremacy Ladies of the Harem have taken active part in hatching intrigues against their step-sons Real brothers were always allies! The law of inheritance in Islam was utilised to cover up these follies Brothers were blinded and fathers, once emperors, were put in prisons, to satisfy the intrigues of the royal retinue The public divided to side with the claimants Thus a split was created in the nation This went on and on, till the entire energy was pent out, and no attention was paid to the welfare of the people This cause took deep root from the time of the 'Abbasids, and the seeds of destruction of the Muslim nation were sown as early as that period Ladies of low birth found their way into the Harems quite unbefitting the dignity of the royal personages Society became undignified Civilisation was diluted Each strain of blood brought in its own influence, which in course of time was responsible for diluting the pure ideas of simple Islam The conception of religion was changed The very fundamentals were shaken to the core And eventually, when Islam burst forth out of Arabia, passing through the varied lands, its shape had changed a great deal In India, the entire shape of Islam is Persian This was further amalgamated with local influences by intermarriages with the people of this country, resulting in the present form of our religion which we see today, and which completely refuses to accept any adjustment beyond its own conceptions, which are themselves adulterated The pristine purity of Islam was lost in this manner Its vigour was exhausted by passage through improper channels People of necessity became slack in its true observance, which affected further probing into the field of knowledge Intellectual effort became individual Poetry and pastime took the place of physiology and physics, music replaced mechanics After the ninth century of the Muslim era the entire superstructure of Islam was shaken As the Muslim armies passed into different countries, and the soldiers of Islam had to keep away for long periods from their families, the relevant verses of the Qur'an were interpreted to suit people's whims, and each one was given the privilege to marry up to four wives, without the least regard to the restrictions imposed by the Qur'an and the example set by the Holy Prophet (OWBP) Such was the state of Muslim society In India, the Muslims did not produce a single outstanding scholar who could reform Muslim society, except a few poets and historians The family of Shah Wali Ullah indeed tried to improve matters, but they were not conversant with the latest methods of warfare and administration. It did not strike them

to send a few hands abroad to get training in the latest methods of warfare, which may have helped M Isma'il Shahid The results of the political awakening envisaged in the philosophy of Iqbal remains to be seen However, this is beyond the point My contention is that polygamy has been the main cause of the downfall of Muslim nation and its civilisation Since Turkey abolished polygamy, its conditions have improved There is more cohesion and solidarity in the Turkish nation than we see in any other Muslim country The main defect of polygamy is that it causes disruptions within the nation All unity is lost Its psychological implications are tremendous Children from different mothers grow up in the same homes, under adverse psychological environments which create fatal complexes in these young people. And when they grow to maturity, there is a deep-rooted rivalry, either for attainment of the wealth, or for the usurpation of the throne This effects the morale of the nation at large It brings to the front petty intrigues and puts into the background the more vital needs of the nation which calls for their welfare and progress The nation dwindles and its civilisation goes into hibernation, till such time as its people are able to take it out and revitalise it, otherwise it is absorbed by the new nation which takes it over.

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION VERSUS WESTERN CIVILISATION

Nur Ahmad

In this article Mr. Nur Ahmad describes the brilliant achievements of Islamic civilisation and quotes Toynbee to show that Islam can still save the world from alcoholism and race consciousness, the two evils which are eating into the vitals of the modern civilisation. There can be no disagreement with this view. However the writer has not discussed the causes that led to the decline of Islamic civilisation. It still remains to be explained why the Muslims who started with a universal outlook transcending national and racial boundaries are today immersed in narrow tribalism and factionalism of the worst sort. Provincialism, as we have seen during the last few years, dominates Muslim mind to a much greater extent than it does over the Western peoples. The nationalism of the West is surely condemnable, but what about the narrow sectarianism and provincialism of the Muslims?

Again Mr. Nur Ahmad condemns the Western democracy because it counts heads. But this charge is not really well substantiated. In the first place, no practicable alternative has so far been evolved, whereby the opinion of the majority can be ascertained. Secondly, does the Western democracy operate in such a manner as to exclude the talented men and the intelligentsia? The fact remains that the democracies in the West are throwing up the best and the most talented men as their leaders. So the counting of the heads does not mean the rule of the ignorant multitude. It only means that every man and woman, however low in the social scale, will be given opportunities to discuss and form judgments on social questions, to select his or her leaders and that all will have equal opportunities in the social and economic fields. Are the opponents of the Western type of democracy going to deny these rights to the common people, so that they will neither be able to exercise their judgment on socio-political issues, nor have an opportunity to select their leaders, nor yet compete with the aristocrats on equal terms? If such is the idea of the opponents of Western democracy, it is not going to bear fruit. However, we agree with Mr. Nur Ahmad that a true democracy can only rest on a religious and spiritual basis. People who do not feel themselves to be rooted in God, equally with all other human beings, can never be good democrats. They are generally autocratic and despotic even under a democratic garb.

THE word 'civilisation' principally means reclamation from barbarism and reconstruction in art and refinement. If the word 'civilisation,' according to English dictionary, is reclamation from barbarous state and refinement and art, surely Islamic civilisation will be superior to modern Western civilisation in many respects.

Prof Toynbee, the famous British historian, in his well-known book *Civilisation on Trial* after despairing of Western racialism and nationalism (which are found in Western civilised life), sees a ray of hope in Islamic civilisation In the chapter on "Islam, the West and the Future" he remarks, "We can however discern certain principles of Islam, which, if brought to bear on the social life of the new cosmopolitan proletariat, might have important and salutary effect on the great society in near future Two conspicuous sources of danger—one psychological and the other material—in the present relations of the cosmopolitan proletariat with the dominant element in our modern Western society are race consciousness and alcohols and in the struggle with each of these evils, the Islamic Spirit has a service to render, which might prove, if it is accepted, to be of high moral and social value The extinction of race consciousness between Muslims is one of the outstanding achievements of Islam, and in the contemporary world (i e the modern civilised world) there is, as it happens a crying need for the propagation of Islamic virtue, for although the record of history would seem on the whole to show that race consciousness has been the exception and not the rule in the constant interbreeding of human species, it is a fatality of the present situation that this consciousness is felt and felt strongly—by the very peoples, who, in the competition of the last four centuries between several warring powers, have won at least for the moment the lion's share of the inheritance of the earth Though in certain other respects, the triumph of the English-speaking peoples may be judged in retrospect, to have been a blessing to mankind, in this perilous matter of race feeling it can hardly be denied that it has been a misfortune The English-speaking nations that have established themselves in the New World overseas have not, on the whole, been 'good mixers' They have mostly swept away their primitive predecessors and where they have either allowed a primitive population to survive, as in South Africa, or have imported primitive manpower from elsewhere, as in North America, they have developed the rudiment of that paralysing institutions which in India—where in course of many centuries it has grown to its full stature—we have learnt to deplore in the name of caste Moreover, the alternative to extermination or segregation has been exclusion—a policy which averts the danger of internal schism in the life of the community which practises it but does so at the price of producing not a less dangerous state of international tension between the including and the excluded races, especially when this policy is applied to representatives of alien races who are not primitive but civilised, like the Hindus, the Chinese and the Japanese As things are now, the exponents of racial intolerance are in the ascendent and, if their attitude towards the race question prevails, it may eventually provoke a general catastrophe, yet the forces of social toleration, which at present seem to be fighting a losing battle in the spiritual struggle of immense importance to mankind, might still regain the upper hand if any strong influence militating against the

race consciousness that has hitherto been kept in reserve and were now to be thrown into the scale It is conceivable that the spirit of Islam might be the timely reinforcement which would decide the issue in favour of toleration and peace" The above extensive quotation from Historian Toynbee has been reproduced to show the difference between Islamic and Western civilisation with its dazzling exterior It is a historical fact that Muslim cities, during halcyon days of Islamic civilisation have never created ghettos for non-Muslims or any primitive race Neither Islamic civilisation exterminated any minority or primitive race as the great European nation who boast of Western civilisation has done in America, Australia, Canada and in Africa It reflects great credit to the Islamic civilisation that, in spite of all their powers and glories, the Muslims remained a minority in Spain and India though they ruled both these countries for more than seven centuries The Muslim Turks ruled Eastern Europe and the Arabs ruled vast empires but they never exterminated any conquered race Draper, in his well-known book *Intellectual Development in Europe* at pages 27-28, has frankly admitted the debt of Islam to Europe's intellectual and material progress and culture According to Cambell, the French Revival is an echo and direct result of the Arabian Renaissance and Civilisation At page 135, vol II of his book, Mr Cambell remarks, "The Muslim scholars were the torch-bearers of civilisation and culture Their activities in studying science and art exceeded that of any other nation The Christian West was therefore compelled to seek its training from the only source available at the time for illuminating their minds (i.e the works of the Arabian writers of the Muslim world)' According to Cambell, the whole of Europe except Italy was in a state of barbarism It was the civilisation of Islam which infused light into Europe The famous historian Lane-Poole, in his famous book *The Moors in Spain*, remarks, "Students flocked from France, Germany, England and every part of Europe to drink from the fountain of learning which flowed only in the city of Moors The practical legacy of the Spanish Muslim culture was however spread throughout the country by the Christian conquerors and the Jews in the first half of the thirteenth century The conquest of Toledo opened the flood-gates of Arab learning to Europe It spread rapidly with the fall of Cordova in 1235 C E, Valencia in 1238 and Seville in 1348 C E Mr Philip K Hitti in his famous book *History of the Arabs* freely admitted that the modern Western civilisation has flowed and resulted from the 'Islamic civilisation'

G P Scott very aptly remarks, "No achievement of ancient or modern times was perfected with such rapidity or produced such decided effect upon the intellectual progress of the human race as that of the Arabs" (vide S P Scott's *Moorish Empire in Europe*) The author of the *Historian's History of the World* in vol VIII at page 271 writes, "In the Middle Ages, the Muslims were the sole representatives of the civilisa-

tion They opposed that barbarism which spread over Europe " John W Cambell, J N R, says, " Islam invented science Neither Greece nor Rome started modern science Islam had achieved what no other civilisation had developed and had been able to do.' Mr *Robert Briffault* in his famous book *Making of the Humanity* remarks, " The debt of our science to that of the Arabs does not consist in startling discoveries or revolutionary theories, science owes a great more to Arabs, it owes its very existence What we call science arose in Europe as a result of a new scientific enquiry of new methods, of the investigation of the new method of experiment, observance, measurement, of the development of mathematics in a form unknown to Greeks *That spirit and these methods were introduced into the European* world by Arabs Science is the most momentous contribution of the Arab civilisation to the modern world It was not science alone which brought back Europe to life Other manifold influences from the civilisation of Islam communicated its first glow to European life J N Cramer says, " Some very eloquent proof of the fact that Islamic trade customs exercised deep influences on the commercial development in Christian countries The Arabs opened up land routes to India, China, Malacca, Tumbucto " The above opinions about Islamic civilisation and its glorious achievements and contribution in the modern world progress and the Western civilisation will go to show that the present Western civilisation owes a great debt to the Islamic civilisation but differ in its concept and ideology and ideal, while Islamic civilisation was all-embracing, classless and casteless universal the Western civilisation has given rise to rank racialism, blind nationalism alcoholism captitalism, race distinction and has created watertight nationalities, race consciousness and superiority and inferiority complex Mr Toynbee has very aptly sketched the real character of Western civilisation and has reluctantly admitted the virtue of Islam and Islamic civilisation

Islamic civilisation is all-embracing and regulates human life and society from birth to death and is based on one world community and one universal brotherhood of all mankind Most renowned Marshal Lenty has very rightly compared the world of Islam with a resonant box, the faintest sound in one corner of which re-echoes and reverberates through the whole of it Marshal Lenty has very correctly discussed and interpreted Islam and Islamic civilisation Really Islamic civilisation represents a homogeneous unity and symbolism, the universal brotherhood and fraternity irrespective of physical, geographical barrier The Muslims, wherever they may live, whether in Siberia or in America or in remotest Africa or Indonesia, form members of one world, single community or brotherhood In Islamic civilisation, all Muslims are equal and there is no superior or inferior races such as white, black, Negro or different European nationalities, German, French, Italian, English, but all are Muslims This is unique,

unprecedented and unparalleled in the annals of history, simply because Islamic civilisation is based on the fundamental principles and teachings of Islam and is not based on profit-and-loss basis or materialistic gain as is the case regarding Western civilisation The main fountainhead and main sources of this speciality and distinguishing factor of Islamic civilisation is supplied by the universal socialism of Islam For this reason, even thirteen hundred years after the birth of Islam, more than fifty crores of Muslims, diverse and different in race, nationality, colour, intellectual, social, economic standard, have been bound and held together by this unifying force of Islam It is debatable whether so astonishing a unity and universal fraternity could have been achieved—none of the other great creeds, and civilisations of the world, present and ancient, has succeeded in achieving such unity—if the influence of Islamic civilisation and Islam had been confined solely to the religious side of the Muslim life and society But unlike Christianity and other great religions of the world, Islam provides a social and political norm and also a religious code at the same time Islam is a complete code for men's all needs and requirements It prescribes a distinct standard for legal, social and spiritual conduct and regulates the life of a Muslim as a father, husband, or son, or as a member of the society or the state—guiding him throughout the entire labyrinth of his economic and personal activities As Islamic civilisation was based on Islamic code of life, it was unique and different from other civilisations So Islamic civilisation overrides the social, national, geographical, racial distinctions Everything that makes for class distinction was repugnant and abhorrent to Islam and Islamic civilisation, and this civilisation raised slaves to the position of emperors, sultans and queens Islamic civilisation did not create any special aristocracy, plebian or proletariat, caste or racial national barriers Herein lies the special distinction between Islamic and Western civilisation Such aristocracy as found in India and West is anathema to Islam and its civilisation.

Islamic Civilisation in Actual Working

Few other lands can owe more to the civilising influence of Islam than do those countries which are situated along the eastern shores of Africa between Cape Guardafui in the north and Delgoa Bay in the south The great waves of Islamic civilisation and culture reached Africa after the death of the Holy Prophet in the seventh century. The Arabs settled in East Africa first and laid down the principles of government by elected Head. The Khabar-al-Anu records how the Arabs met together taking counsel to appoint a chief man Under 'Omar I, the Parliament at Pate became the seat of central government for the whole Swaheli coast. By the dawn of the fourteenth century the fair citadel of Islamic civilisation lay like a string of lustrous pearls along the green cushion of the verdant coast of East Africa, their marts busy with merchants and seafarers and

career in trafficking in ivory, spices, gum and gold from the Sofilan mines Barbosa's account of these thriving ports of East Africa during heydays of Islamic civilisation stands as a sufficient evidence of the great commercial and industrial prosperity and of high standard of living and domestic learning which Islamic civilisation brought to East Africa These magnificent cities were more than merchants' marts They had become the home of arts In the diwan or assembly hall of their mansion, learning and literature took pride of place, by the wealth in his warehouse a man might be adjudged, but here it was by the wealth in the store-house of his mind as a poet, a jurist, a theologian, that he won that renown, respect and esteem which was called 'heshima' The Perso-Arabian settlers brought the art of learning to enlighten the whole dark Africa In Eastern Africa, as indeed elsewhere, it has always been one of the greatest attributes of Islamic civilisation that it has encouraged all men without distinction to cultivate and express their mind to reveal the flowers of thought and these treasured concepts enwrapt in their souls, nor was the liberty of speech confined to the poetic vein which produced upon this coast romantic and heroic verses of great vigour and grace, religious and homilitic works, inspired by the soul-felt faith and piety Sultans and slaves were encouraged at the journeys to expound for all, to hear the rights which he felt were the just dues of his community and to denounce the wrongs from which he felt they suffered The toleration of this period reflects in a strong manner the free and democratic spirit of the people, their love of this adopted land their hatred of oppression and their determination to preserve their freedom against all odds This ingrained spirit of intellectual freedom and right of free speech have been treasured privilege of the Islamic civilisation throughout East Africa but the glorious Edifice of Civilisation and Democracy built by Islam was ruthlessly destroyed by the so called followers of Western civilisation, namely the Portuguese invaders in East Africa Mombasa, a most flourishing city with its civilisation, was burnt five times, its people were either put to sword or carried into slavery Yet, the spirit and living force of Islamic civilisation was so everlasting and abiding that it rose phoenix-like again and again from its smoking ashes and stands today with scarlet banner of Islamic civilisation flying Kilwas was ravaged with fire and sword and its people were driven from their homes The mosques and mansions of Lamu Pate were pulled to the ground or shattered by bombardment. By fire, sword and torture and bloodshed—Western civilisation of the Portuguese brought ruin to the noble edifice of commerce, art learning which the Muslims of the coast had built with so much courage, faith, and pride over a course of century Islamic civilisation was put to test The Portuguese reign of two centuries of terror and oppression passed like a nightmare Islam awoke to a new dawn from 1689 C E The ruined cities rose afresh from the ashes, the merchant seafarers and coastal traders resumed anew their ancient trade with Oman, Persia, India, Arabia and turned their eyes to the pressure of new commerce

with Europe The Islamic spirit to a new freedom stirred men's souls and found voice in a great literary revival A wave of fervour and enthusiasm animated and stirred Islam and its civilisation throughout Africa Today Muslims have arisen again

R Bosworth Smith, in his book *Muhammedanism in Africa*, remarks, "What the Islamic civilisation in Africa implies to the Negro converts may be expressed in the following words 'The worst evil which, there is reason to believe, provided at one time over the whole of Africa and what is still to be found in many parts of Africa and those not far from Gold Coast and from our own settlements—cannibalism, and human sacrifice and the burial of the living infants—*disappear at once and for ever* at the advent of Islam Natives who hitherto lived in a state of nakedness or nearly so, began to dress and that neatly natives who never washed before began to wash and that frequently for ablutions for prayer (Namaz) are commended in the Qur'an The tribal organisations tend to give place to something which has wider basis, in other words, tribes coalesce into nations, and with the increase in energy and intelligence nations into empires Many such instances could be adduced from the history of Sudan and adjoining countries during the last hundred years War is better organised and is under some form of restraint. Quarrels are not picked up for nothing There is less indiscriminate plundering and greater security for property and life. Elementary schools spring up

"The well-built and neatly kept mosque, with its call to prayers, repeated five times a day, its Mecca pointing and niche, its "Imam," its weekly service, becomes the centre of the village instead of the ghastly fetish or Juju house The worship of one God, omnipotent, omnipresent and compassionate, is an immeasurable advance upon anything which the nations have been taught to worship before The Arabic language in which the Muslim scriptures are always written is a language of extraordinary copiousness and beauty Once learned it becomes the lingua franca to the tribes of half the continent and serves an introduction to literature or it is literature itself It substitutes moreover a written code of law for the arbitrary caprice of a chieftain—a change which is in itself an immeasurable advance in civilisation Manufacture and commerce sprung up, not the dumb trading or the elementary bartering of raw products which we know from Herodotus to have existed from the earliest times in Africa nor cowrie-shells or gunpowder or tobacco or rum which serve as chief medium of exchange along the coast but manufactures involving considerable skill and commerce which is elaborately organised, under their influence and that of more settled government which Islam brings in its train, there have arisen those great cities whose very existence, when they were first described by European travellers, could not be half described This is consistent with Islam (and its civilisation) and it encourages it It is an admitted fact that Islam gives to its new Negro convert an energy, a dignity, a self-reliance and a self-respect which is

too rarely found in the pagan or Christian fellows" (vide R Bosworth Smith's *Muhammedanism in Africa*, pages 798 to 800) Joseph Hill, in his well-known book *Arabic Civilisation* remarks, "Islam encouraged noble ambition for learning, craving for learning, spirit of tolerance, restless ambition to extend wider and yet wider the frontier of knowledge which so distinguishes Muslim mentality as stimulated lofty purposes Did not the Prophet say, 'He who leaves his home in search for knowledge walks on the path of God until he returns home and yet again 'God' makes easy the path of paradise to him who journeys for the sake of knowledge Erroneous is the complacent assumption of the West that only on European soil did Islam really bear flower or fruit, on Asiatic soil Islam reached its culminating points in art and science" The above extensive quotations have been reproduced from the European writers to prove the wonderful change and civilising influence effected by the Islamic civilisation in the life of the most uncivilised primitive peoples of Africa and also show the difference between the working of Islamic and Western civilisations in actual practice and its humanising influence on mankind

Islamic civilisation is based on Islamic democracy

The concept of democracy has been very differently interpreted in different countries Britain, U S A, the Soviet Union, France, proceeding on different ideals, all claim democratic set-up of constitution Islam's democracy is based on the basic unity of all humanity The Qur'an has repeatedly explained the basis of this democracy thus "O People! be careful of (your duty) to your Lord Who created you from a single being" (Chapter iv 1) "All people are a single nation, so Allah raised prophets as bearers of good news and as warners' (Chapter ii 213) The holy Prophet has also explained the true meaning of democracy He has said that the divisions of humanity into races tribes and nations ought not to detract from its fundamental oneness. All humanity, according to Islam, has a common origin, so they all strive to act in a universal and objective truth Hindu and Christian writers have admitted this truth of Islam Dean Inge in his outspoken essay has admitted this fact when he says that the Muslims from the Far East to the Far West in spite of disparity of language and race each having a feeling of belonging together They feel oneness not felt by the followers of any other religion Prof Snouck Hurgronje in his thesis *The Muslim World Today*—London 1926—writes, "The ideal of a league of human races has indeed been approached by Islam for the League of Nations was founded on this basis Islam takes the principle of equality of all human races so seriously as to put other communities to shame' Mr M N. Roy in his book, *Historical Role of Islam*, says, "Learning from the Muslims Europe became the leader of modern civilisation"

The great writer Sir Thomas Arnold writes, ' Islam is a great political power whose effect the world will feel more and more in the proportion as the ends of earth are brought closer and closer together *Islam is the only solution of all the ills of the world*

' This is not an idle boast on my part Events are proving it Every thoughtful observer of what is going on in Western Asia and Africa can appreciate this truth. For it is in Islam only that the idea of a real national League of Nations has been approached in the right and practicable way "

Islamic civilisation is grounded on the fundamental teachings of Islam Sir Charles Edward Archibold Hamilton remarks, "Islam teaches the inherent sinlessness of man It teaches that man and woman came from the same essence, possess the same soul and have been equipped with equal capacities for intellectual, spiritual and moral attainments

Difference between Islamic Democracy and Modern Democracy

The highest gift of the Western civilisation is its gift of democracy as Islamic democracy is the outcome of Islam's teachings and civilisation The inherent defect of modern democracy lies in that it counts heads only without weighing and appraising the same The Islamic Democracy fundamentally differs from the idea of the modern or Western Democracy. The democracy of Europe—overshadowed by the socialist agitation and anarchical fear—originated mainly in the economic regeneration of European society The democracy of Islam did not grow out of the intention of economic opportunity, it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being is a centre of talent, power, the possibilities and potentialities which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character So out of the plebian materials and out of men of the lowest strata and rank, Islam has produced men of noblest type and character The holy Prophet of Islam in his last farewell address has laid down the historic magna carta for democracy and human liberty In this address are embodied all the elements of Islamic democracy—namely equality, universal brotherhood, liberty, freedom, social justice, equality before law, protection of individual rights and equality of the mankind irrespective of caste, creed, colour and race and also of universal toleration.

No capitalist class in Islamic polity

The laws of Islam when properly applied prevent a large accumulation of wealth in a few hands as we find in the case of Western civilised society of Europe and America.

Mr Philip K Hitti in his book *History of the Arabs* has described the vitalising power of Islamic civilisation in these forceful words " If someone in the first-third of the seventh Christian century had had the audacity to prophesy that within a decade unheralded, unforeseen power from the hitherto barbarous and little known land of Arabia was to make its appearance, hurl itself against only two world powers of the

age, full heir to one—the Sasanid—and stop the other—Byzantine—of its fairest provinces, he would undoubtedly have been declared a lunatic, yet that was exactly what happened After the death of the Prophet, sterile Arabia seems to have been converted as if by magic into a nursery of heroes, the like of whom both in number and quality is hard to be found anywhere The military campaigns of Khalid and Amr bin 'As which ensued on all Iraq, Persia, Syria and Egypt are among the most brilliantly executed in the history of warfare and bear favourable comparison with those of Napolean, Hannibal, or Alexander "

"Islamic civilisation first of all introduced the idea of social equity which was unknown in all the lands of ancient civilisation," says Mr M N Roy. It was only Islam which first introduced it in the human society "Islam admitted the salvation of men of any form of faith provided they were virtuous"—so says Draper.

The Qur'an has laid down the fundamental law governing and regulating the political, executive, legislative, and judicial functions of the State but has left it to the people concerned to make them effective according to their own needs and requirements and exigencies of the time The Qur'an says, "Allah commands you that you entrust political authority to those who are best capable of discharging this trust (of his office) and that when you are called upon to judge between the people, you judge with justice and equity " In this verse, the main principles of democracy are laid down for a model constitution. As Islamic civilisation was founded on the fundamental teachings of Islam, the kings, sultans and emperors were never above law and they had to rule according to Quranic law Herein, also, Western civilisation differs from Islamic civilisation In the above, I have tried to distinguish between the essentials of the Western and Islamic civilisations Though there are some similarities in both and though Western civilisation owes much of its initial development to Islamic civilisation, it has developed some special features, which are anathema to Islam and its civilisation As I have tried to indicate in the above, the main distinguishing characteristics of the Western civilisation are

(1) Race and colour consciousness and racial hatred

(2) Caste barrier between white and coloured humanities, dividing the world into watertight compartments—white and coloured—but in the Islamic civilisation all human races, white, black and brown coloured, all belong to one universal brotherhood and there is no class or caste distinction, no natural or geographical barriers, no capitalism or communism, no ghetto, no apartheid, no segregation, no Negro and coloured and white tension—no superiority or inferiority complex

(3) Western civilisation is based on the concept of nationalism while the Islamic civilisation is based on the concept of oneness of mankind and unity of Allah

A socialist thinker William Brend wrote in 1944, "The so-called (Western) nationalism is at the root of all wars, therefore the very idea and conception of nationalism has to be purified into world brotherhood (as contemplated by Islam) The world body politics is cut to pieces by this very nationalism What a tragedy !" A great German writer Frederick Hertz, remarks, "The greatest obstacle in the path of human brotherhood is passion for nationalism or so-called patriotism which lock up people in watertight compartments like so many jails" George A Darsey and Fred Hertz in their book *Fundamentals of Human Conflicts* remark, "I am proud of my American heritage I am still more proud of being a man—since I am convinced that today our nationalism is enemy No 1 of humanity and the most dangerous stumbling-block in the path of progress and civilisation" But Islam in its own civilisation has cut at the root of such baneful conceptions of nationalism by declaring that all human beings are creatures of the same Allah and so belong to one humanity Hersfield in his *New Researches* remarks about Islam's civilisation in these words "Never has a people been led more rapidly to civilisation such as it was than were the Arabs through Islam." In the Oxford Junior Encyclepaedia the following remarks about Islam's contribution to the modern world progress and Western civilisation are found 'Yet so stale and degenerate was the world into which Islam had entered that for a time the Arabs bring with them a new and vigorous life and new organisation of society and a fresh outburst of art and literature.

"It is said that institutions created by the Arab Muslims were remarkable for their good sense and humanity and that justice was frequently well administered Even the Jews and Christians so long as they paid taxes received the protection of the Islamic State The modern world also owes a debt to Islam for keeping alive and fostering art and science through dark ages in the great centres of Arab civilisation at Baghdad, Cairo and Cordova"

Superiority of Islamic Civilisation to other Old Civilisations

H G Wells in the *History of the World* remarks, "And if the reader entertains any delusion about a fine civilisation either Persian, Roman, Hellenic or Egyptian being submerged by this (Islam's) flood, the sooner he dismisses such ideas the better —Islam flourished because it was the best social and political order the times could offer" The Western civilisation with its modern industry, modern techniques, with its hydrogen and atom bombs, its material prosperity has not solved the problem of man Mankind today is facing essentially the same problem as it faced throughout the ages

Western civilisation is leading mankind to its own destruction headlong by its discovery of atom bomb, radiation and other missiles to destroy humanity as it is not based on religion as Islamic civilisation is based on Islam's teachings and on spiritual and moral plane. Research into pre-history and anthropology has revealed the all-important part played by religion in this epoch-making change. "Religion is like the womb from which comes some of the germs of human civilisation," writes the well-known French anthropologist Emile Durkheim. "The most diverse practices, both those that make possible the continuation of moral life (law, morals, fine arts) and those serving the material life (the natural, technical and practices) are directly and indirectly derived from religion." Religion both inspired the pioneers of new way of life and was the warp and woof of the embryonic civilisation itself. This was true of Islamic civilisation but it cannot be said of the Western civilisation which is not based on spiritual forces. Hence the world and mankind are faced with three possibilities. (1) A renewed outbreak of international war, aggravated by class warfare on a gigantic scale which with or without atomic bombs sent the human races into a new dark age.

Or, (2) a long-drawn decline marked by the establishment of one more totalitarian empire of bureaucratic or materialistic type over large areas with anarchy and confusion in other areas.

Or, (3) a transition to an entirely new type of civilisation and world society in place of Western civilisation, based on moral and spiritual ideology, pioncered by a few men now but valid for all mankind.

In assessing the possibilities for the future, particularly for the emergence of a new world order, the moral and spiritual forces will play an important role in this development and such forces will provide the inspiration and dynamic force for bringing in this greatest revolution of the world, namely one world-wide community of mankind as contemplated by Islam. The brilliant Islamic civilisation that developed in the Middle East, North Africa and parts of Europe and Asia at a time when Europe was in barbarism but the Muslim civilisation having roused the West to dynamic energy and modern progress became static but now there are visible signs and indications all over the Muslim nations that once again the brilliant Islamic civilisation is entering into dynamic phase and Muslim Africa after a brisk awakening is taking her place in the rapid evolution of the new world society wherein there will be universal brotherhood of all human races irrespective of caste, creed, colour, geographical limitations, etc., and wherein all mankind will work for common good to fulfil the mission assigned to human beings by Allah. In other words, the present world is rapidly drifting towards Islam's fundamental concept of the one world-government and society.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

Muhammad The Holy Prophet	10	0
The Shadowless Prophet of Islam	6	0
Muhammad of Arabia	1	0
Muhammad Upon Whom be Peace	0	12
The Saint of Jilan	2	0
Heroes & Heroines of Islam		
Book I	0	12
Book II	0	12
Book III	0	12
My Life A Fragment	6	0
Mohammad Ali Jinnah—A Political Study	12	8
Ibn as-Sikkit	1	4
Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit	17	1
Falaki-i-Shirwani—His Times, Life and Works	10	2
Dara Shukoh	8	0
A Prince of Arabia	17	1
Abu'l Ala the Syrian	3	8
Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan	17	1
Don Juan of Persia (a Shi'ah Catholic, 1560-1604)	10	2
Muhammad the Prophet	1	0
The Prophet of the Desert	3	0
The Image of Greatness	1	0
The Greatest Man	1	0
The Messenger (Life of Mohammad	7	8
The Prophet & Islam	1	0
The Holy Saint of Ajmer	3	4
Sayyidah Zainab · the Heroine of Karbala	2	0
As-Sajjad	2	8
Meet Mr. Jinnah	7	8
The Great Leader	3	0
Life Story of Quaid-i-Azam	2	4
Architects of Pakistan	1	8
Falcon of Spain	4	0
Ibn al-Arabi	2	0
Ibn Khaldun—His Life and Works	6	0
History of Shah Ismail Safawi	10	0
Life & Works of Ibn er Rumi .	10	2
Muhammad Ali Hazin	6	0
Sher Shah Suri	2	0
Munir-ud-Dowlah	6	0
Iqbal's Mind & Thought	3	0
Oriental Assembly	6	9
Traveller's Prelude	14	10
Beyond Euphrates	10	5
Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India	10	0
An Account of the Rise & Progress of Mahometanism with the Life of Mahomet	6	0

INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON EUROPE

Prof
Ziauddin Ahmad

In this article Prof Ziauddin shows how Islamic culture and science influenced the West and was instrumental in creating the modern civilisation He says that the genesis of modern English literature points to the north of France which was itself influenced by the Moors of Spain Again, he claims that Roger Bacon was no more than an apostle of Muslim science to Christian Europe and he fervently believed that knowledge of Arabic and Arab science was for his contemporaries the only way to true knowledge Prof Ziauddin says that while the Greeks systematised, theorised and generalised the minute observation of life and nature and detailed experimental investigation were foreign to the Greek temperament He also claims that Sufi ideas and poetry had a great deal of influence on English and American literature In this connection he cites the example of Emerson whose pantheistic outlook seems to have the result of the Sufi impact This seems to be a large claim and cannot be accepted without substantiation because pantheistic poetry in the West might have been directly influenced by Hindu and Buddhist sources We know that Schopenhaur was a great admirer of Indian philosophy

FOUR years after the death of Justinian, who had put an end to philosophy in Greece, the great Prophet of Arabia was born at Makkah, in 571 A D

A member of the noble family of Quraysh, he was himself initiated into the mysteries of commerce, and had already won the exalted title of "Al-Amin," while trading on behalf of his noble mistress, the lady Khadija Later on, by his solitary meditations within a little cave on a hill outside Makkah called Hira this sincere man of God was drawn to the conclusion that, "There is no god but Allah "

This momentous revelation opened a new chapter in the world history A new era dawned His life was entirely spent in weaning Arabia from idolatry, and he saw what is given to so few to see The fruits of his labour were gathered even in his lifetime His greatness lies in the tremendous force and enthusiasm with which he imparted his creed which may be called the rationalistic religion of Islam

The Saracenic Conquest

The concept of Tauhid (Monotheism) cemented the Arabians into one nation, which they had never been before, and the country quickly left its 'Age of Ignorance' far behind Moreover, the domination of the world was soon to pass over into the hands

of a great nation, whose chief traits were bravery, truth, munificence, characteristic high-mindedness and hospitality

On the death of the Prophet (June 8, 632 A.D.) the Mussalmans were governed in turn by four of the most eminent among his companions, Hazrat Abu Bakr (632-34), Hazrat 'Umar (634-44), Hazrat 'Uthman (644-56), and Hazrat 'Ali (656-61), (Peace be on them!)

'Umar has scarcely seated himself on the caliphate when the Saracenic conquests began At Damascus the Roman army was overthrown (September 635) Heraclius saw the complete overthrow of his Roman army at the battle of Yarmuk (August 636)

Jerusalem was the next objective Khalifa 'Umar journeyed from Madina to take formal possession of that historic city and we know how unostentatiously he arrived at the gates of Jerusalem in 638 Tripolis, Tyre and Caesarea fell next The sailors of Phoenicia equipped the Saracenic fleet which drove the Roman navy into the Hellespont The Arabs now gained the command of the sea Cyprus (649) and Rhodes (654) fell and the army of the Khalifa lay in front of Constantinople, but it was not till the year 1453, that the Turks captured it During the time of the conqueror of Jerusalem, all Syria from south to north was completely subdued The fate of Persia was settled at the battle of Qadisiyah (June 637), the battlefield of Nahavand saw the last of Chosroes flying for his dear life Magianism received a heavy blow The country beyond the Oxus was reduced We next see the victorious banner of Islam displayed on the banks of the Indus, and the Emperor of Pekin demanding the friendship of the Khalifa at Madina The Khalifa now turned their eyes further to the west Memphis soon fell and Alexandria was invested When the veteran troops of Syria captured this famous city of the Ptolemies, the Saracenic movement took an intellectual shape Egypt was the material and spiritual granary of the Byzantines, and when Heraclius received the fatal tidings of the fall of Alexandria (646) in his palace at Constantinople, the emperor was so overwhelmed with grief that he lived scarcely a month after the fall of the city It was not the intention of the Khalifa to limit their conquests to Egypt 'Uthman, the third Khalifa, contemplated the annexation of the entire North African coasts His General 'Abdullah set out from Memphis and beseiged Tripolis Twenty years afterwards the Muslim army forced its way from the Nile to the Atlantic

The Caliph 'Abdul Malik resolved on the reduction of Carthage (Qartajannah) His general conquered the great rival of Rome The captured Christian capitals numbered three by now Jerusalem which was the birthplace of Christianity, Alexandria which was the home of Greek Christianity and, lastly, Carthage, the home of St Augustine and of Latin Christianity In little more than one generation all the population of North

Africa had become Muslim and their children were speaking Arabic The new religion conferred upon the converts a sense of dignity, self-reliance and self-respect to which they had been totally unfamiliar It gave hope to the so-called slave, and a wonderful sense of brotherhood to its followers, a brotherhood which freely allowed the water-carriers of the Khalifa to stand on the same prayer mat on which stood his master to pray with him to God

The Invasion of Europe

The Khalifa Al-Walid next authorised the invasion of Europe, and the conquests of Andalusia Musa ibn-Nusayr, ably aided by his lieutenant, General Tariq, pushed northwards and finally completed the reduction of the Spanish Peninsula in 711 A.D , but for Charles Martel, the Muslims would have conquered all France also Does a study of the Muslim conquests not show us how large a measure of their success was due to the marvellous enthusiasm that had its roots in their religion, and in their religion alone. Certainly they were not lukewarm Muslims of our degenerate days

In short, in only ninety years' time, the Umayyads made of Islam an Empire In their days the Islamic Empire grew stronger and stronger than it ever was By 732 A.D the Muslim conquests had reached its apogee which they—or for the matter of that even Alexander, Caesar or Napoleon—ever attained The Caliph of Damascus had his lieutenants beyond the Oxus and the Pyrennees on the shores of the Caspian, and in the valley of the Nile. We next find the 'Abbasids overthrowing the reigning House

The 'Abbasids (750-1258)

Hitherto the Arabs had played a dominant role in the Muslim community Now the tables were turned We pass from the period of Arabian nationalism to one of Persian nationalism, to one of Persian ascendancy, or Persianised 'Abbasids and cosmopolitan culture Al-Mansur, the Khalifa, transferred the seat of Islamic Government to Baghdad It was not a mere casual circumstance that the 'Abbasids favoured the Persian element and that they transferred the seat of government to where it had been held successively by Achaemenids, Arsacids and Sasanids in the plains of the lower Euphrates and Tigris They needed it Damascus could never have suited them Al-Mansur established schools of medicines and law in Baghdad His grandson Harun al-Rashid (786-809 A D) placed all his schools under the superintendence of a Nestorian and ordered that to every mosque in his dominion a school should be attached But the Augustan, the golden age of Arab learning, was during the Caliphate of Al-Mamun (813-833) A D He made Baghdad the centre of science, collected great libraries, and surrounded himself with learned men Under the influence of Indians, Greeks, Nestorians, and Jews, the Arabs overran the realm of science and philosophy as quickly as they had

overrun the provinces of the Roman Empire In less than a century after the death of the great Prophet of Arabia, the works of the chief Greek and Indian philosophic authors had been translated into Arabic It must be borne in mind that the Arabs cultivated Science after the manner of Alexandrian Greeks, i e they preferred the inductive method of Aristotle, as suiting a young and virile race, to the reveries of Plato.

The City of Baghdad

A splendid and glorious life was that of Baghdad in the days of the mighty 'Abbasids when their capital had towered to the zenith of power. The centre of human civilisation was then confined to the metropolis of the Muslim Empire, exceeding in extent the widest limits of Rome And Baghdad was essentially a city of pleasure, a Paris of the 8th century Baghdad—the Darul Islam—was a worthy successor of Babylon and Nineveh which had out-rivalled Damascus and possessed unrivalled advantages of site and climate The city of palaces and government offices, hotels, pavilions, mosques and colleges, of kiosks, and squares, bazars, markets, pleasure grounds and orchards adorned with all the graceful charms which Arab architecture had borrowed from the Byzantines, lay couched upon the banks of the Tigris under a sky of marvellous purity and in a climate which makes life a luxury of tranquil enjoyment It was surrounded by far extending suburbs and villages, dear to the votaries of pleasure With the roar of a gigantic capital mingled the hum of prayer, the carolling of birds, the thrilling of harp and lute and bewitching strains of the professional singers, poets, wits and dancers The splendour of the capital kept pace with the prosperity of the Empire Within a short time, from a fortress it grew into world centre of fabulous wealth of glory and international significance—standing aloft as the only rival of Byzantium It was then that Baghdad became a city with no peer throughout the whole world Such was Baghdad, and who could have believed in those days that this great city would one day be pillaged by Halaku and later on by Taimur, the lame

The Magnificence of the Caliphs

Arab princes and their great men have been famous for highly respecting and liberally regarding men of light and learning, especially the poets Harun al-Rashid used to pour water on the hands of a blind man who was one of the most learned persons of his time, prior to his dining with him It is related of 'Abdul Malik who ruled towards the close of the first century of the Hijra that when on one occasion a learned man elegantly informed him of an error of some kind or other, he ordered his mouth to be filled with pearls. "These," he said, "are things to be treasured up, not to be expended," and for this delicate hint he was further rewarded with 30,000 pieces of silver and several costly articles of apparel The following striking record will convey an idea of the

magnificence and liberality of Muslim Prince, and at the same time it shows how heinous crimes even in those highly placed officials used to be punished A person chancing to look at a register kept by one of the officers of Harun, saw in it the following entry "Four thousand pieces of gold, the price of a dress of honour for Jafter, the son of Yahya, the Vizier" A few days after he saw beneath this entry written "Ten Karats, the price of Naptha and reeds for burning of the body of Jafter, the son of Yahya" The end of Jaffer, the Barmecid, was like unto that of Buzchemehr the vizier of Nawsherwan the just

The Literary History of Baghdad

To dwell at length on the literary history of Baghdad would amount to writing a history of Muslim Science and Literature Sedillot did not a whit exaggerate the truth when he said that from the beginning an essentially scientific character was the marked feature of the school of Baghdad To accept nothing as truth what was not borne out by experience and experiment, was its cherished aim The literary history of Muslims cannot be dismissed without a passing reference to that most singular society called "Ikhwan-al-Safa" (the Brethren of Sincerity) It consisted of forty members, a curious anticipation of the French Academy, and the transactions of this most unique society have thrown a flood of light on the literary and scientific aims of the Mussalmans and our thanks are due to Prof Dieterici for his indefatigable labour in having unearthed its forgotten treatises by translating the Rasa'il (epistles) in 16 volumes The Professor goes so far as to say that the "forebodings of even the Newtonian law of gravitation are found among the Arabs"

The Break-up of the Islamic Empire

After the death of Harun al Rashid (809), the mighty Muslim Empire began slowly to collapse The unity of Islam, in political sense, was now destroyed, but, out of the chaos which ensued, three Muslim Empires gradually took shape in the East

1 The Turkish
2 The Persian
3 The Moghal

The Turks About the year 1000 A D Islamic Empire was in a process of decay The Turks arrived not a moment too soon Their timely conversion was very serviceable to the cause of Islam They revived the old dreams of the conquest of Constantinople and supplied the element of vision which was so sadly lacking in the Islamic body politic In 1358 the Turks crossed the Hellespont, and in 1453 they conquered Constantinople, which had been till then the home of Greek and Latin scholarship In that year the scholars fled, taking with them their books and manuscripts, and passed on to Italy where

they obtained the warmest welcome and most notable hospitality, and from Italy New Learning passed into England

Civilisation and Splendour of the Spanish Arabs

With the Persian dynasty of Ispahan and the Moghal dynasty of India we are not concerned here Every school boy knows the history of Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzib, so we shall now pass on straight to our next subject

The discord between the Omayyads, Fatimids and 'Abbasids—the deep-seated results of the old tribal jealousies—resulted in the tripartite division of the Muslim Empire in the 11th century into the Caliphates of Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordova The 'Abbasid dynasty in Asia, the Fatimids in Egypt and the Omayyads in Spain became rivals, not merely in politics but also in letters and science The Fatimid Library in Cairo numbered about a lakh, the great library of the Spanish Caliphs numbered six lakhs, the catalogue alone consisting of 40 volumes

Having crossed the straits of Gibraltar, the Arabs continued to carry out the precepts of the Prophet of Islam and kept the torch of learning burning Scarcely had they become firmly settled in Spain, when they commenced a brilliant literary career In Art and Science, the Caliphate of Cordova rivalled if it did not outshine the glory of Baghdad

Cordova

Under the administration of the Arabs, and at its highest point of prosperity, Cordova became a beautiful city of palaces and gardens After sunset a man might walk through its solidly paved streets, in a straight line, for ten miles in the light of the public lamps Al-Maqqari says that with its one hundred and thirteen thousand homes, twenty-one suburbs, seventy libraries and numerous book-shops, mosques and palaces, it acquired international fame and inspired awe and admiration in the hearts of travellers It enjoyed miles of paved streets illuminated by lights from the bordering houses, whereas, according to John W Draper, "Seven hundred years after this time there was not so much as one public lamp in London, and in Paris, centuries subsequently, whoever stepped over his threshold on a rainy day stepped up to his ankles in mud" (*A History of Intellectual Development of Europe*, revised edition, London 1910, vol II, p 31) Other cities as Granada, Seville and Toledo considered themselves rivals of Cordova.

The palaces of the Caliphs were magnificently decorated They stood forth against the clear, blue sky or were embossed in wood They had overhanging orange gardens and courts with cascades of water. The walls were adorned with arabesques Huge

chandeliers hung from the ceiling, the apartments of the Sultans were sometimes incrusted with lapislazuli

The Alhambra, the world renowned castle made of red stucco is still counted as one of the wonders of the world, worthy to be mentioned in the same breath as the Taj of Agra The furniture was of sandal and citron wood, inlaid with mother of pearl, ivory, silver or relieved with gold, such was Cordova

And now, a word about the influence of the Spanish Muslims on European Literature, Philosophy and Science

The refined society of Cordova prided itself on its politeness A gay contagion spread from the beautiful Moorish miscreants to their sisters beyond the mountains The south of France became full of witcheries of female fascinations and dancing to the lute and mandolin Even in Italy and Sicily the love song became the favourite composition, and out of these genial but not orthodox beginnings the romantic literature of modern Europe arose Muslim Spain inauguarated the age of chivalry and her influence passed through Provence into the other countries of Europe, bringing into birth a new poetry and a new culture

Influence on English Literature

Across the Pyrennees, literary, philosophic and military adventurers were perpetually passing, and thus the luxury, the taste and above all the chivalrous gallantry and elegant courtesies of Moorish society found their way from Granada into Provence. The French and English nobles imbibed the Arab admiration of the horse Hunting and falconry became their fashionable pastimes It was a scene of grandeur and gallantry, the pastimes being tilts and tournaments And this reminds us of the Normans Normandy, we know, is in France The battle of Hastings is considered one of the decisive battles of the world The effects of the Norman invasion on the English mind and fancy, which had been hitherto provincial and uncouth, were to infuse the lightness, grace and self-confidence of romance into the literature of the period The genesis of modern English literature points to the north of France and the Trouveres, who were themselves influenced by the polished Moors of Spain Just take the case of one of the great romances of the East, the Arabian Nights, and notice its influence Many romantic writers of Europe have acknowledged their debt to even an imperfect translation of the tales Balzac never turned to them in vain, when his prodigious imagination needed a spur Thackery has told us in a charming passage how the "Nights" fascinated and inspired him In the life of Charles Dickens we are told that the dormant imagination of the future novelist was roused to action by a perusal of the "Thousand and One Nights." Hawthorne's letters are filled with allusions to the stories whose influence can

be traced as clearly in many of the shorter stories Stevenson, who knew the Burton version, tells us in his *Memoirs and Portraits*, that the "Arabian Nights" was one of the books that helped to form his mind and style

Scientific Progress

The Saracen Empire was dotted all over with colleges, and in the heyday of Muslim power Spain alone boasted of 70 libraries Colleges were also established in Mongolia Tartary, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Morocco and Fez Great was the patronage that learning received at this time To give an adequate statement of the results of this imposing scientific movement would far transcend the limits of these pages The ancient sciences were gradually extended and new ones brought into existence

At various centres of the Empire observatories were established under Al-Mamun, and by exchanging observations Islam succeeded in revising the astronomical tables of Ptolemy, and in ascertaining, with greater precision, the obliquity of the ecliptic and the orbits of the sun, the moon and the planets In a most ingenious manner Al-Beruni, who is considered the most profound and original savant and mathematician that Islam produced in the realm of natural science, determined the magnitude of the earth's circumference He brought out in 1030 A D an account of the whole science of astronomy called Al-Qanun al-Mas'udi fi al-Hayat w-al-Najum He has discussed scientifically the then controversial theory of earth's rotation on its axis and made accurate determination of latitudes and longitudes

Two of the oldest Muslim astronomers Al-Farghani and Al-Battani were the preceptors of Europe and under the name of Alfraganus and Albategnius enjoyed high and widespread renown Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Jabir al-Battani, undoubtedly the greatest astronomer of his time, made his observations and studies in al-Raqqah from 877 to 918 His contributions were original According to Prof Hitti, "He made several emendations to Ptolemy and rectified the calculations for the orbits of the moon and certain planets He proved the possibility of annular eclipses of the sun and determined with greater accuracy the obliquity of the ecliptic, the length of the tropical year and the seasons and the true and mean orbit of the sun" (*History of the Arabs*, p 376)

Al-Battani wrote a large treatise and compiled astronomical tables His greatest claim to fame is undoubtedly that, if he did not discover, he at least popularised the first notions of trigonometrical ratios as we use them today Ptolemy used chords, for the calculation of which he had only one main theorem, a very clumsy one Al-Battani substituted the sine for the chord He used tangent and cotangent and he was acquaint-

ed with two or three fundamental relations in trigonometry Joseph Hell has rightly remarked that "In the domain of trigonometry the theory of sine, cosine and tangent is an heirloom of the Arabs The brilliant epochs of Peurbach, of Regiomontanus, of Copernicus, cannot be recalled without reminding us of the fundamental and preparatory labours of the Arab Mathematician" (*Arab Civilization*, p 97)

Writing about the great advance made by the Muslims in the domain of mathematics, Joseph Hell comments thus "Taking over the elements of mathematics from Euclid, the decimal system from the Indians in the ninth century, they soon made substantial progress The adoption of the sign "Zero" (Arabic Sifr) was a step of the highest importance, leading up to the so-called arithmetic of positions. With the help of the Arab system of numbers, elementary methods of calculation were perfected, the doctrines of the properties of, and the relations between, the equal and the unequal and prime numbers, squares and cubes, was elaborated, algebra was enriched by the solution of the third and fourth degrees, with the help of geometry and so on About the year 820 A D the Mathematician Al-Khawarzimi wrote a text book of algebra in examples, and this elementary treatise—translated into Latin—was used by Western scholars down to the sixteenth century" (*Arab Civilization*, p 97)

" Besides an important treatise on astronomy, Al-Khawarzimi also wrote a book in Indian (Hindi) method of calculation and another on algebra. The first was translated into Latin by Adelard of Bath, the two others by Gerard of Cremona, the treatise on astronomy and that on arithmetic are known only from these Latin translations" (*Legacy of Islam*, p 381).

The Muslim contributions in the field of Chemistry and Physics are also of far-reaching importance. Joseph Hell has paid genuine tributes " The oldest chemists, as a body, were alchemists This notwithstanding, in their writings we find items of chemical knowledge which cannot be shown to have existed anterior to their times. They describe the methods of melting and solution ; of filtering, crystallising, sublimating. They knew alum, salt petre, salammonia, alkali prepared from tarter and salt petre, and among them we first notice the knowledge of mineral acids The increase in the number of artificially prepared substances, the perfection of methods handed down from the Greeks, the application of these methods to most diverse materials, are the striking achievements of the Arabs in the domain of chemistry. If, in this direction, they advanced considerably beyond the Greeks, it was due to the fact that in the place of hazy, mystical speculations they introduced objective experiments into the study of nature" (*Arab Civilization*, p 100).

The later physicians succeeded in displacing the works of Galen and Hippocrates for several centuries and substituting their own at the universities, of this class of original

writers the oldest is Muhammad ibn Zakariyyah al-Razi (865-925) According to Prof E G Brown, "Al-Razi was the greatest and most original of all the Muslim physicians, and one of the most prolific as an author" (*Arbian Medicine*, p 44) His erudition was all-embracing and his scientific output remarkable, amounting to more than 200 works, half of which are medical He also wrote a monumental work "Kitabul-Mansuri" in ten volumes of which a Latin translation appeared in Milan in the eighties of the fifteenth century Parts of it have been recently rendered into German and French One of the most celebrated of his monographs is that on "Smallpox and Measles" (al-Judari-wal-Hasbah) It was first translated into Latin in 1565 and later into several European languages, including English, and went into forty editions between 1498-1866 According to Prof P K Hitti, author of *History of the Arabs*, this treatise served to establish Al-Razi's reputation as one of the keenest original thinkers and greatest clinician not only of Islam but of the Middle Ages" (p 366) The most important medical work of Al-Razi was "Al-Hawi" (the comprehensive book), an encyclopaedia in the annals of medical information It was translated into Latin under the auspices of Charles I of Anjou by the Sicilian Jewish physician, Faraj ibn Salim (Farragut) in 1279 and was repeatedly printed from 1486 onwards These works of Razi exercised a remarkable influence on European medicine

The most outstanding and illustrious personality in the domain of medical science after Al-Razi is that of Ibn Sina, universally known to the West as Avicenna (980-1037) and called by the Arabs Al-Shaykh-al-Rais Among his scientific works the leading two are "Kitab-al-Shifa" (Book of Healing) and "Al Qanun fit Tibb" (the canons of medicine) This book is the culmination and masterpiece of Arabic systematisation This medical encyclopaedia deals with general medicines, simple drugs, diseases affecting all parts of the body from the head to the foot, specially pathology and pharmacopocia The "Qanun" was published in Arabic in Rome in 1593 It was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in the twelfth century It became the text book for medical education in the schools of Europe "The demand for it may be gleaned from the fact that in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century it was issued sixteen times—fifteen editions being in Latin and one in Hebrew, and that it was re-issued more than twenty times during the sixteenth century" (*Legacy of Islam*, p 330) In 1930 Cameron Gruner partly translated this book into English, called *A Treatise on the Canons of Medicine of Avicenna*. From the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries the "Qanun" served as the chief guide to medical science in the West Dr William Osler, author of *The Evolution of Modern Science*, has rightly remarked, "The Qanun has remained a medical Bible for a longer period than any other work."

Optics was developed to its highest degree by Ibn al-Haitham (Alhazen) of Basra (965 A D) His main work is "On Optics," the original Arabic is lost, but the book survives in Latin He opposes the theory of Euclid and Ptolemy that the eye sends out visual rays to the object of vision He discusses the propagation of light and colours, optic illusions and reflection Alhazen examines also the refraction of light-rays through transparent mediums (air, water). In detailing his experiments with spherical segments (glass vessels filled with water), he comes very near to the theoretical discovery of magnifying lenses which was made practically in Italy three centuries later, whilst more than six centuries were to pass before the law of sines was established by Snell and Descartes Roger Bacon (thirteenth century) and all medieval Western writers on optics—notably the Pole Witelo or Vitellio—base their optical works largely on Alhazen's "Opticae Thesaurus" His work also influenced Leonardo da Vinci and Johann Kepler (*Legacy of Islam*, pp 333-34)

In the field of geography, too, the Muslims made a great headway During Caliph Al-Mamun (813-833) the government appointed a Committee under Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khawarzimi to make a survey of the globe Seventy great minds worked to explore the field and ultimately they were able to produce the first map of the glob in 830 A D This activity of the Arabs heralded the dawn of a new adventure in the rough seas. Guided by this scientific data, Columbus was inspired to hazard out in the seas five centuries later, believing that the earth was a globe, and not a flat saucer Thus in search of Indian condiments, Columbus, who had been taught this knowledge of geography by one Arab, found the American continent "When Vasco de Gama, after his circumnavigation of the African continent in 1498 A D, had reached Malindi on the east coast of Africa, it was an Arab pilot, Ahmed ibn Majid who showed him the way to India According to Portuguese sources this pilot was in possession of a very good sea map and of other maritime instruments The same pilot is also known as the writer of a sailing-manual for the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the South China Sea and the East Indian Archipelago" (*Legacy of Islam*, p 96)

Briffault in his book, *The Making of Humanity*, had honestly expressed the indebtedness of Europe to the Arabs "It was under the influence of the Arabs and the Moorish revival of culture and not in the 15th century, that a real renaissance took place Spain, not Italy, was the cradle of the re-birth of Europe After steadily sinking lower and lower into barbarism, it had reached the darkest depths of ignorance and degradation when cities of the Saracenic world, Baghdad, Cairo, Cordova and Toledo, were growing centres of civilisation and intellectual activity It was there that the new life arose which was to grow into a new phase of

human evolution From the time when the influence of their culture made itself felt, began the stirring of a new life.

"It was under their successors at the Oxford School (that is, successors to the Muslims of Spain) that Roger Bacon learned Arabic and Arabic Sciences Neither Roger Bacon nor his later namesake has any title to be credited with having introduced the experimental method Roger Bacon was no more than one of the apostles of Muslim Science and Method to Christrian Europe, and he never wearied of declaring that knowledge of Arabic and Arabic Science was for his contemporaries the only way to true knowledge Discussions as to who was the originator of the experimental method are part of the colossal misrepresentation of the origins of European civilisation The experimental method of Arabs was by Bacon's time widespread and eagerly cultivated throughout Europe

"Science is the most momentous contribution of Arab civilisation to the modern world, but its fruits were slow in ripening Not until long after Moorish culture had sunk back into darkness did the giant which it had given birth to rise in his might It was not science only which brought Europe back to life Other and manifold influences from the civilisation of Islam communicated its first glow to European life

"For although there is not a single aspect of European growth in which the decisive influence of Islamic culture is not traceable, nowhere is it so clear and momentous as in the genesis of that power which constitutes the permanent distinctive force of the modern world, and the supreme source of its victory—natural science and the scientific spirit

"The debt of our science to that of the Arabs does not consist in startling discoveries of revolutionary theories, science owes a great deal more to Arab culture, it owes its existence The Astronomy and Mathematics of the Greeks were a foreign importation never thoroughly acclimatised in Greek culture The Greeks systematised, generalised and theorised, but the patient ways of investigation, the accumulation of positive knowledge, the minute method of science, detailed and prolonged observation and experimental enquiry were altogether alien to the Greek temperament. Only in Hellenistic Alexandria was any approach to scientific work conducted in the ancient classical world. What we call science arose in Europe as a result of a new spirit of enquiry, of new methods of investigation, of the methods of experiment, observation, measurement, of the development of Mathematics, in a form unknown to the Greeks That spirit and those methods were introduced into the European world by the Arabs.

"It is highly probable that but for the Arabs, modern European civilisation would never have arisen at all, it is absolutely certain that but for them, it would not have assumed that character which has enabled it to transcend all previous phases of evolution" (pp 190-202).

On Philosophy

The reign of Hakam II was indeed the golden age of Arabian learning in Spain The Caliph was passionately devoted to letters. His agents were sent to all parts of the East to collect rare books It was under him that the study of philosophy was commenced and cultivated Among the Muslim philosophers of Spain, Ibn Bajjah and Ibn Rushd occupy the first and foremost place Besides the honour of having Ibn Rushd for his pupil, it is said of Ibn Bajjah by some Arab writers that "if we establish a comparison between his essays and those of Ibn Sina and Al-Ghazali, the two authors who most promoted the study of philosophy in the Islamic world after Al-Farabi, we shall find the balance inclining rather on the side of Ibn Bajjah.

Averroism

The Eastern doctrines of Absorption and Emanation were first introduced by Aristotle into Eastern Europe Philo, the Jew, based his philosophy on the theory of Emanation From the Alexandrian Greeks these ideas passed into the Saracenic philosophers. In the intellectual history of the Arabs, the Jew and the Saracen are continually seen together From them conjointly Europe derived its philosophic ideas, which in course of time culminated in Averroism Now, Averroism is Philosophic Islamism The work of Ibn Rushd invaded Christendom by two routes (*a*) from Spain, through Southern France, they reached Italy, and (*b*) from Sicily they passed to Naples and South Italy. The doctrine of Emanation and Absorption thus introduced into Europe affected the ranks of intelligence and fashion all over the continent. Even as early as the 10th century persons having a taste for learning found their way into Spain, a practice in subsequent years still more indulged in when it became illustrated by the brilliant success of Gilber who passed from the University of Cordova to the Papacy of Rome. Petu and many ecclesiastics and learned men even from Britain were found studying in Andalusia Into Italy and England, Averroism had silently made its way. It found favour in the eyes of the Franciscans, and a focus in the ancient University of Paris Michael Scott made the writings of Averroes known by his translations. We meet countinually Arabian ideas in Roger Bacon, the forerunner of his great namesake, and eventually in Spinoza The Aristotelian or Inductive Philosophy, clad in the Saracenic costume and given by Ibn Rushd, found favour with Leonardo de Vinci to whom some would attribute the Renaissance of Learning in Europe Bertrand Russell commenting

on Averroism writes, in his *History of Western Philosophy*, "Averroes is more important in Christian than in Muslim philosophy In the latter he was a dead end, in the former a beginning. He was translated into Latin early in the 13th century by Michael Scott, as his works belong to the later half of the 12th century, this is surprising His influence in Europe was very great, not only on the scholastics, but also on a large body of unprofessional free-thinkers, who denied immortality and were called Averroists Among professional philosophers, his admirers were at first especially among the Franciscans and at the University of Paris" (p 447)

Sufism

A mention of Averroism—or the doctrine of Emanation and Absorption, that the soul of man has emanated or issued from God and shall finally be absorbed into God—naturally leads one to say a word or two on Sufism, which has also exercised its quota of influence on Western thoughts Sufism owes its origin to a little Persian sect who early struck out a path for themselves by discarding all costly robes and clothing themselves in black woollen garments These were henceforth known as Sufis, and their way as "Tasawwoof" Abu Hashim was the first to bear the name of Sufi Al-Misri may be said to have given Sufism its permanent shape By the end of the 3rd century A H, Quietism had changed into Pantheism and kindled a belief that the Beloved and Lover are one and indentical Two theories are advanced as to the origin of Sufism (1) Reaction of the human mind from the Transcendental to the Imminent type, and (2) Neoplatonic influence

It is highly probable that the Seven Philosophers who were forced to leave their homes through the tyranny of Justinian, who forbade the teaching of Philosophy at Athens, should have exercised a considerable influence upon a few of the more thoughtful Persians when these Neoplatonists paid a visit to the Persian court in the 6th century, and Neoplatonism is the doctrine of Ecstacy, and this bears directly upon Sufism These points form a broad outline of Sufism The later Sufis elaborated the ideas, gave them a rich and beautiful setting and built about them one of the most interesting phases of mystical poetry the world has ever known They, however, changed the Neoplatonists' purely abstract conception of God to an essentially personal one, and were strongly opposed to a distinct personality from the Beloved

Finally, the "Abu Bram" of the Indian Vedantists found an echo in the "Anal Haq" (I am the truth) of the Sufi Mansur al-Hallaj (died 922 A D), who had to pay with his life for this utterance His mystic theory has been clearly expressed in these verses.

"I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I,
We are two souls dwelling in one body,

When thou seest me, thou seest Him,
And when thou seest Him, thou seest us both "

Allama Shibli's remark, that "Tasawoof" is control of the faculties and observance of breath, certainly points to the belief that the later Sufis got certain ideas from the Vedantic Philosophy In seeking to submerge themselves in God, the Sufis arrived at the Indian conception of 'The All-One '

All Pantheistic methods and utterances are curiously alike In William James book, *Varieties of Religious Experiences*, we read "This overcoming of all the usual barriers between the individual and the Absolute is the great mystic achievement They say that in mystic states we become one with the Absolute and we become aware of our oneness This is the everlasting and triumphant mystical tradition, hardly altered by differences of clime or creed In Hinduism, in Neoplatonism, in Sufism, in Pantheistic Christian mysticism, in Whitmanism we find the same recurring note, so that there is about mystical utterance an eternal unanimity which ought to make a critic stop and think, and which brings about that which the mystical classics have, as has been said, neither birth-day nor native land Perpetualy telling of the unity of man and God, their speech antedates language and they do not grow old 'Every man,' says the author of "Gulshan Raz" whose heart is not longer shaken by doubt, knows with certainty that there is no being, save only one In his divine majesty the me, the we, the thou, are not found, for the one there can be no distinction Every being who is annulled and entirely separated from himself bears "I am God " ' In the vision of God, says Plotinus, what one sees is not our reason, but something prior and superior to our reason He who thus sees does not see two things He changes, he ceases to be himself, preserves nothing of himself Absorbed in God, he makes but one with him, 'Here,' writes Suso, ' the spirit dies, and yet is all alive in the marvels of the Godhead ' "

The Influence of Sufi Poetry on Western Thought

As regards the influence of Sufi poetry on Western thought it may be noted that many of the European mystics wrote as the Sufi poets had written before them, particularly Thomas Aquinas, Eckhart and Dante The greatest names in the realm of Mysticism are those of Johann Tauler and Heinrich Suso, who were the pioneers of the early mystic movement, "the Minnesinger of Gottesminne " Their writings were intensely practical and touched on all sides the deeper problems of moral and spiritual life, and made the mystic movement in its later manifestations so important a forerunner of the Reformation There was rapturous language both with the Eastern and Western mystics. In the 19th century Hegel was loud in the praise of Jalaluddin Rumi You find the same influence in Didactic Literature, Ibsen's "Caesar and Galilean."

English Literatures and Oriental Thought

Shakespeare.

Let us take the case of Shakespeare first It would have been strange indeed if among the many motions of his mind on pantheistic ideas were to be met with in Shakespeare A passage in "The Tempest" will illustraate our meaning

"We are such stuff
As dreams are made of,
And our little life
Is rounded with a sleep "

Shelley

Of all English poets there is none who is so closely akin to the pantheistic type of mind as is Shelley In 'Prometheus Unbound" Asia is the goddess of his worship. It may have been only an instinct that attracted one essentially of a deeply pantheistic spirit to the great home of Pantheism "Life not the painted veil, "he said "which those who live call life, even though unreal shapes be pictured there " But in none of his works so much as in his *Idonais* does the Pantheism of Shelley appear in such dazzling radiance, embellished with all the charm of poetical colouring The exquisite beauty of the following lines expressing the Oneness of Existence demands citation

" The One remains, the many change and pass,
Heaven's light for ever shines earth's shadows fly,
Life like a dome of many coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity."

In tracing the scope of Eastern thought in England, one has also to mention the names of English mystics such as Law, George Herbert, Henry Vaughan and the Cambridge Platonists of modern poets Arthur Symons' lines on "A Dancing Darvish" and Browning's "Paracelsus" and "Sordello," will have been read by many. Harris's poems are full of Sufi nature. In Phillip's beautiful poem "Parpessa" there are lines full of Sufi mysticism Tennyson gives indications of being influenced by Oriental thought in " Akbar's Dream," and especially in "the Ancient Sage" he has given expression to perhaps more fascinating form than any other poet, to some characteristic Oriental ideas Matthew Arnold's mystic melancholy bestows upon him a kinship with the Indian temperament. Edwin Arnold, Ralph Griffiths, Max Muller and a host of other Orientalists have drawn their inspiration from the Oriental literature.

Of American Writers

Longfellow depicts the Universe as an immeasurable wheel turning for ever more in the rapid rushing river of time We also find Emerson playing Pantheistic mysticism of the Oriental type In short, we find that so far as it has been borne in upon the thinkers of the East that the things of sense deceive and betray, so far as they utter with tremendous emphasis that the things that are seen are shadows, so far not a few in the West have hearkened to their teaching

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION VERSUS WESTERN CIVILISATION

De Lacy O'Leary

Below we publish a few remarks by Prof O'Leary about the Islamic and the Western civilisations They are not strictly to the point Still they contain some interesting comparisons What Prof O Leary says about the dangers of secularism in the West applies equally well to the Muslim world But so long as religion remains the close preserve of narrow minded theologians out of touch with modern knowledge, secularism is likely to get stronger Religious thought must move with the times and it must be recognised that religion expresses essential truths indispensable for all time, but in a language style and philosophy which was of necessity adapted to the intellectual level of the people whom the prophets were addressing Unless religion drops this outer garb and its essential truths are explained in modern rational terms, the secular trend will not be easy to counter

We do not agree with what Prof O Leary says about democracy In our opinion, whatever the weaknesses of democracy, it is still preferable to autocracy and feudal diarchy We who have suffered so much from monarchs and autocrats know that democracy is much better It ensures at least that no one person or group of persons will have absolute power and the common man and educated people will be able to influence legislative and executive decisions They will not be treated like sheep and cattle A democracy can reform itself and devise methods and devices to get over its own failings but this can never happen under an autocracy or a dictatorship If there is anything great about the West, it is the democracy of the West Without democracy the Western civilisation will be an empty shell

YOUR Editor has kindly asked me to make some comments on the discussion of Islamic Civilisation versus Western Civilisation in the Special Number of *The Islamic Literature* for May 1956 These notes should be sent before the end of this month, and by reason of postal delays this gives me very little time to prepare my remarks With much diffidence, therefore, I submit only those which occur immediately, crude and ill-informed as they may be

The impact of Western Civilisation on Islamic thought seems to be most obvious in three directions on Religion, on Politics, and on Education In Religion it would appear to be chiefly in relaxing the accustomed restrictions, observances and doctrines of hitherto accepted usages Here it must be noted that it has had precisely the same

effect on Christianity which has suffered perhaps more severely than Islam from a growing indifference due to the general spread of modern science which has been assumed, often unjustly, to be contrary to the traditional faith of Christianity In most Western lands, not all, churches which used to be thronged are now almost empty, Christian ceremonies, retained for social or historic reasons, are no longer regarded as actually religious, and humorous periodicals are prepared to deride sacred sacraments, a thing which would not have been tolerated some few years ago within our own living memory. In this Islam and Christianity are not opposed, both stand together on one side in opposition to a secularism which is hostile to all religion But here a distinction must be made between religion proper as taught in New Testament or Qur'an and the explanations added by theologians who have used current philosophy to explain religious teaching, as the philosophy used by them was based on the speculations of ancient scientists, which have been greatly extended and sometimes reversed by later discoveries, many of their comments are no longer tenable and need to be reversed Very naturally, but unfortunately, theologians accustomed to a long established method of logical deduction resent the use of any other method and brand it as "modernism," though in fact it is not adverse to the basic teachings of religion, but only to the interpretation of those teachings by methods of philosophy which are now superseded There are many popular beliefs in Christian communities which are no better than superstitions, especially concerning the future life, sometimes popularised by contemporary art, which are not actually part of Christian teaching and well may be discarded The same thing occurs in Islam It is easy to censure such ideas, it is not always easy to explain that they are not part of religion, but accessories with which we can dispense This is not meant to be an essay on religion, but merely to point out that the expressed irreligion of some is not a necessary accompaniment of scientific studies A science student discards many popular ideas in the course of his studies and that gives him a taste for change which he sometimes takes pleasure in expressing In some cases he becomes anti-religious, in others he adjusts himself to a new outlook He is not forced to either, and man naturally has a need of something beyond the disappointing realities of life

Turning now to politics, it is the fashion of the day to treat democracy as the correct ideal, and to regard the expressed will of the majority as determined by popular elections as its best form In most Western countries such a thing has been evolved by a series of events wars, revolutions, migrations, invasions and the like These violent changes have forced growth in certain directions, but the question remains Is that the best direction? Should other nations or social groups deliberately follow the same direction when their experiences have not been the same? At each step of change a choice was made as to what was most expedient in a passing emergency, need it always

be the same? Is the final result as we see it in the will of the majority expressed by an elected representative in a governing assembly the ideal at which we ought to aim? The colonists who settled in America claimed that every man had an equal right to vote, but every man only applied to every fellow-colonist, no one suggested that the older native population had any such right On obtaining independence each state was recognised as free to govern itself and free to remain in the Union or to separate, but when the Southern States tried to exercise that right of separation, they were compelled to remain. The theoretical ideal could not be carried out, circumstance which had arisen rendered it impossible That happened late enough to be readily obvious, but similar conflicts between the theoretical and the possible had happened more than once before in the older history of Europe and Asia At best our present systems of democracy are compromises between conflicting principles adopted in emergency and by no means expressive of the ideal The modern theory of a nation's right to self government was not an invention of President Woodrow Wilson but existed in Europe before his Fourteen Points It was first applied to those nations which had lost their independence because defeated by a military power and felt that they had suffered an injustice, as was the case with Poland, Hungary and others But democracies can be as tyrannical as autocrats, it would be as unjust for a nation to be overpowered by numerical superiority of voting power as by the armies of an autocrat, and in the event of that superiority in the hands of an unfriendly majority, of another religion, or race, or otherwise prejudiced, an intolerable state would be produced which could be set right only by bloodshed Plate, no doubt, by his experiences in Sicily, has warned us that all democracy tends to tyranny It need not, but it generally does. For the last forty years or so there has been a general revival of nationalism, but side by side with it there has also been an advance of internationalism, in the formation of such bodies as the United Nations and the like The growing cost of armaments is all against the freedom of small nations in favour of large wealthy combines, and so democracy as formerly understood seems to be in peril In the Middle Ages, when every man could take his own bow and spear, there was, perhaps, a true democracy more secure than when the invention of armaments made wealth the first qualification for autocracy If Islam and Christianity stand side by side in the contest between religion and materialism, can it be that they are also well advised in standing side by side in the contest for liberty and individual freedom against forces which, though under a democratic form, are at bottom based on collective capitalism? Future history alone can decide this, but it may be hoped that younger nations may not be deluded by the enternal forms of a democratic system evolved under past conditions, but cautiously guided by those whose eyes are open to the perpetually changing conditions of a world perpetually called upon to face new conditions The test comes in any great emergency, in war, plague, or natural disaster, when the question is Will all hold together?

So far as education is concerned, there are two questions the general education of community, and the training of its leaders General education is commonly taken to concern reading, writing and arithmetic Writing is an art like painting or drawing, attractive in itself but less urgent on all with the extending use of the typewriter, desirable, not urgently necessary Reading is the means of receiving information, not yet displaced by radio or television which so dangerously tend to form mass opinions rather than independent judgment Most important is the general spread of knowledge bearing on health, agriculture, social life and conduct, in all of which the average man remains through life a pupil under the guidance of trained experts But to follow such guidance profitably needs a certain preliminary training and this should be planned by the same experts, together with a general knowledge which is required to make a person an *intelligent citizen* *At present there is much conflict as to secondary and advanced* education and many rival theories very diverse in character, most of all in the selection of those suitable for advanced instruction For professions which require technical skill, such as surgery, medicine, engineering, etc , it seems generally agreed that both technical craft and theoretical science should receive equal attention, hospital, factory, mine, etc , side by side with the university Unfortunately a too great readiness to create new universities has in some countries rather lowered the standard desired , there is not an unlimited supply of good teachers available for all posts Sometimes it may be expedient to allow some subjects to be specialised in some universities and omitted in others In all universities there is a temptation to attach too great importance to numbers, many are admitted who cannot greatly benefit by the instruction given It is kinder to check those who show no proof that they are likely to be efficient But all this lies in the hands of those who besides being teachers are in the truest sense the friends of their pupils, who possess the personal confidence of those with whom they deal, a confidence better gained by tuition than by formal lecturing, as though each pupil was an apprentice rather than a mere hearer

These few notes, crudely expressed, I fear, and inadequate are little to the purpose. After all it goes without saying that the successful teacher is the one who most closely identifies himself with the mind, character and outlook of his pupils and it is upon such men that we who have enjoyed the privilege of their society look back with feelings of affection as well as respect This, perhaps, is a reversion to the ancient ideal of teacher and disciple, but such a relation has its good points After all I speak only as an observer, and I have learned much from Nur Ahmad's " Review on the Educational Progress of Pakistan " in the November number (Year VII, No 11) of *The Islamic Literature,* and differ from him only that he is more anxious for quick results. In the university, in the world at large, and in human society generally Islam and the West are faced with

very much the same problems, a rising generation impatient with old conditions, later on to deal gently with a still later generation which is impatient again It is perpetually the same, the developing mind is unsteady and ready for novelties, it is a phase most of us have to go through

If any of these remarks ever are printed I can only offer my apologies for comments so vague and general comments as I have here made If I had sufficient time I should probably have made various qualifications and reservations As matters stand I can do no more.

THE HIGHROAD OF CIVILISATION

Dr Q
Ahmad-ur-Rahman
Alavi

The ideas expressed in this article by Dr Ahmad ur Rahman are a little vague On the whole his thesis seems to be that it is erroneous on the part of man to consider himself the lord of Nature No one will disagree with him that all life is subject to restraint and limits But does this negate the thesis that man is the supreme achievement of Nature and the architect of his own fate? The Qur'an itself regards man as the crown of creation 'We made him in the best make,' and in many other places declares clearly that God has subjected every thing to man The whole fight of Islam was against an ideology which rested on a baseless fear of things lower down in the scale of existence 'They pray to things, besides God which can neither benefit nor injure them' Such is the Quranic criticism against 'Kufr' Again the same Qur'an says that God does not change a people which does not change itself What does this mean except that in all reforms, improvements and advances, the initiative must come from man Only then God will help him Islam thus teaches man self reliance, and says that no other agency natural or supernatural can make or mar his destiny Of course man must obey the laws of Nature But, in order to obey, he must understand Blind obedience is a self-*defeating idea Mechanical obedience, even of God, is something* below the dignity of man Obedience requires knowledge and consciousness Hence Islam wants to develop not only the capacity of obedience but also the rational capacity of man Dr Rahman's claim that the world has made no real advance since Muslim science arose, is really astounding It is such pride and self complacency and lack of self criticism which has destroyed the spirit of truth among Muslims and incapacitated them from rising above their weaknesses

I would urge my fellow Muslims to be humbler and cultivate the spirit of truth, to be able to see the good in others also

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MAN must not fall into the error of thinking that he was ever meant to become lord and master of Nature A lopsided education has helped to encourage that illusion *Man must realise that a fundamental law of action reigns through-*out the whole realm of Nature and that his existence is subject to the eternal law of limits and constraints He will then feel that there cannot be a separate law for mankind in which planets and suns follow their orbits, where moons and planets trace their destined paths, where strength lies only in cooperation with Nature and where those disobeying its laws and transgressing its limits must be destroyed and annihilated Man must also submit to the eternal principles of this supreme wisdom He may try to understand them but he can never free himself from their sway And thus the human civilisation in its entirety must be exponential of the natural function.

Entire range of the human history, throughout its length and breadth, bears testimony to two facts clearly, from among the mass of debris and chaos it contains in confusing proportions, reflected continuously and uninterruptedly the one is the man's attaching undue importance to himself to the extent of considering himself the lord of Nature and in consequence of this erroneous ideology his embarking on a large-scale action *en masse* towards proving this claim of his undeniably, and the other, in total negation of the idea of the lordship of Nature and simply considering himself part and parcel of Nature and subject to its laws of limits and constraints, and also the highest exponent thereof And thus the entire history is a narrative of manisfestation of these two divergent human outlooks and in consequence thereof the human activities, achievements and failures

Verily this has been the movement of humanity from the very beginning of the appearance of man on earth for the odd million years or more And the rise and fall of civilisations or to be more accurate, of the nations that gave so-called birth to civilisations, provides irrefutable testimony to the human efforts and their concrete materialisation on the intellectual and technical planes and their subsequent eruptions and disruptions right from the ?-age down to the present day

In fact the beginning of all so-called ages has its source and sink in the human effort at the materialisation of the idea of lordship of Nature on one side and the idea of being the highest exponent of Nature and consequently its full-fledged incarnation on the other side And thus all the civilisations have been nothing but manifold phases of either of the ideologies And the division of ages as effected by the historians and archaeologists is not proper and is highly inconsistent, just because the divisions themselves are artificial and externally imposed. As the most essential factor to be taken into account in this connection is the fundamental motive force of humanity—the ideology, to which they have accorded a secondary and definitely unimportant position throughout their narratives They amazingly miss the obvious fact that man is as primitive today as he has ever been right from the first appearance of the human specie on earth, although the human actions do assert it time and again on small and large scales, in their day-by-day dealings, inclinations and, at intervals, by mass convulsions, which clearly points towards the unalterable nature of the human self from time immemorial up to the present era, and is inductive towards the conclusion of man's continuance in the same way for all time to come during his existence on earth Therefore, the human history recorded so far has not been recorded on correct principles but instead is a mass of disarranged and dislocated information recorded on the basis of certain self-deceiving assumptions and postulations invented for the attainment of certain objectives—particularly by the historians of the post-renaissance era, and they have been followed in this practice of

wrong-doing by archaeologists and biologists And of course, if one section of historians have a right to make history instrumental for the advancement of their base motives, Karl Marx and his disciples have equal right to utilise it for their own purposes of economic interpretation And this is exactly how the truth is distorted all over. Curiously enough, the historians have chosen the after-effects of mass convulsions, whether they may be war, pestilences or famines, as the starting points of civilisation Look for example at Harappa and Mohenjodaro and the results of recent excavations there These excavations amply prove that before the calamity befell these cities, which resulted in the massacre of its inhabitants *en masse*, these were bustling with life, on the pattern of the inhabitants' ideologies, and many techniques were utilised therein to provide amenities and facilities to the inhabitants, and this all happened more than 4,000 years ago—just the time we generally start our recorded history from The archaeologists and the anthropologists try to jump back to at least half a million years in time, but all in vain, as no substantial evidence can really be found to support their theses to any degree of accuracy and the evidence available does only point definitely towards the existence of ideology among the human beings of these periods, too

Therefore, the story of the various ages formulated by these dolts and their postulations in this connection are nothing save pure fabrication and mischief, and a little analysis proves the whole thing to be technically abortive Without going into the details of the data I would cite here for example the fact that most of the machines, claimed to have been developed within the last 55 years, are now known to have existed at least 200 years B C and, now, I would ask why the machine age dawned after the European renaissance and not 200 years B C You may invent excuses but in fact there is no cogent reason behind this arbitrary assignment of ages save your deliberate choice of putting things according to a particular scheme And thus this assignment of Ages is arbitrary and superficial and has no bearing to real and factual Consequently the deterministic form of history, too, has no rational backing whatsoever, and its present form of gradations is unable to give a full-scale technical picture of humanity, which implies multiple characteristic enquiry As the ideology is part and parcel of humanity and is inseparable therefrom, no enquiry can be conducted at all if this all-important fact is not taken true cognisance of The net result of all this manipulation is that history is deliberately distorted and mutilated along with archaeology and anthropology to serve the cause of proving the Darwinian, Platonic and other innovations at all costs, and efforts are being continuously made to extort the missing link, etc , out of these sciences In other words, the Greek methods of the super-imposition of theory as against the demonstrational enquiry are being ruthlessly pursued in a disguise

But go to whatever length of time you may be able to go, in your archaeological excavations and anthropological discoveries, ideology would always be found present with

the very existence of man on earth And if you reduce man to the primaries, the urge for food, along with other urges, would be found present and inseparable From it, too, would be found the how, wherefrom, why, and whereto constantly present always in distinct describable or indescribable form, no matter whether you may analyse the 'hominids' or the 'homosapiens' And thus enquiry and its satisfaction—ideology—forms the nucleus of man's momentum

Thus the entire range of civilisation from the farthest antiquity up to the present period can by no means be proved to be representative of an evolutionary process continued in series, but it only gives a space-time account of the two types of ideology in parallel movement, and all the rest of the developments are only their secondary off-shoots and hence a fraction thereof And the two ideologies that sum up in themselves thus the entire body of known or unknown history or civilisations are simply the effects of the ideology of the lordship of Nature and the ideology of the highest incarnation of Nature

Now the civilisation can be described to be the space-time translation of the ideology and the multiphase expression thereof And the blunder committed by the contemporary historians and analysts is that they started their analysis from the phases—the fraction—instead of main body and consequently all of their efforts flowed in the corresponding channels, as the fraction can never represent the whole in all respects And thus whatever requires analytical study is ideology itself and its axial and functional coefficients And only thus we shall be able to understand the human attitude and outlook concerning life and its proximity and angularity Just because civilisatiou is a resultant of the dependent variable type at the base of which lies the homogeneity of the constituents and their directional coordination

Therefore, to understand all the numerous civilisations, it is required only to trace the ideologies and their various trends And exactly these are the very principles according to which all the scriptures, and particularly the Holy Qur'an, have made historical narrative from the very beginning of man's creation down to all the significant periods and have drawn unmistakable parallels betwixt which all the human history is bound to move. Thus the Holy Qur'an says

كان الناس امة واحده فاختلفوا

"(All) people were a single nation" (ii. 213)

و آتيهم بينت من الامر (ح) ـ فما اختلفوا الا من بعد ما جائهم العلم بغياً بينهم

"And We gave them clean arguments in the affair, but they did not differ until after knowledge had come to them out of envy among themselves" (xiii, 45)

و ان يتبعون الا الظن و ان الظن لا يغنى من الحق شيأ فتقطعوا امرهم بنهم
زبرا .

> "And they follow not but conjectures, and conjectures can be no recompense to truth to any degree. But they cut off their affairs among themselves into portions" (xxiii. 53)

The enquiry ingrained in the human self and its satisfaction form the fundamental constituents of the ideology, and it is the satisfaction of the enquiry wherein fundamental differences gave rise to differences in the pattern of ideology, which, as I have already stated, were sharply divided on the lines of the lordship of Nature and of being its highest incarnation. And hence entire history and civilisation should be studied and identified in context of either of the two ideologies

On the correct understanding and evaluation of the ideologies and their implicit and explicit functions does depend the estimation of the human efforts and their realisation Both the ideologies, without going into lengthy details, need a little exposition and I propose to deal with the stage presently Let us take the ideology of the lordship of Nature first, and, as I have already stated, both of them are the outcome of the satisfaction of the original enquiry, but real complication arose when the knowledge gained in the process was itself confronted with the same type of secondary enquiry regarding its own authenticity and reliability, hence now it came to the point of determining the positions *a priori* and *a posteriori* of the knowledge and also the explanation of its sources and sinks And this proved to be a juncture whereat the primary disagreement and divergence was effected. And this whole affair was caused mainly by the reluctance of a group of men to comprehend and recognise fully both the sources and the sinks of knowledge owing chiefly to visibility of the present and invisibility of the past and future. And thus when the detachment between the visible and the invisible parts was effected and the break was complete for all practical purposes, the votaries of the visible present 'found' that, conditioned by this detachment, they were the monarchs of all they surveyed, and consequently this very idea was formed into a central doctrine But as the associations of the past still clinged on they were, too, remodelled on the basis of the visibility of the present, and the introduction of the idols was effected and made identical with the lordship of Nature

This in brief is the true picture of the ideology out of which grew a number of civilisations from the antiquity up to present And this is not a mere conjecture of mine but a fact every honest observer can find out for himself due to its characteristic self-evidence and clarity and get it verified by various methods

Now for the ideology of the 'highest incarnation of Nature' it is sufficient to say that it is the embodiment of the entire past, present and future containing the visibility and invisibility in their factual order of sequence, which leaves out nothing and stops at *nothing but is perpetually dynamic like all eternity*

It may be remarked here that the former is the embodiment of inherent contradiction while the latter of a pure direction

The sum-total of the former is 'Kufr or 'deliberate distraction' and of the latter is 'Islam' or elaborate harmony with Nature Each of these has had various manifestations and expressions in consonance with space and time of the groups of humanity Sometimes it was Baalism, at others Mithraism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism, and also Atheism along with many off-shoots and corollaries that appeared in the body-historic of the 'Kufr ' So also Islam manifested itself continuously through a large number of messengers who propounded it invariably and persistently to all appearances, intents and purposes, and *with an uncompromising and irreconcilable attitude, exemplified by the* personalities most prominent among whom are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and finally the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and upon all of them) who were the very embodiments of the highest incarnation of Nature and leaders of humanity in this very direction, covering all the details leading thereto

Now look at Kufr and observe clearly the chain of 'deliberare distraction' in action, the self-appointed lord of Nature, the man, assumes for himself the title of God and becomes the Man God, another distraction follows, on account of visibility alone, and there is Sun God and thus starts the vicious circle of gods and goddesses being cast and recast on the scale of *visibility and present, in series and in parallel*

Thus the true appreciation and recognition of the limits, human and Divine, is implicitly an explicit fact of Islam, while that of 'Kufr' is the dethronement of the Almighty—the pure democratic symbolism—an identical variant whereof is atheism, no matter now it is branded, and also a congruous dialectical entity

Therefore, the civilisation of Islam is exponential, of 'unity devoid of any diversity,' and that of Kufr is of unity in diversity And it has existed from the remotest antiquity *to the utter discomfiture of the contemporary Kufr in all times and would continue to do* so to the very end of time itself with its co-variant, the space

History bears irrefutable testimony to the existence of long gaps and vacuums in the course of civilisations other than Islamic and this fact is clearly indicative of the presence of certain stagnant elements and forces therein which can work only when conditioned, and by contradicting those very conditions come back to the stagnant stage

wherefrom they can move again by identical conditions provided. While the Islamic civilisation has ever been a constant generative movement which has never admitted any stagnant elements but whenever any such tendency overtook any of its followers it did automatically either change the faces altogether or applied the righting moment in consonance with the apparent degree of the infiltration effected And thus it is historic continuum from the living past to the living future

The prominent Orientalists and historians claim to owe their civilisation to the great ancient past of the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans and the Babylonians in all the fields of civilisation But why did occur so numerous and long gaps? If the Greek art, sciences and technology were so very strong and invigorating, why did they stagnate so long? The real fact about all of them is that they are nothing by themselves and always stand in need of the human drive in order to carry them to purpose And nothing can supply this drive constantly except Islam The Orientalists claim that Muslims did only transmit the knowledge to the Europeans and did nothing original, and there they utter a blatant lie Throughout the history, knowledge has always advanced and flourished when it received drive and momentum from Islam and has always decayed and disintegrated in a short span of time of its cessation from that source Just choose any period thereof and the case is identical Egypt owes its knowledge to Abrahamic sources and so is the Babylon, the Greeks and Romans to the Israelite sources and modern Europe, too, to the Arab and Islamic sources And it is not the first time in history that knowledge has advanced so enormously but it has repeatedly reached the peak and fell down abruptly The magic, as the most potent weapon of the Egypt of Pharaohs, was not a fiction but reality and was only weaponised when all other types of weapons were proved to be of no avail in the face of the existence of counter-weapons But this weapon, too, failed them ultimately and with its failure the knowledge fell down a deep incline and its effectiveness was consequently lowered to a degree in the human estimation Just because it was confined to narrow limits of 'the present and visible', and when its limits were extended in consonance with the Islamic outlook, it did never fall back or receded a single millimetre

Thus the history of knowledge is vitally different and poles apart as related to 'Kufr' and Islam The primary difference lies in the very concept of sciences and arts, etc, both as regards their limits and their objectives And the knowledge attained after the pattern of 'Kufr' is deficient and partial in many respects

You may harness the atomic energy and you may fly to the moon and stars but it would not bring contentment and peace to humanity although it may be instrumental in enslaving the weak by the strong for some length of time, as it

has always been the case in history, in accordance with your presumptions of the ideology of 'Kufr' The irony of the knowledge with you is that you have not been able so far to comprehend and define in exact terms what really electricity is just because it is beyond the scope of visibility, *although it has been used so extensively* as perhaps no other type of energy It is not the bankruptcy of knowledge or comprehension but the narrowness of the limits of the 'present and visible' which has imposed such indeterminant attitude

The accusation of the Orientalists as to the lack of original work by the Muslims during the European days of total ignorance is absolutely false to their own knowledge and contrary to facts

The space does not permit me to go into the details but, in a brief outline, I would say this much that it were the Muslims who worked out and gave the modern shape to Mathematics, more particularly to Alegebra and its application to Geometry in the shape of analytical Geometry, and most of the important laws of Mechanics were discovered and developed by them for instance, the laws you adduce to Charles and Boyle were originally discovered by Muslims and were only re stated by these two fellows Such is the case with Aerodynamics, which was discovered and formulated by Ibn Farnas in Spain and was later developed by Prandath in Germany *And now, cutting short the rest of them,* I come directly to the disintegration of atom It may be astounding to you to know, dear Orientalists, that it also owes its origin to the Muslim sources and particularly the source you despise so much the Alchemy ! The root of the disintegration of atom lies deep in the Alchemists' principles and experimentation of the transmutation of the base metals into rarer ones like Gold and Silver You may like to refuse to accept this statement but there is ample evidence on record to testify it irrefutably, and is it not a vengeance on your despising and contemptuous attitude towards the noble Muslim scientists and pioneers of experimental sciences? The real difference although lies in the fact that Muslims smashed atoms on a small scale and for the human benefit while now its destructive capacity has been laid much stress upon But the principles and the ultimate objectives are the same, no matter how the methods of application may differ

This being *too* brief and incomplete an outline of the Muslim scientific advancement beyond which no real jump has been made so far, now it seems advisible to dwell a little on other factors of Islamic civilisation vis-a-vis the contemporary civilisation of the 'Kufr'

The ideology of 'Kufr' gave birth to gods, semi-gods and demi-gods and thus it gave rise to tyranny and slavery in all the possible forms and features due to the parent idea of the lordship of Nature and the institution of slavery was introduced as a condition

necessary for the existence of tyranny and as a measure of the provision for its thriving and perpetuation or, in other words, as a contradiction thereof As the principle of tyranny was not only confined to the political practice but also to the entire active field of human life and hence it was also economic, social and dogmatic The employment of slave labour and forced labour, the concentrated capitalisation of wealth and the consequent practice of usury and interest, the establishment of the human classes both economic and social and their subdivision into religious heirarchy are all broad manifestations of the tyranny

But Islam does not allow tyranny and any of its consequences, neither in the historical antiquity nor in the present instance, just because man cannot become the highest incarnation of Nature if he is shackled by such unnatural bonds Thus in Islam man is free to move to the maximum human limits in order to be in a position to become a full-fledged incarnation of Nature He cannot be subjected to any political tyranny, idividual or collective, nor into any type of classes and even to any economic malpractice and dogmatic heirarchy Independence of all types is conceded to him as his birthright and from this primary right does emanate his primary duty to achieve this right to the fullest extent This involves a great deal of alertness and care, constant self-criticism and the practical expression of co-existence and co-variance of humanity, and this is what the Holy Qur'an says

يا ايها الدين آمنوا ادخلوا فى السلم كافة

" O you who believe ! enter into submission one and all " (ii 208)

Therefore, it would be evident that Islam has its own philosophy pertaining to all branches of human life, if anyone cares to look at it philosophically, and stands in no need to be examined and certified by any other differently biased philosophy According to this, man is described to be the viceregent of Allah on earth ' I am going to place a viceregent in the earth " (ii 30)—انى جاعل فى الارض خليفة—and it does not behove a viceregent of His to become a god or semi-god or to become the lord of Nature as, although most of the natural phenomenon has been made to serve his purpose of life, he has practically no over-riding controls over it And the civilisation of Islam is the true exponential function of Nature, human and beyond, wherefore, it tends to elevate its adherents to the objective reality of human life, its conservation and preservation This the Holy Qur'an describes exquisitely thus

اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم واتممت عليكم نعمتى و رضيت لكم الاسلام دينا

" This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as the religion " (v. 3).

The road to real civilisation and elevation lies in Islam directly and in no other ideology even indirectly Conservation and preservation of the human life and self is implied therein, and no other ideology is able to help the man than in this direction Hence this is the highroad of human civilisation and perpetual peace !

Obedience is the implicit function of the whole universe and all its contents, and it is a constant as well as a germinal phenomenon And it is the obedience of the laws of Nature and consequently of the Creator of Nature that is incumbent upon all the phases and phenomena thereof And the peak of civilisation can only be reached through the maximum of obedience to Him

You may well please yourself by calling Man a microcosm but if this microcosm does not explicitly conform to the implicit function of the cosmos how could he keep in line with the cosmos in general ? And hence better be in tune and harmony with Nature to the fullest possible extent than be a discordant microcosm The limits cannot be crossed and have to be observed fittingly or fretfully, and the more fittingly observed, the more civilisation attained

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TOWARDS A WORLD RELIGION

This article by Prof Montgomery Watt contains some fruitful ideas The claim made by him that this world has become or is likely to become one world is open to serious doubt Neither physical propinquity nor the exchange and free flow of ideas is an unmixed blessing It is leading to as much conflict as in the past Powerful nations are trying to impose their own ideas on others The economic and political imperialism of the past is giving way to ideological imperialism and the fight is as sharp as ever

We do not believe that there will ever be one universal religion The Holy Quran has already stated If God had willed He could have made you all one people " The idea is that diversity in religion is to be welcomed While each religion is free to undertake the peaceful propagation of its ideas none should ever dream that it can become so universal as to replace all others That is why we think that the dream of some Muslims that Islam will conquer the whole world in future is as unreal as that of some interested groups in the West who are trying to reduce Islam to a purely ethical religion For that which in the Western eyes constitutes the weakness of Islam, namely its socio political and economic teachings, is in our eyes its sole title to greatness If Islam had not had a deep social imprint if it had not evolved a socio political order and tried to mould the entire framework of social and economic life in conformity with its ideals its hold on our minds would not have been so great To the West Muhammad does not appeal because he successfully smashed the unjust social and political order of his time and was not content with innocuous preaching To us that constitutes his undying glory If the Prophet of Islam had not used and applied organised force to fight against the vested interests and aristocrats of his time if he had not conducted wars to defend his revolutionary teachings, if he had not compelled the autocrats and exploiters of the contemporary world to recognise the dignity, equality and the basic human rights of the common people our love for him would not have been so deep Therefore religious differences and different ways of looking at religion will remain despite Muslim and Western enthusiasts who outbid each other in imposing their ideas by hook or crook And it is good that such differences should remain There is nothing so bald and colourless as an undifferentiated unity All the richness of the world in religion as in politics springs from its diversity But followers of different religions can cooperate for virtuous ends, as the Quran says "Cooperate in works of virtue and piety, but do not cooperate in works of sinfulness and transgressions " So there will never be one universal religion A religion of universal love, which tries to teach pity and love towards the Fascists, the exploiters, the good and the bad alike is indeed a universal hoax

W Montgomery Watt

IT IS a commonplace at the present time that the world has become "one world " It is worth while, however, thinking a little about this phrase "one world," for there are many different kinds of unity As soon as we begin to think about the implications of "one world," it is clear that, whereas the world may be one in some senses, there are other senses in which it is not one

We may say, to begin with, that the world is one in a physical or material sense Communications have been improving during the last four centuries or so Now it is possible to make the journey from Europe to India in a few hours instead of several months, it is becoming a regular practice for important statesmen to go 10 000 miles in order to have a few hours' discussion with other important statesmen Even less important people, if they have sufficient money, can travel thousands of miles in a day or two At the same time it is possible by railways and steamships for large numbers of people to be conveyed from one continent to another, not quite so quickly indeed as by aeroplane, but much more rapidly than was possible a century ago The result of all this has been that there are now far more contacts than in any previous age of world history between Asia on the one hand, and Europe and America on the other hand There is a great exchange of students, of business men, of diplomatic missions, and many other types of persons

Not only has there been this improvement in physical communications, but there have also been improvements in what might be called intellectual communications The development of printing means that books can be multiplied very rapidly, and, if they are of sufficient merit, can be read by interested persons in all the countries of the world Now, in addition to printing, there is wireless, and the human voice can now be sent from one country to another, bearing messages of various kinds This brings far greater opportunities than ever before for people to learn what other nations are thinking Moreover, opportunities of understanding also involve opportunities of being influenced Within the last two centuries, Indian thought has attracted the attention of certain circles in Europe and America, and has had an important influence there The outstanding feature of our time, however, is the diffusion of European and American thought throughout the world, along with the material aspects of European and American civilisation Students throughout the world are now being influenced by European thinkers European political ideas are being copied and adopted in many countries, both those which spring from Britain and France, and those which spring from Russia And so, in addition to the physical unification, there is going on an intellectual unification of the world

At this point, however, it is important to notice that this intellectual integration of the world is very limited in extent For the most part, it takes place at the superficial levels of man's intellectual life At the deeper levels, the peoples of Asia and Africa are still largely uninfluenced by the thought of Europe This means that at the intellectual level the world is still very far from being one world Much the same is true at what might be called the political level Most countries in the world are now represented in the United Nations Organisation They have opportunities of expressing themselves before a world forum Most countries likewise have diplomatic contacts with other countries, so there is, as it were, a framework of political unity Yet, just because the

different countries are being brought into closer contact with one another, the differences in their interests are becoming more apparent There is still very far from being a unity of aim within all the different countries, rather we find that the world is divided into various groups, to some extent hostile to one another Even within each group too, the various members do not see eye to eye on many questions Thus, while the world is now one world, it is in some senses very far from being a world at harmony, or perhaps we might say it is very far from being integrated

The study of world history suggests that the most powerful force to bring diverse groups into harmony is religion There are, of course, other forces which have brought together groups of different kinds on a smaller scale Attachment to one's kin has knit together tribes into a compact body, as happened in pre-Islamic Arabia Nowadays nationalism has produced unity and harmony in many countries The feeling of belonging to the same social class has also created a degree of integration, especially in the working class movement in Europe But tribal loyalty cannot be extended to unite two hostile tribes Nationalism cannot unite hostile nations Class feeling cannot unite hostile classes Thus, if this one world of ours with its hostile classes and nations is to be integrated, there must be some force beyond those just mentioned History suggests that the only possible force is religion, or something closely akin to religion

In this respect, Islam has a great achievement to its credit, and is one of the outstanding examples of the integrative force of religion Islam has spread over a large part of the world, and has adherents among many different races. Among these varied groups, it has established a large degree of brotherhood and harmony It is thus a conspicuous example of how religion leads to the integration of diverse groups and communities

It seems clear, then, that in this one world there will be a tendency for a particular religion to establish itself as the religion of the whole world Indeed, there are already claimants for this position One of them is the near-religion of Marxism, but it is likely that all the great religions, such as Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism, will be claimants for the position It is not inevitable, of course, that any one of these should establish itself as the universal religion There are other possibilities There might even be no universal religion, though on the whole this seems unlikely What is possible, however, is that some new syncretistic religion might supplant the existing great religions There are new religions of this kind already springing up in Africa, Asia and elsewhere Again it is possible that there might be some radical reform in one of the great religions, accompanied by a revival of its spiritual vigour, and this reformed and revitalised religion might become the universal religion On the whole, this last possibility seems the most likely

In these circumstances, it is natural for an adherent of one of the great religions to desire that his religion should become the universal religion, and to do what he can in

his sphere of life to promote his religion For such a person, what courses of action are open ?

One of the first things is that he must steep himself thoroughly in the fundamental conceptions and dogmas of his own religion, so that they become, as it were, second nature to him This means much more than mere acceptance of the truth of his religion It is pos-ible to accept the truth of one's religion in the sense that one thinks it better than other religions, and yet for one's life to be little affected by these conceptions and principles To be effective in this present world, a man must have a deeper grip on his religion than this The concepts of his religion must be the dominating factor in the main decisions in his life, and the basis of all his thinking and action

In the second place, a man must have a deep appreciation of the needs of his own time, especially of that part of the world and section of society in which he lives Only as he identifies himself with his fellows in all their needs and difficulties does he appreciate fully the application of his own religion to these needs and difficulties It is by living out one's religion in this way that one comes to have a complete grasp of it, and without such a grasp one is unlikely to be effective in commending it to others

Thirdly, a man must have some appreciation of the way in which members of other religions and other sections of society look on the problems of their time. One of the difficulties that people are facing now that they are all bound together in one world is that men of different nations and countries look upon the same problems in different ways, and respond to them in different ways In short, they give differing accounts of the same thing The man who would commend his religion to people of a different tradition must therefore be able, to some extent, to sympathise with the members of the other traditions, and to present his message to them in a form which they can appreciate

These, then, are the chief ways in which a man can help to commend his own religion to the rest of the world In the long run, however, the actions of men, however energetic they are, will not necessarily determine the outcome The allegiance of men to a new religion is not won simply by reasoned arguments, though reasoned arguments undoubtedly have their part to play Ultimately the allegiance of men is gained by the presentation of a conception or set of conceptions which catch their imagination and kindle a fire within them How this happens, and when this happens, no man can be quite certain What he can be certain about is that, in so far as he does his duty according to his lights, somehow or other God will make use of his activity in bringing the world to the state of harmony and integration to which it appears to be moving

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ISLAM IN WESTERN RESEARCH

This is a very balanced and sympathetic approach to Islam by a Westerner and should be taken note of by those who are conducting Islamic studies in the West. A study of the Qur'an is the first essential for the understanding of Islam. No Qur'an no Islam. And yet the Western universities study everything about it except the Qur'an thus giving an incomplete and lopsided picture of Islam. Then again the Qur'an must be studied against the background of the people who were its first recipients, their values, customs and social life. To say off hand that Muhammad used force and fought wars and that therefore, he was more of a national leader than a prophet betrays lack of understanding. The ultimate aims of Christ and Muhammad were the same. But the two were born in different social and political settings. There are indications in the Bible that Christ was ready to use force but desisted because he had the whole might of a far flung military empire against him, and his people had been enervated by contact with Greek and Roman civilisations. But Muhammad found a people who had never known political subjugation and whom Roman and Greek culture had not yet enfeebled. They were full of vigour and life. And Arabia was isolated from the world. The foreign powers had no interest in its internal matters. They awakened and began to intrigue in alarm only when the Prophet welded his people into a compact state. The ground for the material, political and social transformation of the Arabs was therefore more congenial than that of the Jews. Muhammad took advantage of these conditions and was gifted with the depth of moral vision to see that force is a necessary element in human affairs but that it should be used only in the last resort under the guidance of the supreme law of mercy, where all peaceful means have been tried without success. If he had failed to use force he would not have done his duty specially among people who knew no other language. Therefore he executed what Jesus Christ was planning to do. He brought the Kingdom of God on the earth. Christ in similar circumstances would have done the same as Muhammad in Christ's circumstances would have acted as Christ did. Both were social revolutionaries who tried to give effect to the ideal of human equality against the vested interests of their time. Both laid the basis for modern democracy and socialism, and in both the movements reactionary selfish elements and pious fools found their way ultimately to corrupt and distort their teachings. The common notion among the Muslims that Christ preached unconditional non-violence and submissiveness to injustice is wrong as Nietsche's charge that Christianity was the revolt of the slaves. Such ideas rest on a misinterpretation of the Bible.

In any case the Qur'an is the breath of Islam and the record of a heroic struggle against the powers of evil. It contains the annals of a revolutionary movement and sets out the objects, ideals, programme and technique of the movement. We can understand Islam only as a movement not as a religion. Neither was Christianity a religion. When spiritually revolutionary movements stagnate and the life is crushed out of them they become religions. So the contemporary Islam and the contemporary Christianity are both religions, ashes of a fire that has burned out.

Helmer Ringgren

THE Editor has asked me to write a contribution on some problem concerning the relations between Islamic and Western civilisations, and I do not want to shirk my duty. However, my own studies of Islam have not carried me to

those questions, but to the very source of Islam itself, namely the Qur'an, and I do not know how these studies could contribute to a better understanding of the interrelatedness of Islamic and Western cultures After much hesitation I have chosen to write down some reflections concerning the study of Islam in Western countries, which have forced themselves upon me several times during my work

Any understanding between people belonging to different cultures or religions is impossible, if the parties involved do not know anything about each other Speaking of relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, there arises a very important question: What do Western people know about Islam, and does that which they know enable them to understand the spirit of Islam? And, since the knowledge of Islam in the Western countries is dependent on the sources available to the average Westerner, we might put the question thus What picture of Islam is given by Western historical and religious research, and is this picture a reliable one?

Now it is obvious that the knowledge of Islam as well as the interpretation and the judgment of facts has changed much during the centuries since the Christian world first came into contact with Islam When mediaeval monks wrote about Islam and even translated the Qur'an into Latin, their only interest was to refute the Muslim doctrines and to prove the superiority of Christianity This is true, for instance, of the first Latin translation of the Qur'an, completed in 1143 by an English scholar, Robertus Retenensis, and printed exactly 400 years later at Basle in Switzerland And on the title page of the first English translation (made from a French version and not from the Arabic original), which was published in 1649, we read the following words " with a needful caveat or admonition, for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the ALCORAN " The author's judgment of the Qur'an as expressed in his preface is so severe that there is no use quoting it Sale's translation published nearly a century later, in 1734, is much better when the philological interpretation is concerned, but nothing has changed in the judgment of Muhammad and of the Qur'an itself For Islam is judged only from a rigidly dogmatic Christian point of view with no attempt at understanding it as a real religion

Later, when Western research in the field of religion was dominated by the slogan "Comparative Religion" the interest of scholars was turned from Islam to the so-called primitive religions, since, according to their evolutionary theories, they expected to find there an answer to the question of the origin of religion in mankind When Islam was paid attention to, the interest was focused on "primitive" survivals in popular beliefs, or Islam, although monotheistic and belonging to the highest stage of religious evolution, was judged as in any case inferior to the Christian religion. And these judgments were

presented as the results of scholarly research and not as a consequence of the scholar's own conviction.

But at the same time Orientalists, philologians and historians gave much interest to Islam and Islamic literature, so that the knowledge of historical facts was greatly increased and the philological understanding of both the Qur'an and other religious documents was furthered However, there was often little sense of religious values in the works of those scholars Islam was judged according to Christian norms, and Muhammad and other religious personages were measured according to the standards of modern Western culture

But nowadays there are many scholars who oppose those methods in the study of religion They want to approach other religions not in order to judge them but to understand them They endeavour to learn what a religion means to its adherents and what deep values its devotees find in it In addition to the work of historical criticism, they try to see the great religious personages with the eyes of their followers and to understand them against their cultural background

The results of these tendencies are apparent in several works on Islam There are now several biographies of Muhammad written with great sympathy, there are investigations in the history of Muslim doctrine, characterised by serious endeavour to understand the underlying religious motives, and there are works on Islamic mystics showing deep understanding of mystical values

But there is one point at which no real understanding seems to be possible, namely, the study of the Qur'an Christian people have been accustomed to viewing their own holy scripture, the Bible, as a partly human document, which can be investigated with the same methods as any other historical document Although they acknowledge its value as the divine revelation in purely religious matters, in all other respects they approach it as a product of its own time and as affected with human imperfection and containing historical and scientific mistakes It is natural to them to treat the Qur'an according to simimlar principles, and it is quite as natural to every Muslim to deny the legitimacy of this view At present there seems to be no solution of this problem that is likely to satisfy both the parties

But should Western scholars then give up their study of the Qur'an? I think not For as far as there is any possibility to understand a religion that is not one's own, this understanding must be mediated through the authentic documents of that religion and through intercourse with its adherents Even if a non-Muslim scholar is unable to grasp the innermost values of the Qur'an, he cannot and must not renounce from studying it and trying to interpret it as far as he can It may turn out that his work is not altogether useless. He may be able to shed light on the language of the Qur'an by

investigating the Arabic spoken and written at the time of its revelation—for the Qur'an was intended to be understood by the Arabs of that time. He may be able to discern what a certain āyah appeared to mean to those who heard it recited the first time, by determining the cultural, religious, and linguistic environment of the revelation, e.g. in cases when things are presupposed to be well known to the Prophet's hearers although they are not well known to us. It is possible—and even probable—that he does not help Muslims to understand the Qur'an better or to discern what is new invention and what is really founded in the doctrine of the Qur'an, but he will certainly get for himself a better understanding of the real spirit of Islam.

THE SPIRIT OF THE WEST

We reproduce below a chapter from Allama Muhammad Asad's book *Islam at the Crossroads*. In this chapter he gives expression to his views about the relation of the West to Islam. We think that although there is some truth in Maulana Asad's charges against the West, on the whole he has exaggerated the differences between Islam and the West. Being a Westerner he has reacted sharply to the defects of the Western civilisation just as the Westernised and secular Muslims in Turkey and even in Pakistan represent an extreme reaction against the defects of the Muslim civilisation.

As we have pointed out in the editorial, the Western civilisation is built on a crude realism. It lacks the conception of unity. That is why it disparages ideals and is more concerned with the changing and the passing, the discrete and the concrete. All its advantages and disadvantages flow from this departmentalised, discrete and realistic concept of life.

On the other hand, Muslim civilisation, ever since it came under the influence of Neo-Platonism through the medium of Sufism, became more and more idealistic and began to lose hold on the real, the discrete and concrete. Its conception of unity became one in which there was no room for diversity. It fixed its gaze on the eternal, the permanent and the unchanging. All its evils and defects may be traced to this ignoring of the concrete and the changing.

Thus the two civilisations suffer from opposite defects. Life is a unity as well as diversity. It contains change as well as permanence. There are constancies as well as variabilities in history. It is not true that unlimited adaptability and adjustment is the only source of progress as the West thinks. Nor is it true, as Muslims generally think, that rigidity alone can save us from being swallowed up by others. The Holy Quran has given a final verdict on the question when it said: "The example of the righteous word is like that of a fine tree firm in its roots whose branches spread out in the skies, while the example of the evil word is that of an evil tree uprooted from its base that knows no rest." This verse means that truth is rigid in fundamentals but infinitely adaptable in details.

In condemning the West for its too much adaptability, Maulana Asad forgets that Muslim civilisation suffers from the opposite vice, namely its rigidity even in minor matters. It has raised to the status of fundamentals the minor details of religion and does not take into account the undeniable fact that some teachings of Islam, as of other religions, were dictated by specific historical situations. To make everything in religion unconditional and eternal is to destroy its power of adjustment to the changing facts of life.

Allama Muhammad Asad

THE modern West is ruled, in its activities and endeavours, by considerations of practical utility and dynamic expansion alone. Its inherent aim is the experimenting with, and the discovery of, the potentialities of life, without attributing to this life a moral reality of its own. For the modern European or American the question

of meaning and purpose of life has long since lost all its practical importance Important to him is only the question as to what *forms* life can assume, and as to whether the human race as such is progressing towards ultimate mastership over Nature This last question the modern Occidental answers in the affirmative, and here he is in agreement with Islam In the Holy Qur'an God says of Adam and his race

إني جاعل في الأرض خليفة

"Behold, I am placing a vicegerent on earth" (*surah* 2 30) This evidently means that man is destined to rule and to progress on earth But there is a difference between the Islamic and the Western viewpoints as to the *quality* of human progress The modern West believes in the possibility of a progressive spiritual improvement of mankind, in its collective sense, by means of practical achievements and the development of scientific thought The Islamic viewpoint, however, is diametrically opposed to this Western, materialistically-dynamic, conception of humanity Islam regards the spiritual possibilities of the collective entity "mankind" as a static quantity as something that has been definitely laid down in the very constitution of the human nature as such Islam has never accepted for granted, as the West does, that the human nature—in its general, super-individual sense—is undergoing a process of progressive change and improvement in a similar way as a tree grows because the basis of that nature, the human soul, is not a biological quantity The fundamental mistake of modern European thought, to regard an increase in material knowledge and comfort as identical with a spiritual and moral *improvement* of mankind, was possible only because of the equally fundamental mistake which consisted in applying biological rules to non-biological facts At the root of it lies the modern Western unbelief in the existence of what we describe as "soul" Islam, being based on transcendental conceptions, regards the soul as a reality beyond doubt or discussion Though certainly not opposed to each other, material progress and spiritual progress are not one and the same, relating, as they do, to two distinctly different aspects of human life, and these two forms of progress do not necessarily depend on (one) another They may, but need not always, develop simultaneously

While clearly admitting the possibility and strongly asserting the desirability of an outward, that is, material, progress of mankind as a collective body, Islam as clearly denies the possibility of a spiritual improvement of humanity as a whole by means of its collective achievements The dynamic element of spiritual improvement is limited to the individual being, and the only possible curve of spiritual and moral development is that between the birth and the death of each single individual We cannot possibly march towards perfection as a collective body Everyone must strive towards the spiritual goal as an *individual*, and everyone must begin and end with himself.

This decidedly individualistic outlook on the spiritual destinies of man is counter-balanced, and indirectly confirmed, by the Islamic rigorous conception of society and social collaboration The duty of society is to arrange outward life in such a way that the single individual should find as few obstacles as possible, and as much encouragement as possible, in his spiritual endeavours This is the reason why the Islamic Law, the *shari'ah*, is concerned with human life on its spiritual as well as on its material side, and both with its individual and its social aspects

Such a conception, as has been said before, is possible only on the basis of a positive belief in the existence of a human soul, and, therefore, in a transcendental purpose of human life But for the modern Occidental, with his negligent semi-denial of the soul's existence, the question of a purpose of life has no longer any practical importance He has left all transcendental speculations and considerations behind him

What we call the religious attitude is always based on the belief that there exists an all-embracing, transcendental moral law, and that we human beings are bound to submit to its commands But modern Western civilisation does not recognise the necessity of man's submission to anything save to economic or social or national requirements Its real deity is not of a spiritual kind it is Comfort. And its real, living philosophy is expressed in a Will to Power for power's sake Both are inherited from the old Roman civilisation

The mention of Roman civilisation as—at least to some extent—genetically responsible for the materialism of the modern West may sound strange to those who have heard the frequent comparison of the Roman Empire with the old Islamic Empire How is such a pronounced difference between the fundamental conception of Islam and the modern West possible if in the past the political expressions of both were akin to (one) another? The simple answer is they were not really akin That popular, so often quoted, comparison is one of the many historical platitudes with which superficial half-science feeds the minds of the present generation There is nothing whatever in common between the Islamic and the Roman Empires beyond the fact that both extended over vast territories and heterogeneous peoples—for, during the whole of their existence, these two Empires were directed by utterly different motive-forces and had, so to say, different historical purposes to fulfil Even on the morphological side we observe a vast difference between the Islamic and the Roman Empires It took the Roman Empire nearly one thousand years to grow to its full geographic extent and political maturity, while the Islamic Empire sprang up and grew to its fulness within the short period of about eighty years As regards their respective decay, the difference is even more enlightening The downfall of the Roman Empire, finally sealed by the migrations of

the Huns and Goths, was effected during one single century—and was effected so completely that nothing of it remained but works of literature and architecture. The Byzantine Empire, commonly supposed to have been the direct heir of the Roman Empire, was an heir only in so far as it continued to rule over some of the territories which once had formed part of the latter. Its social structure and political organisation had hardly anything to do with the conceptions of Roman polity. The Islamic Empire, on the other hand, as embodied in the Caliphate, underwent, no doubt, many deformations and dynastic changes in the course of its long existence, but its structure remained essentially the same. As to external attacks, even that of the Mongols—which was far more violent than anything the Roman Empire had ever experienced at the hands of the Huns or Goths—was not able to shake the social organisation and the unbroken political existence of the Empire of the Caliphs, though it undoubtedly contributed to the economic and intellectual stagnation of the later times. In contrast with the one century which was needed to destroy the Roman Empire, the Islamic Empire of the Caliphs needed about a millennium of slow decay until its ultimate political breakdown, represented in the extinction of the Ottoman Caliphate, became a fact, followed by the signs of social dissolution which we are witnessing at present.

All this forces the conclusion upon us that the inner strength and social soundness of the Islamic world were superior to anything mankind has hitherto experienced by way of social organisation. Even Chinese civilisation, which has undoubtedly shown similar powers of resistance through many centuries, cannot be used as a comparison here. China lies on the edge of a continent, and was until half a century ago—that is, until the rise of modern Japan—beyond the reach of any rival power; the wars with the Mongols at the time of Jenghiz Khan and his successors touched hardly more than the fringe of the Chinese Empire. But the Islamic Empire stretched over three continents and was all the time surrounded by inimical powers of considerable strength and vitality. Since the dawn of history, the so-called Near and Middle East was the volcanic centre of conflicting racial and cultural energies; but the resistance of the Islamic social organisation was, until recently at least, invincible. We need not search far for an explanation of this wonderful spectacle: it was the religious teaching of the Qur'an that gave a solid foundation and the life-example of the Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings be upon him) that became a band of steel around that grand social structure. The Roman Empire had no such spiritual element to keep it together; and therefore it broke down so rapidly.

But there is yet a further difference between those two old Empires. While in the Islamic Empire there was no privileged nation, and power was made subservient to the propagation of an idea regarded by its torch-bearers as the sublime religious truth,

the idea underlying the Roman Empire was conquest of power and the exploitation of other nations for the benefit of the mother-country alone To promote better living for a privileged group, no violence was for the Romans too bad, no injustice too base The famous "Roman justice" was justice for the Romans alone It is clear that such an attitude was possible only on the basis of an entirely materialistic conception of life and civilisation—a materialism certainly refined by intellectual taste, but none the less foreign to all spiritual values The Romans never in reality knew religion Their traditional gods were a pale imitation of Greek mythology, mere colourless ghosts silently accepted for the benefit of social convention In no way those gods were allowed to interfere with "real" life When asked, they had to give oracles through the medium of their priests , but they were never supposed to confer moral laws upon men or to direct their actions

This was the soil out of which modern Western civilisation grew It undoubtedly received many other influences in the course of its development, and it naturally changed and modified the cultural inheritance of Rome in more than one respect But the fact remains that all that is real today in Western ethics and outlook on life is directly traceable to the old Roman civilisation As the intellectual and social atmosphere of old Rome was utterly utilitarian and anti religious—in fact if not in open admission—so is the atmosphere of the modern West Without having a proof against transcendental religion, and without even admitting the need of such a proof, modern Western thought, while tolerating and sometimes even emphasising religion as a social convention, generally leaves transcendental ethics out of the range of practical consideration Western civilisation does not strictly *deny* God but has simply no room and no use for Him in its present intellectual system It has made a virtue out of an intellectual difficulty of man—his inability to grasp the totality of life Thus, the modern Occidental is likely to attribute practical importance only to such ideas as lie within the scope of empiric sciences or, at least, are expected to influence men s social relations in a tangible way And as the question of the existence of God does not *prima facie* belong to either of these two categories, the Western mind is, on principle, inclined to exclude God from the sphere of practical consideration

The question arises how is such an attitude compatible with the Christian way of thinking ? Is not Christianity—which is supposed to be spiritual fountain head of Western civilisation—a faith based on transcendental ethics ? Of course it is But, then, there can be no greater error than to consider Western civilisation as an outcome of Christianity The real intellectual foundations of the modern West are to be found in the old Roman conception of life as a purely utilitarian proposition without any transcendental outlook It can be expressed as follows "As we do not know anything definite

—that is, by means of scientific experiments and calculations—about the origin of human life and its destinies after the bodily death, it is better to concentrate all our energies on the development of our material and intellectual possibilities without allowing ourselves to be hampered by transcendental ethics and moral postulates based on presumptions which defy scientific proof." There can be no doubt that this attitude, so characteristic of modern Western civilisation, is as unacceptable to Christianity as it is to Islam or any other religion, because it is irreligious in its very essence. To ascribe, therefore, the practical achievements of modern Western civilisation to the supposed efficacy of Christian teachings is extremely ridiculous. Christianity has contributed very little to the powerful scientific and material development in which the present civilisation of the West excels all others. Indeed, those achievements emerged out of Europe's age-long intellectual fight *against* the Christian Church and its outlook on life.

Through long centuries the spirit of Europe was oppressed by a religious system embodying the contempt of Nature. The note of asceticism which pervades the Gospels from one end to the other, the demand to submit passively to wrong inflicted, the repudiation of sex as something based on the fall of Adam and Eve in the Paradise, the Original Sin and its atonement through Christ's crucifixion—all this leads to an interpretation of human life not as a positive stage but almost as a necessary evil—as an "educative" obstacle on the path of spiritual progress. It is clear that such a belief does not favour energetic endeavours concerning worldly knowledge and the improvement of the conditions of earthly life. And, indeed, for a very long time the intellect of Europe was subdued by this sinister conception of human existence. During the Middle Ages, when the Church was omnipotent there, Europe had no vitality and no place whatsoever in the realm of scientific research. It lost even all real connection with the philosophical achievements of Rome and Greece out of which European cluture had once originated. The intellect revolted more than once, but it was beaten down by the Church again and again. The history of the Middle Ages is full of that bitter struggle between the genius of Europe and the spirit of the Church.

The liberation of the European mind from the intellectual bondage to which the Christian Church had subjugated it took place in the time of the Renaissance and was to a very large extent due to the new cultural impulses and ideas which the Arabs had been transmitting to the West for several centuries.

Whatever had been best in the culture of old Greece and the later Hellenistic period the Arabs had revived in their learning and improved upon in the centuries that followed the establishment of the early Islamic Empire. I do not say that the absorption of Hellenistic thought was an undisputed benefit to the Arabs, and the Muslims generally—because it was not. But for all the difficulties which this revived Hellenistic

culture may have caused to the Muslims by introducing Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic philosophy into Islamic theology and jurisprudence, it acted, through the Arabs, as an immense stimulus to Europe The Middle Ages had laid waste Europe's productive forces Sciences were stagnant, superstition reigned supreme, the social life was primitive and crude to an extent hardly conceivable today At that point the cultural influence of the Islamic world—at first through the adventure of the Crusades in the East and the brilliant universities of Muslim Spain in the West, and later through the growing commercial relations established by the republics of Genoa and Venice—began to hammer at the bolted doors of European civilisation Before the dazzled eyes of the European scholars and thinkers another civilisation appeared—refined, progressive, full of passionate life and in possession of cultural treasures which Europe had long ago lost and forgotten What the Arabs had done was far more than a mere revival of old Greece They had created an entirely new scientific world of their own and developed until then unknown avenues of research and philosophy All this they communicated through different channels to the Western world and it is not too much to say that the modern scientific age in which we are living at present was not inaugurated in the cities of Christian Europe, but in such Islamic centres as Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, Cordova, Nishapur, Samarqand

The effect of these influences on Europe was tremendous With the approach of Islamic civilisation a new intellectual light dawned on the skies of the West and infused it with fresh life and thirst for progress It is no more than a just appreciation of its value that European historian term that period of regeneration the *Renaissance*—that is, "re-birth" It was, in fact, a re birth of Europe.

The rejuvenating currents emanating from Islamic culture enabled the best minds of Europe to fight with new strength against the disastrous supremacy of the Christian Church In the beginning this contest had the outward appearance of reform movements which sprang up, almost simultaneously, in different European countries with the object of adapting the Christian way of thinking to the new exigencies of life These movements were sound in their way, and, if they had met with real spiritual success, they might have produced a certain reconciliation between science and religious thought in Europe But, as it happened, the wrong caused by the Church of the Middle Ages was already too far-reaching to be repaired by mere reformation, which, moreover, quickly degenerated into political struggles between interested groups Instead of being truly reformed, Christianity was merely driven into defence and gradually forced to adopt an apologetic attitude The Church—whether Catholic or Protestant—did not really give up any of its mental acrobatics, its incomprehensible dogmas, its world-contempt, its unscrupulous support of the powers-that-be at the expense of the oppressed masses of

humanity it merely tried to gloss over these grave failings and to "explain them away" by means of hollow assertions No wonder, therefore, that, as the decades and the centuries advanced, the hold of religious thought grew weaker and weaker in Europe, until in the 18th century the predominance of the Church was definitely swept overboard by the French Revolution and its cultural consequences in other countries

At that time again it appeared as if a new spiritual civilisation, freed from the tyrannical gloom of the scholastic theology of the Middle Ages, had a chance of growth in Europe In fact, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century we encounter some of the best and spiritually most powerful European personalities in the domain of philosophy, art, literature and science But this spiritual, religious conception of life was and remained restricted to a few individuals The great European masses, after having been for so long a time imprisoned in religious dogmas which had no connection with the natural endeavours of man, could not and would not, once those chains were broken, find their way back to a religious orientation

Perhaps the most important intellectual factor which prevented Europe's religious regeneration was the current conception of Jesus Christ as the Son of God Philosophically-minded Christians, of course, never took this idea of sonship in its literal sense, they understood by it a manifestation of God's Mercy in human form But, unfortunately, not everyone has a philosophical mind For the overwhelming majority of Christians the expression son" had and has a very direct meaning, although there was always a mystical flavour attached to it For them, Christ's sonship of God quite naturally led to an anthropomorphisation of God Himself, who assumed the shape of a benignant old man with a white flowing beard and this shape, perpetuated by innumerable paintings of high artistic value, remained impressed upon the European's subconscious mind During the time when the dogma of the Church reigned supreme in Europe there was not much inclination to question this strange conception But with the intellectual shackles of the Middle Ages once broken, the thinking among the Europeans could not reconcile themselves to a humanised God-Father on the other hand, this anthropomorphisation had become a standing factor in the popular conception of God After a period of enlightenment, European thinkers instinctively shrank back from the conception of God as presented in the teachings of the Church and as this was the only conception to which they had been accustomed, they began to reject the very idea of God, and with it, of religion

In addition to this, the dawn of the industrial era with its glamour of the stupendous material progress began to direct men towards new interest, and thus contributed to the subsequent religious vacuum of Europe In this vacuum the development of Western civilisation took a tragic turn—tragic from the viewpoint of anyone who regards

religion as the strongest reality in human life. Freed from its former serfdom towards Christianity, the modern European mind overstepped the limit and entrenched itself, by degrees, in a decided antagonism to any form of spiritual claim upon man Out of the subconscious fear of being once more overwhelmed by forces claiming spiritual authority, Europe became the champion of everything anti-religious in principle and action It returned to its old Roman heritage.

Thus, one cannot be blamed for the contention that it was not a potential "superiority" of the Christian faith over other creeds which enabled the West to attain its brilliant material achievements for those achievements are unthinkable without the historic struggle of Europe's intellectual forces against the very principles of the Christian Church Its present materialistic conception of life is Europe's revenge on Christian "spirituality" which had gone astray from the natural truths of life

It is not within our scope to go deeper into the private relations between Christianity and modern Western civilisation I have only tried to show three of the reasons, perhaps the main reasons, why that civilisation is so thoroughly anti-religious in its conceptions and methods one is the heritage of Roman civilisation with its utterly materialistic attitude as regards human life and its inherent value, another, the revolt of human nature against the Christian world-contempt and the suppression of natural desires and legitimate endeavours of man (followed by the Church's traditional alliance with the holders of political and economic power and its cold-blooded sanction of every exploitation which the power-holders could devise), and, lastly, the anthropomorphic conception of God. This revolt against religion was entirely successful—so successful that the various Christian sects and Churches were gradually compelled to adjust some of their doctrines to the changed social and intellectual conditions of Europe Instead of influencing and shaping the social life of its adherents, as is the primary duty of religion, Christianity has resigned itself to the role of a tolerated convention and a garb for political enterprises For the masses it has now only a formal meaning, as was the case with the gods of ancient Rome, which were neither allowed nor supposed to exert any real influence upon society No doubt, there are still many individuals in the West who feel and think in a religious way and make the most desperate efforts to reconcile their beliefs with the spirit of their civilisation—but they are exceptions only The average Occidental—be he a Democrat or a Fascist, a Capitalist or a Bolshevik, a manual worker or an intellectual—knows only one positive "religion," and that is the worship of material progress, the belief that there is no other goal in life than to make that very life continually easier or, as the current expression goes, "independent of Nature." The temples of this "religion" are the gigantic factories, cinemas, chemical laboratories, dancing halls, hydro-electric works, and its priests are bankers, engineers, film stars,

captains of industry, record airmen The unavoidable result of this craving after power and pleasure is the creation of hostile groups armed to the teeth and determined to destroy each other whenever and wherever their respective interests come to clash And on the cultural side the result is the creation of a human type whose morality is confined to the question of practical utility alone, and whose highest criterion of good and evil is material success

In the profound transformation the social life of the West is undergoing at present that new, utilitarian morality becomes daily more and more apparent. All virtues having a direct bearing upon the material welfare of society—for example, technical efficiency, patriotism, nationalist group-sense—are being exalted and often absurdly exaggerated in their value, while virtues which, until recently, were valued from a purely ethical point of view, as, for example, filial love or sexual fidelity, rapidly lose their importance—because they do not confer a tangible, material benefit upon society The age in which the insistence on strong family bonds was decisive for the well being of the group or the clan is being superseded, in the modern West, by an age of collective organisation under far wider headings And in a society which is essentially technological and is being organised, at a rapidly increasing pace, on purely mechanical lines, the behaviour of a son towards his father is of no great social importance so long as those individuals behave within the limits of general decency imposed by society on the intercourse between its members Consequently, the Western father daily loses more and more authority over his son, and quite logically the son loses his respect for the father Their mutual relations are being slowly overruled and—for all practical purposes—made obsolete by the postulates of a mechanised society which has a tendency to abolish all privileges of one individual over another, and—in the logical development of this idea—also the privileges due to family relationship

Parallel to this goes the progressive dissolution of the "old" sexual morality Sexual fidelity and discipline are quickly becoming a thing of the past in the modern West, because they were mainly motivated by ethics and ethical considerations have no tangible, immediate influence on the material well-being of society And so, discipline in sexual relations is rapidly losing its importance and is being supplanted by the "new" morality which proclaims the unrestricted individual freedom of the human body In future, the only restriction will be, at the best, derived from considerations of demography and eugenics

It is not without interest to observe how the anti-religious evolution sketched above has been brought to its logical climax in Soviet Russia, which, on her cultural side, does not represent a development essentially different from the rest of the Western world. On the contrary, it seems that the Communist experiment is nothing else but the culmina-

tion and the fulfilment of those decidedly anti-religious and—ultimately—anti-spiritual tendencies of modern Western civilisation It may even be that the present sharp antagonism between the Capitalistic West and Communism is, at its root, due only to the different pace at which those essentially parallel movements are progressing towards their common goal Their inner similarity will, no doubt, become more and more pronounced in future , but even now it is visible in the fundamental tendency of both Western Capitalism and Communism, to surrender the spiritual individuality of man, and his ethics, to the purely material requirements of a collective machinery called "society," in which the individual is but a cog in a wheel

The only possible conclusion is, that a civilisation of this kind must be a deadly poison for any culture based on religious values Our original question, whether it is possible to adapt the Islamic way of thinking and living to the exigencies of Western civilisation, and *vice versa*, must be answered in the negative In Islam, the first and foremost objective is the moral progress of man, and therefore ethical considerations overrule the purely utilitarian ones In modern Western civilisatian the position is exactly reversed Considerations of material utility dominate all manifestations of human activity, and ethics is being relegated to an obscure background of life and condemned to a merely theoretical existence without the slightest power to influence the community To talk of ethics, in such circumstances, is nothing short of hypocrisy , and thus the intellectually decent among the modern Western thinkers are subjectively justified if, in their speculations on the social destinies of Western civilisation, they avoid any allusion to transcendental ethics With the less decent—as also with those who are less clearly decided in their moral attitude—the conception of transcendental ethics survives as an irrational factor of thought, much in the same way as the mathematician is obliged to operate with certain "irrational" numbers which represent, in themselves, nothing tangible, but are, none the less, required to bridge the gaps of imagination due to the structural limitations of the human mind

Such an evasive attitude towards ethics is certainly incompatible with a religious orientation , and, therefore, the moral basis of modern Western civilisation is incompatible with Islam

This should in no way preclude the possibility of Muslims receiving from the West certain impulses in the domain of exact and applied sciences , but their cultural relations should begin and end at that point To go further and to imitate Western civilisation in its spirit, its mode of life and its social organisation is impossible without dealing a fatal blow to the very existence of Islam as a theocratic polity and a practical religion

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WE . . . AND THE WEST

This is a very instructive article on the relations between Islam and the West. It deserves careful consideration both by the Westerners and the Muslims because it has been written by a Western Muslim who knows Islam as well as the West.

The writer traces the Western fear of Islam to the Arab-Byzantine conflicts not to the Crusades. This fear, however, is unreasonable. As we have pointed out in our leading article Islam had a world mission to fulfil which could only be done by means of political expansion. Many of the teachings of Islam were absorbed by the West as a result of this expansion. They have become more or less the common property of mankind today. Therefore, in respect of them, there is going to be no future expansionism. The phase of military expansion both for Islam and the West has ended. Now there is to be no revival of military conquest. But peaceful propagation and exchange of ideas will go on.

The Western fear of Islam does not seem to spring so much from past history from the fact that Islam is incompatible with radical secularism. It is not such an adaptable system that you can fit into any social order. The West has made its religion so elastic that it offers no resistance to any kind of political and social policies. This is impossible under Islam. So the West fears that because Islam is not so adaptable it will repeat its past expansionism if left to itself. Hence the feverish attempts to give a picture of Islam which will prove that it can become a much better religion if it is divested of its social, economic and legal contents. But this is not true nor is the fear of the West well founded because, barring the ultra conservative class which is fast disappearing, enlightened Muslim thinkers are ready to recognise that everything in Islam is not final and that while Islam is rigid in its fundamental principles in matters of details it is infinitely adaptable specially if it can be shown that those details were the product of age and circumstances. Political expansion is not a part of the Islamic creed. It was necessitated by self-defence when the Persians and Byzantines began to intrigue for the overthrow of Islam in Arabia otherwise it is a fact of history that 'Omar did not sanction the conquest of Egypt nor did he like the idea of setting foot beyond Iraq. If the Persio-Byzantine world had shown the spirit of religious toleration and given freedom to the Muslims to preach Islam peacefully there would have been no wars against them, for Islam definitely prohibits the use of force unless the other side so acts as to make it a necessary means of self preservation.

A. de Zayas Abbasi

A NON-MUSLIM Westerner—an American journalist[1]—has pointedly remarked "If there is to be peace in the world, there must be understanding among peoples. Such understanding cannot be achieved unless people *have true information about one another*."

1. Mr Lester Markel of *The New York Times*.

This remark touches at the very core of the problem of international relations, stating its solution in simple, unambiguous terms

Throughout history, the lives of individuals and the destinies of nations have, time and again, been shaped—and mis-shaped—by means of that most pernicious of instruments wrong information in the service of vested interests or of personal ambitions

A patent example of this is the attitude of the non-Muslim West towards Islam and the Muslims during the last thirteen and a half centuries, and the reasons behind this attitude

To the non-Muslim West, Islam is, still today, something "Eastern," strange, and to be wary of

To the Muslim, the modern non-Muslim West is, although progressive, materialistic . and equally to be wary of

While this underlying caution is characteristic of their attitude towards each other, its motives differ

Those of the West are the result of centuries of Western propaganda born of prejudice—a prejudice that is often revealed as deep-grained, uncompromising, overwhelming, and that with time has developed into a veritable complex, carefully nurtured from generation to generation, "lest ye forget."

The reason for this peculiar prejudice has long been a cause for wonder to Muslims and to non-Muslims with a bent for truth and knowledge Because prejudice and psychological complexes are incompatible with the intellectual level the non-Muslim Westerner today claims as his own

Paradoxically, the West itself considers prejudice a serious flaw in the individual's psychological make-up The holding of preconceived opinions, the allowing of one's mind to be biased without any basis in fact, are not only recognised as disqualifications for the scientist, but are even admitted as embodying dangerous consequences for all who so indulge

The whole legal doctrine of the West condemns in theory the forming of premature judgments, the passing of judgment before trial or proper inquiry And thus it recognises that prejudice is inconsistent with the interests of truth and justice, and with the spirit of scientific inquiry which is the pride of the XX-century West.

The explanation of the West's prejudice towards Islam is psychological Its roots are to be found in the very prosaic sphere of practical life the wall that the

Western world has, for thirteen centuries, insisted on building between itself and Islam, is actually no more than a wall of 'defence,' its reaction against the fear of a 'rivalry' for human loyalties and for 'the good things of this world,' with which it instinctively does not feel quite able to cope

This attitude dates not from the Crusades as a Muslim scholar[1] has recently suggested but much earlier from the time when the Muslims first clashed with the Byzantine armies in the battle of Yarmuk (634 C E) For her defeat in the field confirmed Byzance's suspicion that this new antagonist she had chosen for herself was something more than merely a new religious sect, another one of the many of which the New East had proved so prolific

The birth of Islam had confronted Heraclius with a diemma here was a movement, to the principles of which he could find no special objection, but whose leader addressed him as an equal—a dangerous precedent, liable to undermine the imperial authority of Byzance—and whose adherents stood firmly and uncompromisingly for liberty, equality and the sacredness of human rights and responsibilities, tenets that were equally dangerous when introduced into practical politics in a world where autocracy held sway

Willingly would Heraclius have left Islam alone in its desert fastness if he could have, for it was trouble enough to control and hold in check the many peoples then subject to Eastern Roman rule, some of them restive under the weight of religious intolerance, others under that of excessive taxation But circumstances did not allow him to disregard this new factor so pregnant with alarming possibilities.

The peculiarly strategic position of the nascent Muslim nation, astride the great trade-route between Syria and South Arabia, made it inevitable that some effect of the ideas they propagated and the principles they stood for be felt in the outlying Arab districts of the Byzantine Empire, and threaten to become an unwieldly ferment among its none too-sure inhabitants. Besides, Byzance had no means of controlling the desert tribes whose life was foraging, and whose sense of opportunism brought them as often into conflict with the newly formed and slowly growing Muslim community, as in alliance with it

The turmoil in the desert repercussed in ever-widening circles of the marchlands of Byzance, until the latter felt that wisdom indicated a 'preventive action' against what she judged to be the cause of that turmoil, a people who insisted on standing firm against all odds, and who insisted that their belief embodied a practical,

1 Muhammad Asad *The Road to Mecca*

democratic way of life She could not forget that her previous encounter, some six centuries earlier when she was still Rome in all her might, with a people then dedicated to a moral law and firm in the conviction of the belief they stood for, had been an unpleasant one, and had finally resulted in Rome having to bend in order to conquer, to herself adopt the Christian tenets in order to control the force that was Christianity

Such stuff as heroes and martyrs are made of is dangerous stuff indeed, and Byzance in cool appraisal, calculated that it was safer to crush the movement in the womb rather than let it grow into a power that might eventually challenge, on a principle, the very foundation of the Empire And thus it happened that the outcome of Yarmuk crystallised the attitude of the non-Muslim West towards Islam for centuries to come

It is possible that had fate confined the spread of Islam to Asia, or even governed its penetration into Africa in such a way as not to create common frontiers between it and the Church of Rome's domain, Western Europe would not have identified herself so entirely with Byzance's fear of the Muslims And she might even, in time, have sought an alliance with the Muslim neighbours of Byzance to buttress her strength in her rivalry with the Eastern Church Examples of such alliances were not unknown among the warring factions of the Syrian coastland—Frankish and local warlords—during the Crusade period of the XI and XII centuries

The first endeavour on the part of the West to establish relations with the Muslims on a friendly basis was that of Leo Isaurios (717-741 C E), a century after Heraclius Confronted with the power of the Caliphate, he sought a practical solution to the problem created for the Christian West by his predecessor He knew Islam and the Muslims well, having been born and brought up in a Muslim land Syria , and he knew that there could be no quarrel between Muslim and Christian if both applied to the practical sphere of their socio-political existence the moral principles they proclaimed One of his measures to achieve a basis for peaceful co-existence was to institute iconoclasm[1] throughout the Byzantine Empire, declaring that the worship of statues and images was the only objection Islam could reasonably hold against Byzance, and that it was not part of the Christian faith The Muslims would have been satisfied with far less an equitable *modus vivendi* between the two realms which would have permanently ensured *the respect of mutual rights and interests* in strict justice It is a fact that peace

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1 The interdiction of iconolatry lasted until the reign of Irene, when it was revoked (781 C E) Leo's intrigue, as a Byzantine general, to obtain the throne of Byzance for himself, by deceitfully using the strength of Muslim arms, is an interesting page of the history of the relations between the Caliphate and Byzance

ruled not only between the Caliphate and Byzance during Leo's reign and that of his immediate successors, but likewise between Muslims and non-Muslims everywhere, *whenever such a* modus vivendi *operated*

There is no doubt that the widespread propaganda that prepared and accompanied the organisation of the Crusades (1095-1291 C E) crystallised, in Europe, the antagonism towards Islam and all things Muslim The real motive behind the Crusades was a political one which took shape under pressure of the local European politics of the day it was the *coup de genie* of Pope Urbanus II, who thereby sought to unite, and for a while succeeded in welding into some semblance of unity, the fiercely divided factions that then made up Western Europe and opposed the princes of the Holy Roman Empire to the political authority of the Papacy To sink their differences a common enemy was needed, and a common goal, and Urbanus could think of none better than a campaign for the conquest of Jerusalem from the Muslims

It was similarly this widespread anti-Muslim propaganda that, after the victories of Sultan Salah ed-Din and of the Mamluks over the Crusaders, crystallised in the European mind the fear of Islam as a political and military enemy , and that in turn gave to the victory of Isabella and Ferdinand over 'Abdullah in Granada (1492 C E) the unqualified religious character history ascribes to it

For it is also a fact that during the greater part of the seven hundred years of Muslim rule in Spain, most of the wars between Christians and Muslims in that country were by no means religious wars but actually personal struggles for political power

Two more factors subsequently contributed to the 'classical' European attitude of antagonism towards Islam One was the long drawn-out struggle between the members of the Holy Alliance (founded in 1571 C E) and the Ottoman Empire. The other was the European penetration into the wealthy lands of Asia and Africa, and gradual acquisition of dominion over them, during the XVIII and XIX centuries.

The spearhead of this penetration was made up in the main of adventurers and traders whose moral principles were by no means a recommendation for European integrity. These found themselves, in Asia, face to face with higher standards of living than those to which they were accustomed, and with higher levels of culture than their own On the other hand, the political conditions they found were similar to those they knew so well in the Europe of those days : rivalries and dissensions bordering in many places on confusion It was a time of political decline in Asia, and it was only to be expected that with the adventurer's keen appraisal of the issues at stake and

usual lack of scruples, they should not hesitate to seize every opportunity that so fortuitously offered itself to play interest against interest to their own profit, aiming to better appropriate for themselves the wealth that lay about them

As economic penetration grew into economic domination, and this in turn became transformed into political domination with the consequent impoverishment of the dominated peoples and the lowering of their levels of culture and their standards of living, it was only natural that the egocentric European should find in the affirmation of the European tradition of anti-Islamic prejudice and the self-imposed claim of Western superiority, the self-justification necessary for his equanimity of mind in his arbitrary dealing with Muslim governments and treatment of those Muslim who had become his subjects, while blissfully ignoring the resentment his actions entailed and totally failing to estimate the cumulative effect of that resentment on his future world standing

There is no doubt that the Muslim countries have gained materially from the technical progress of the West, but these gains have been, up to a very recent date, mainly indirect ones, and they have been greatly offset by the material, social, political and moral losses that have accompanied them With few exceptions, improved communications were primarily meant to serve the commercial and/or strategic interests of colonial powers, of foreign business concerns, or of foreign governments The exploitation of the Muslim countries' resources by foreign companies with foreign capital and foreign technicians, has been, until recently, in the nature of colonial enterprises It is only a short time ago that the oil of the Middle East, the foremost example of Western exploitation of Muslim resources, has begun to prove profitable to its owners, the Middle East countries themselves

It is to their experience of Western colonialism, with all that it implied—and implies—of human exploitation and the negation of human rights and liberties, that the Muslims' distrust of the non-Muslim West is due, a distrust they share with all those peoples who have suffered the pressure of Western aggressiveness during the last three hundred years

And this distrust of Western motives is accentuated by the Muslims' realisation of the West's spiritual poverty and the latter's non-admission that ethical principles should govern human acts in the practical spheres of politics, economics, and social relationships It is this display of nominalism which has done most to injure Western prestige in the minds of the Muslims

On the other hand, Western scientific and technical progress attracts the Muslims as well it should, for it is but the mirror of what Muslim progress in the same fields

should have been had the Muslims not unwarrantedly left off their efforts in scientific research

For the Muslim, to acquire the scientific knowledge and technical skills gained by the West is, in fact, to revive a cherished Islamic tradition that no Muslim could relinquish without actually relinquishing part of his Islam The Qur'an not only gives the Muslim every incentive for, but actually exhorts him to, scientific research and the applying of science to practical ends in the service of human advancement The philosophy of the Qur'an aims at the constant betterment of the human being in every sphere, through his mastery over himself and his environment

The decline of the Muslims, both in political power and in scientific knowledge and technical progress, was directly due to their relaxing their grasp on some of the fundamental Quranic values which, as Muslims, it was their duty to uphold and to preconise A dynamic outlook, the spirit of initiative, of discovery and research, creativeness, efficiency, thoroughness, objectivity, the eternal search after perfection in every sphere, material as well as moral, the incentive to improve one's environment, a sense of responsibility to the community, are qualities which no Muslim could fail to acquire without failing in his trust as a Muslim

The Qur'an tells us that life is a challenge, that the purpose of human existence is to answer that challenge The evaluation of human worth lies precisely in the manner in which the challenge of life is met

To meet life's challenge successfully requires an effort On the individual plane, the effort is required of each individual separately On the national plane, a collective effort is needed And a collective effort, in order to succeed, must be well-organised and well-directed

So far there is no difference between the practical Western and the Quranic points of view Both concur in that the world is for the human being to conquer and subdue to his own ends.

The whole universe lies open for human conquest But this conquest can be achieved only through understanding the laws that govern the universe

It is in the scope of both aim and achievement that Islam differs from the West. The Western view is a restricted one It limits the sphere of the human being's conquest of his environment to the material and the physical The acquisition of wealth, and of position, power and domination through the instrumentality of wealth, the mastery of the various sciences and of their practical applications, is the field of endeavour of the non-Muslim Westerner

That of the Muslim, however, is perforce mush vaster As a Muslim, he cannot limit his efforts to the material and the physical without thereby stunting the very personality it is his bounden duty to develop The spiritual and the moral have likewise a firm claim on him, though not to the exclusion of the physical and the material The complete otherworldliness of the early Christian hermit is as far from the ideal of Islam as is the brazen worldliness of the modern Westerner with his creed of atheism and materialism

The Muslim, by reason of his Islam, is pledged to develop his whole personality, to master his body and his mind as well as his environment, and moreover to dedicate his life-effort to the cause of good For this, he must be free an independent, responsible, self-governing nation He cannot recognise the overlordship of any save his Creator and the Law his Creator has decreed for him Because he cannot allow any impediments to shackle his life-effort, to deviate him from his life-purpose. To do so would be disloyal to his trust

As a Muslim, he is inescapably subject to the Moral Law, to which every act and thought of his must conform And as a Muslim, he is responsible to God and to his fellow-beings to see to it that they do. He cannot allow himself the questionable advantages of expediency and opportunism, which so often guide human actions His political life, and his economic life, as well as his social life, must remain subject to the ethical code of justice and equity without which they lose their Islamic character And his relations with the non-Muslim world must equally be guided by the same ethical principles

This is by no means the political handicap for a modern country that many Muslims imagine it to be On the contrary, to abide by the rules of ethics in the conduct of their national and foreign affairs actually places the nations that do so at a distinct advantage not only in front of the verdict of history, but likewise in the very practical realm of their long-term relations with other peoples only a national and foreign policy built on the firm foundation of moral principles can consolidate national existence It is a law of nature that justice must govern all human relationships in a nation if that nation is to ensure for itself a character of permanence Policies formed and actions undertaken in disregard of justice are not only necessarily erratic and in constant need of revision precisely because of the adverse reactions to whith they inevitably give rise, but they often lead their authors to disaster—as contemporary history repeatedly bears witness

To subject politics to the moral law of justice, as the Muslim must if he is not to play false to himself, does not mean that no precautions be taken from the lack of

integrity of others Quite the opposite the restraint placed on the Muslim by the Moral Law requires of him to be more than ever alert with regard to those who do not recognise themselves as bound thereby

Today circumstances have confronted the Muslim peoples, re-emerging on the international plane as free, independent nations, with the immediate problem of finding a rational basis of co-existence with the West

If they are determined to preserve their identity as Muslims, the solution cannot be one of compromise in matters of principle In the present ideological and politico-economic conflict that grips the world, their natural role is that of *an equilibrating force* For a self-reliant people, numbering one fifth of the world's population and backed by the strength of their own moral, economic and military power, such a role is not difficult to fulfil

Between the non-Muslim Western and Soviet blocs, the Muslim peoples have no reason to take sides, except as seeking safeguards for their own security from the danger of aggression from either of the two wherever no alternative means of self-protection are possible, and always without compromising their own vital interests in any way

For all practical purposes, insofar as the Muslim is concerned, Communist Russia and her Western satellites are part of the non-Muslim West Ideologically, their avowed atheism is but a natural consequence of Western nominalism and their socio-economic system but a natural reaction, *in extremis*, to the flagrant injustices of a capitalistic system of exploitation of labour that grew out of the roots of feudalism and, like feudalism, disregarded the rights of the common man

With neither facet of the Communist ideology can Islam associate itself atheism is the negation of the basic principle of Islam, Tauhid And to consider the Communist socio economic system in place of Quranic Islam is no more than to prefer an inferior system to one that in actual practice has proved superior

There is no doubt that the present socio economic system of Soviet Russia is a palliative for the ills of XIX-century capitalism and is, for the Russian people, a tremendous improvement on conditions that obtained in Tsarist Russia But both the Soviet peoples and the Muslims may profitably keep in mind the pointed remark of Lenin to the effect that had he been acquainted earlier with the socio-economic system pre-conised by the Qur'an, he would have advocated Islam instead of Marxism as a solution for the Russian socio-economic problem

On the other hand, the present-day non-Muslim, non-Communist West has advanced a long way from XIX-century capitalism Confronted with the urgency of

the problems of human relationships created by two millenniums of inadequacy in the sphere of socio-economic and political ethics, and which culminated in the injuries that XIX-century capitalism allowed the common man, as an employer, to impose upon his own kind as employee, and faced, by that very reason, with the all-too-grim alternative of destruction from within, it has slowly, and in spite of itself, groped towards solutions, that aim at protecting human rights while defining human responsibilities It is the pressure of organised labour that, in self-defence, has changed the face of Western Capitalism, obliging the West to incorporate into its socio economic relations the heretofore unimplemented principles embodied in the modern constitutions of the Western countries, many of which are the very same principles on which the Islamic social structure is founded.

In fact, the debt that the non-Muslim West, in its emancipation from medieval feudalism, owes to Quranic Islam, is notable if unacknowledged The ideals of the freedom of all human beings, of human brotherhood, of equality before the law, of democratic government by universal suffrage, that inspired the French Revolution and the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man,' that guided the framing of the American Constitution, and the struggle for independence of the Latin-American countries, find their ultimate source in the Qur'an They are the quintessence of what the intelligentsia of medieval Europe acquired from Islam over a period of centuries through the several channels of Muslim Spain, Sicily, the Crusades, and the ideas propagated by the societies that developed in Europe in the wake of the Crusades, in analogy to the brotherhood associations of medieval Islam

Classical Greece is recognised as the inspiration for the European Renaissance But in the matter of human rights, the ideal of classical Greece fell far short of that which evolved in Europe the freedom the Athenian cherished and fought for, lived for and died for, was the freedom of a privileged class, the citizen Neither his women ner his slaves shared in it

Ideologically, Christianity represented a tremendous step forward with its principles of universal brotherhood that abolished all barriers of caste and race But the brotherhood it preached remained in fact a spiritual brotherhood only, utopian in character, unrealised in the practical sphere of everyday life, and utterly divorced from the political, social and economic existence of both peoples and governments

It was Quranic Islam which first offered the practical example of responsible democratic self-government, in which all human beings were free and equal and strove in cooperation for the common good under the rule of a Moral Law, the same for all

If the West derived from Islam—however indirectly—the socio-political ideals to which it owes its present-day leadership of the modern world, as well as the scientific

heritage that was the foundation-stone of Western progress in that field, the Muslim peoples are also, in a way, indebted to the West for their own renaissance. For there is no gainsaying that, ironical as it may seem, it was Western aggressiveness and aspirations of colonial exploitation of Muslim lands that afforded the challenge needed to reawaken the Muslim peoples from the century-old lethargy and force them once more into the life-stream of a dynamic existence

Furthermore, by adopting as its own socio-political ideals preconised by the Qur'an, the West has eliminated the reason for the early Western fear of Islam, and therewith also the motive for its anti-Islamic propaganda

Even so, can the West ever succeed in fully understanding Islam ? And has the West anything to gain from such an understanding ? The answer to the first question is hopefully in the affirmative—hopefully, for the sake of the West itself and humanity in general The answer to the second is most emphatically Yes

But what the West needs in order to understand Islam is something more than a mere intellectual grasp of things It is a grasp of the function of moral and spiritual values and of their intimate relation to the practical things of human existence. What the West needs in order to understand Islam is, in fact, the discovery and evaluation of its own spiritual worth

In a world that has grown so small that its inhabitants are obliged to live together in peace lest they destroy themselves in their attempt to destroy each other through jealousies and dissensions, both the Muslim peoples and the non-Muslim West have much to gain through constructive cooperation with each other It would indeed prove salutary to substitute understanding for prejudice and mutual assistance in the field of human progress for antagonisms born of colonial ventures and unfair exploitation

Economic cooperation with the Muslim peoples is essential to ensure the continued prosperity of the West For their part, the Muslim peoples can still benefit from Western technical assistance

Beyond material considerations, the incentive provided by Western dynamism has proved a healthy influence in bringing Muslims to appreciate truly their own glorious heritage and reaffirm the Islamic values of a dynamic existence that constitute one of the mainstays of Islamic civilisation

And what the West can most profitably learn from Islam is how to live spiritually, to apply moral values to its everyday existence and thereby make it possible to transform what has, for their want, been up to now a high level of Western culture, into a true civilisation.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Persian-English Dictionary	12	3
The Modern Egyptian Dialect of Arabic A Grammar	17	1
The Arabic Writing in Five Lessons	4	6
Arabic Language and Grammar	60	0
An Egyptian-Arabic Manual for Self-Study	6	12
Pocket Dictionary, English-Arabic	6	4
Modern Dictionary, Arabic-English	40	0
School Dictionary, English-Arabic & Arabic-English	17	8
Practical Dictionary of the Colloquial Arabic of the Middle East, English-Arabic	6	0
The Mabani'l Lughat	2	8
Student's Home English-Urdu Dictionary	2	13
Modern Practical Dictionary· English-Urdu	7	8
Urdu Instructor	1	4
Turkish Self-Taught	4	6
English - Punjabi Dictionary	5	0
An Anthology of Moorish Poetry	14	10
Hafiz· Fifty Poems	12	3
Literature of East	7	7
A Literary History of Arabs	24	6
Persian-English Dictionary	63	0
A Grammar of the Arabic Language .	36	9
Arabic for Beginners	22	8
Colloquial Arabic	6	2
Practical Grammar and Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic	4	8
A Handbook of Spoken Egyptian Arabic	2	7
Pocket Dictionary, English-Arabic & Arabic-English	8	8
Modern Dictionary, English-Arabic	40	0
English-Arabic Dictionary	20	0
Arabic Arabic Dictionary (Fakihatul-Bustan)	30	0
Arabic-Arabic Dictionary (Al-Bustan)	60	0
Mumtaz Practical Dictionary (Urdu-English)	7	8
Domestic Hindustani .	3	0
Hindustani Without a Master	3	0
Hindustani Manual	5	0
Modern Pushtu Instructor Vol I .	8	8
Vol II	7	8
Anvar-i-Suhaili (The Lights of Canopus)	15	0
Diwan of Zeb-un-Nissa	2	8
Rose-Garden of Sa'di . .	1	8
Iraqi, Mystic Poet of Iran	1	12
Omar Khayam (Translation of Rubaiyat)	6	9
Thoughts of Shakespeare	6	4
Omar Khayam, the Poet .	2	0
Sentences of Ali	0	12
Scheherezade (Tales from the Thousand and One Nights)	12	3
Translation of Eastern Poetry & Prose ...	13	0
Art in Urdu Poetry	6	12

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

KASHMIRI BAZAR — LAHORE

ISLAM BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

Umar Rolf Baron Ehrenfels

Since this article is incomplete and the writer has not yet come to any conclusions, the Editor is unable to offer his comments except that geographical polarisation cannot be dismissed as of little account. In so far as geography has been influenced by history, it will remain a factor to be reckoned with. For example it is true that the Middle East including Pakistan bears the dominant mark of Islam while India and the Far East have been more deeply influenced by Buddhism and Hinduism.

1 The Problem

THE appraisal of the questions, implied in the geographical-historic position of Islam between culturally prominent neighbours in the West and in the East presupposes agreement on the terms "West" and "East."

Do we mean industrialisation, rationalism or Christianity, or Judaism, when speaking of "The West"? Do we mean collectivisation, dialectic materalism or Hinduism, or Buddhism, when speaking of "The East"? Obviously these are each quite different and even incompatible bases for the definition of either The West or The East.

Again, if speaking geographically of "The West," are we thinking of the U.S.A. or of England and Western Europe, or of the Mediterranean Basin, including such countries as Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Lybia or Morocco? Likewise, does our concept of "The East," as a geographic unit, mean the U.S.S.R. or China, Korea and Japan, or the South Asiatic countries, including East Pakistan, Malaya and Indonesia?

Neither of these possible definitions is sufficiently comprehensive for our purpose, but all of them together comprise too incompatible elements to yield the base for a fruitful discussion. Is then the discussion as such baseless and hence impossible?

This pessimistic view of our work seems in fact suggested by yet another circumstance. Europe is a mere peninsular extension of the Asiatic mainland, geographically and now, much as she had been pre-historically in the past. But to speak of America alone as "The West" and to include all of Europe in "The East" does not make sense in the context of our problem, viz. the position of Islam between West and East. This is true even though both Judaism as well as Christianity were originally just as much "Eastern" as was Islam, seen from the viewpoint of present-day Christian Europe.

Yet—something tangible and real IS being indicated by referring to non-Muslim countries of the Mediterranean Basin and of the rest of Europe as "The West," thereby contrasting it in a not exclusively religious sense to the Muslim countries in the East This is at least true since the Renaissance movement changed Europe The Renaissance and the Reformation are here understood to be reactions and results, brought about through contacts of Europe with the world of Islam.

Is it then true to say that western and eastern countries get differentiated, as soon as they come into mutual contact? Is there in the western and eastern parts of any culture-geographic orbit some sort of differentiation, comparable to the right and left sides of the human body,—the right hand being generally used for specialised tasks, whilst the heart is normally situated on the left side and the left foot is bigger than the right one, etc?

2. Differentiation and Polarisation.

Is differentiation between cultures the same thing as their *polarisation*? This is a question of fundamental importance to the discussion of Islamic culture-history in contact with non-Islamic civilisations

There *are* such typically repeated mutual attitudes in evidence, between parts, or sub-regions, of most large areas, as would deserve the term "Polarisation," taken from the science of Physics,—but they do not refer to East-West differences These are the phenomena of North-South Polarisation (Ehrenfels 1955/a, 1955/b, 1956/a, and 1956/b) They result in characteristically repeated attitudes of Northerners to Southerners and vice versa within one and the same area or national unit These typically repeated attitudes between "The North" and "The South" of otherwise quite different countries show indeed something of the regularity which we find in the relations between the right and the left sides of the human body and would thus permit a deeper insight into culture-contact situations But this regularity is missing in the relations between eastern and western wings of large areas

Northerners are in the minds of such "polarised" peoples, if not in actual fact, more active, industrious, expansive and martial than the Southerners of the same nation who, on the other hand, excell their northern compatriots in greater evenness, refinement, cultural tradition, receptiveness and also craftiness I made a detailed analysis of these and a number of other typically repeated attitudes between the northern and southern sub-regions within various distant large areas and national units and found almost all of them, at least on the northern hemisphere, conforming to type. This is true to say of China, the U S A. and Russia, as much as of England, Ireland, Holland, Belgium, France, Germany, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Morocco, Nigeria,

Egypt, the Sudan, Arabia, West Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Burma and Siam The northern regions of all these countries, correspond at least in the popular opinion of all these countries, if not in fact, to a more virile, expansive and thus technically "positive" type and the southern regions to a more womanly, receptive and thus technically "negative" expression of the same national spirit The term "polarisation" has hence been borrowed for this cultural phenomenon by me, because it bears resemblance to electro-magnetic phenomena, described in Physics It is, however, important to stress that no value judgments of whatever kind are here being implied, or suggested, by the use of the terms "positive" and "negative" respectively

A characteristic feature of this North-South polarisation phenomenon, in the sphere of cultural history, is its non-conformity to actual proximity or distance from either pole or equator The South of Ireland, England or Holland, for instance, are typically southren polarised regions, whilst the North of France is a likewise typically northern polarised one Yet, northern France is actually nearer the Equator, than are the southern regions of Ireland, England or Holland This situation is typically repeated if we progress along the meridian from North to South, as for instance from France to Spain, Morocco and Nigeria, or from France to Italy, Egypt, the Sudan, Arabia and West Pakistan Each one of these countries comprises a typically northern as well as a typically southern polarised part in spite of the fact that they all are situated north and south of one another

Let us now compare this regularly repeated situation with the irregularity of East-West divisions within several countries, situated along the same parallels, east or west, one from the other. Political or industrial preponderance, for instance, of the U S A , England, China, France, Belgium, Austria, Lybia (?) or Brazil is concentrated in the eastern parts of these countries, whilst that of the U S S R , Germany, Turkey, Pakistan, Persia, Yugoslavia or Italy is in the West. The directions of population movements, or conquests, likewise do not correspond to either a general East-West or West-East movement and indeed followed frequently in the course of history North-South, as much as South-North directions Characteristically there is no such conformity of attitudes among Westerners to Easterners, or vice versa, within one and the same area, or country, as there is in the attitudes of Northerners to Southerners and vice versa

Obviously, geographic and historic determinants are responsible for the a-typical and irregular East-West situations, which do not lend themselves to interpretation in anything like a universal East-West or West-East polarisation This comparison of area contrasts, following the East-and-West pattern with North South polarisation has brought us forward by an important step, in the analysis of our problem, namely *Islam between West and East.*

Let us for instance consider the core of the Islamic area, the "Fertile Crescent," as it is known to archaeologists, or the "Near East" of political writers. Here, the East-West contrast does in fact coincide roughly with the distribution of Muslims and Christian. Yet, we do not perceive there a general pattern of mutual attitudes and human relations, such as it is characteristic of North-South polarisation. One and the same country of this region, for instance Turkey, Syria or Egypt, may be quoted as each one typical example of "The East," in Western or Central Europe, and equally so, as a typical example of 'The West' in Southern or Central Asia.

This relativity and inconsistency of the East-West relationship thus emerges as a major feature in the evolution of "Islam and the West,—or the East."

3 A Preliminary Summary and the Historicity of the Problem

The principal conclusions from these observations may now be summed up as follows.

(1) East-West differences in which we find Islamic culture involved are historically determined,

(2) They are geogragphically and culturally relative, and

(3) They are *not* of universal character, common to most human civilisations which extend over large areas, such as

(4) North-South polarisation in fact is.

Muslim countries are subject to North-South polarisation, like any other large area. But one and the same country of the predominantly Muslim Near East may rightfully be described as Eastern in Europe and as Western in Asia. This illustrates the relativity and also the historical variability of the culture concepts "East" and "West."

Had, for instance, John Sobieski of Poland realised that it was hardly in the interest of his country to strengthen either Russia or Germany by fighting against the Turks at the siege of Vienna (Alexandrovicz))—as the kings of France did—Turkey would probably have conquered Vienna and no doubt extended her territories into the heart of the Certral Europe. Consequently the Turks would have been earlier and deeper affected by the Renaissance in Europe, much in the same way as the Arabs were influenced, after their conquests of Syria and Egypt, by Neo-Platonism, and Neo-Pythagorianism, which had been initiated some two to four centuries earlier by Prophyrius, Proclus, Jamblicus and also Nichomachus there. Similarly in Persia, the present Afghan-

istan and West Pakistan, Sufi philosophy and tradition affected Islamic thought after the extension of Islamic world into these areas

Against this background of medieval and modern, rather than of the early Islamic history, an appraisal of the Islamic civilisation has to be built up, if we want to understand it in its relations to north-western Europe and south-eastern Asia, or as a part of the Mediterranean Basin and of Central Asia Early Islam in its relations to Christianity and Judaism can hardly be interpreted in anything like a West-East situation The centres of these early neighbours of Islam, like Byzantium, the greatest Christian power of the time, as well as the centres of Jewish communities were situated in the North, whilst Christian Ethiopia was in the West of the diffusion centre of Islam The majority of other non-Muslims were the pre-Islamic Arabs, all around and East of Madina, or Zoroastrian Persia still farther East

Another possible approach to our problem is that of psychology. The religious concepts, rituals and terminology and those of their neighbouring religious systems form the base of such comparisons

No dobt, Islamic terminology and tradition have more in common with those of Christianity and Judaism, than with those of Zoroastrian Persia and of India Yet, a very palpable element of Islamic philosophy and Sufism, or of Islamic Art and the expression of what I would like to call religious temperament, from Ibn al-Arabi to Ghazali (Guenon) or from Jalal-ud-Din Rumi to Kabir, is no doubt influenced by the specific emanations, palpable in Persia and the Indian subcontinent (Bo Yin Ra) This is particularly true ever since South Asia began to contain a large part of the Muslim world-population

A final conclusion will be based on historical and psychological camparisons in the light of the relativity of West and East, as expounded so far

[*To be continued*]

THE INFLUENCE OF SPANISH MUSLIM CIVILISATION

Dr. S M Imamuddin

This is a very lucid and exhaustive article showing the state to which Muslim culture had reached in Spain. The article further shows the extent to which modern civilisation is indebted to the glory of Muslim Spain. But for this cultural and intellectual influence, Europe today would not have advanced beyond the middle ages. The article should serve as an eye opener to those Muslims who believe in exclusiveness and desire to shut off all intellectual and cultural influences from the West. They forget that new life can be infused among a decadent people only by learning from the more highly advanced. If Europe could not have its renaissance without learning from the Muslims, can the latter produce their renaissance without drinking at the founts of the modern West. The process of learning and teaching among various civilisations is an eternal process of history. There is nothing derogatory therefore if the Muslims turn to the West for many social and cultural improvements. It is only by learning from others that we can gain a new life.

Muslim Civilisation

THE zenith of Muslim civilisation in Spain was reached not on the plateau of the Meseta but in the valleys and plains. The bulk of the Muslims who settled in Spain were Berbers. They settled in mountainous country, where the pastrol life was the natural mode of existence. The Arabs had abandoned their barren land in Arabia long before their coming to Spain. They came to Spain from the agriculturally well-settled countries, Iraq, Syria and Egypt, and settled in the valleys and plains, the place of culture and civilisation. They had the capacity to absorb, to appropriate and to invent. They undertook in right earnest the material development of Spain, which had been neglected by the Gothic rulers. With remarkable skill they exploited the agricultural and mineral potentialities of the country especially in the southern Spain, and finally rebuilt and revived its Roman cities. Arab culture, industry and trade developed especially in towns and cities situated in those basins and plains which lay around and below the Meseta and where the rainfall and irrigation permitted sub-tropical cultivation. These areas lie around Toledo, Cintra, Cordova, Seville, Murcia, Valencia and Granada. Although irrigation had been practised in Spain before by the Romans but the Muslims considerably extended its use and improved its methods

Although the political and cultural base of Muslim Spain lay in the south, still the rest of Spain also felt the impress of Muslim rule Spanish civilisation was raised to its highest level by its Muslim rulers

In the first fifty years of their stay in Spain the Muslims reorganised the system of administration of the country and tried to better its economic and social conditions

'Abd al-Rahman I was the man who established the Umayyad dynasty in Spain after its fall at Damascus He repaired the neglected roads and reorganised a regular postal service He adorned his capital city Cordova with mosques, palaces and other public buildings Being himself a man of letters, he instituted literary contests His achievement won the admiration of the world

Throughout the ninth century the Amirs of Cordova had been engaged in maintaining law and order in the country. In spite of internal and frontier troubles in the thirty years of his rule (822-852 A D), 'Abd al-Rahman II contributed much towards the cultural development of Spain, and made it one of the most civilised countries of the then world The Greek envoys were astonished at the beauty and the wealth of Cordova For miles the banks of the Guadalquivir were lined with beautiful buildings and well-watered gardens An abundant supply of water was brought to Cordova from the Sierra Morena through lead pipes, and many were added to the already numerous public baths In the field of sanitation, which had reached a high stage, the service of Ziryab, the wise and renowned singer of the Umayyad court, cannot be forgotten There was no aspect of life which 'Abd al-Rhman II did not adorn He made reforms in dress and the manner of living He not only imported 'Abbaside manners and customs but also new drugs and built new hospitals with medical schools attached to them He introduced Arabic translations of the Greek and Persian works brought from Iraq under the supervision of 'Abbas ibn Nasih Many schools were opened, and the eagerness for learning increased in the people

Tenth century saw the dawn of a new political and cultural era The candle of this Hispano-Arab civilisation was kept alight by 'Abd al-Rahman III, who not only re-established his dynasty but saved the civilisation from destruction His reign with that of Hakam II and Mansur was the culminating point in the Muslim occupation of Spain Spain was never afterwards able to attain, in the eyes of the Christian and Muslim worlds, the brilliant culture which she had achieved in the time of these great kings and wazirs, nor was she able afterwards to play a part of such importance in the West, in Europe as well as in Africa 'Abd al-Rahman III contributed much to the civilisation of Spain Fresh impetus was given to agriculture, industry, trade, art and architecture On the banks of the Guadalquivir alone there were 12,000

villages with many industries Clothes and articles of daily use were made and sold very cheap Trade was carried on by land with European countries and by sea with Africa and Asia Ambassadors from different parts of the civilised world visited Cordova and many scholars from distant countries flocked to the court of 'Abd al-Rahman Cordovan ambassador Recemund advised Liudprand, the court historian of Otto the Great of Germany, in writing the history "Antapadosis" Among distinguished scholars the great Fatimid Geographer Ibn Hawqal visited Cordova and wrote about the economic condition of Spain Jewish physicians of Cordova served as court physicians in different European kingdoms

The reign of the next ruler Hakam II was the golden age of Spain As far as learning was concerned, he made Cordova shine like a light-house in the dark sea of Europe Under him the university of Cordova, founded in the chief mosque by his father, equalled Al-Azhar of Cairo and the Nizamiya of Baghdad All the principal towns had a university and small towns had schools Rich endowments attracted professors from outside, and good teaching, students from all parts of Europe, Asia and Africa A large library of valuable books and golden manuscripts was attached to the university of Cordova The son and successor of Hakam II was a minor and undoubtedly a worthless ruler but he had a chief minister, Mansur, who enthusiastically patronised art and architecture and literature To rival the city of Zahra founded by 'Abd al-Rahman III, he built the City of Zahira

In the eleventh century the provincial capitals began to play important part in the literary and artistic activity thus provoking the decadence of Cordova The courts of the Muslim kings of Toledo, Badajoz, Valencia, Denia, Almeria, Granada and Seville were converted into meeting halls of the poets, literates, artists, philosophers, physicians and scientists At Almeria, the Mediterranean port, lay anchored ships from Pisa, Genoa, Venecia and Alexandria Next to it, Malaga was the commercial town

The petty rulers did not lag behind the Umayyad rulers of Spain in the development of civilisation and culture in the country They patronised art and architecture The fine Giralda tower, an observatory, was built at Seville Muslim masons and architects showed their highest skill in the construction and decoration of the important palaces of Al-Hamra at Granada and Alcazar at Seville No less impetus was given to science and literature Historians, scientists and philosophers like Ibn al-Khatib, Ibn Tufayl, Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Zuhr, Ibn Bajja and Ibn Rushd flourished in the later days of the Muslim rule in Spain They wrote books on different subjects thus adding their own to what they got from the Greeks and Hindus and handed them down to the posterity

Channels through which it passed to Europe

Now it remains to show, briefly, the many-sided influence of Muslim civilisation on the Europeans The chief channels through which Muslim civilisation was brought to Europe were Spanish teachers and traders, the Muslims of Sicily and Africa, and the Crusaders Here we are mainly concerned with the first and most important one The material and cultural improvements that the Muslims made were very necessary for the happiness and well-being of Spain The Christians reoccupied their country and eventually turned Muslims out of Europe but Muslim culture and civilisation continued to influence every aspect of European life This influence was not only due to proximity, but also to the common interests of Christians and Muslims, especially to the Christian slaves, who, escaping and on their return home, nearly always retained their Arab names and culture Between the Christians and the Muslims visits were frequently exchanged and mutual succour given in time of civil war Throughout the later wars the combatants on both sides were apparently a mixture of Muslims and Christians European Muslims traded with Christian countries both by land and sea Their goods were eagerly purchased by Christian customers in every large town in Europe In their daily contacts Muslim and Jewish merchants taught the Arab manners and customs to their Christian customers They intermarried not only in the lower but also in the higher classes "Spanish ladies of the highest rank, among them the sister of Palagius and the daughter of Roderick, contracted marriage with the 'Infidels,' as the orthodox Jean Mariana calls the Moslems" [1]

Far from despising the customs and costumes of their subjects, Muslims had accepted the conquered in the beginning of their expansion as their intellectual masters, but later, in Spain as in other countries, the case was exactly reversed The pupils became the masters of their own teachers Spain, with its universities at Cordova, Seville, Granada, Toledo and Valencia, was the most important place of learning during the Middle Ages Here students flocked from Europe, Africa and Asia From the tenth century onwards everyone in the West, who had any taste for learning, turned to Muslim Spain The Jews found ample opportunity for the cultivation of knowledge under the Muslims of Spain Learned Jews like Ben Ezra, Jonah ben Gannach, Maimonides Bechal, and David Quinchi travelled to the different parts of Europe and carried there the torch of the Muslim civilisation

The Mozarabs (Musta'rib), who played an important part in the transmission and diffusion of Arab science living next door to the Muslims, felt Arab influence more than

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1 Ameer Ali *Spirit of Islam*, p 287

others The sweetness of Arabic language appealed to them so much that they learnt Arabic enthusiastically and forgot their own Latin and Romance languages They had the Bible translated into Arabic by John of Seville in 1049 A D An Arabic version of the "Canons of the Council of Spain" was transcribed for the use of the Bishops and Clergy especially Bishop John Daniel, in the Moorish kingdom [1] The Mozarabs read Arabic poetry, stories and the works on Muslim philosophy and theology. Many Christian youths could express their views in Arabic more elegantly and correctly than in the Romance language At huge expense they formed large libraries of Arabic books Alvaro of Cordova bitterly complains against their leaning towards Muslim learning Cassir of Heisterbach speaks of Christian youths who went to study astrology at Toledo Hugh of St Victor writes reproach to the Bishop of Seville for his keen interest in Muslim philosophy

Arabic was commonly spoken in Leon, Castile, Navarre, and other parts of Spain From the third generation after the Muslim conquest of Spain, Spanish Muslims and Christians began to speak generally one and the same language called Romance It was derived from low Latin but generally influenced by Arabic language It was spoken by the Mozarabs and understood in courts of law and royal palaces [2] Its encouragement by the State is confirmed by the story of Giner and the Qadi [3] Not only did the Romance language take over a large number of Arabic terms and words, either in their original form or in Latin garb, but also later Mudejares wrote the Spanish language in Arabic characters Many Arabs understood Romance, particularly in the frontier districts where they were called Latin Moors (Ladines)

Christian Kings and Latin-Arabic Schools

The rivalry between Christians and Muslims did not interfere with their cultural contact. With every fresh reconquest of the Muslim territory in Spain the Christians got new treasures in the shape of books, whose study was encouraged by the Christian kings In Cordova an Arabic school of translation was started by 'Abd al-Rahman II and many Greek scientific and philosophical works were translated into Arabic, others were imported from the East His policy was followed by 'Abd al-Rahman III, Al-Hakam II, Al Hisham II and many petty rulers The Christians were also not sitting idle, rather they were enthusiastically imitating the Muslims in every walk of life As early as the beginning of the eleventh century the Count Sancho of Castile (d 1017) had begun to live in

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1 Casiri, I, 54

2 Cf Julian Ribera, Aljoxani *Historia de los jueces de Cordoba* Madrid 1914

3 J Ribera, Aljoxani, 97 texto 118 tr

Muslim fashion According to Ibn Hayyan, a Cordovan Muslim settled at Tudela was surprised to find the Count seated in his decorated court dressed in Muslim fashion but without a crown on his head [1] The Arab dresses were also worn by St Fernando and Archbishop Rodrigo Jimenez of Roda When the Christians conquered Toledo in 1085 A D, Alfonso VI married Zayda, a relative of the king of Seville, and invited many Muslim and Jew scholars to teach the Christians Arabic During the time of Alfonso VII, Toledo became the refuge of the Jews driven by Al-Ma'mun, the Muwahhidin ruler Raimundo, the archbishop of Toledo (1125-52), started a school of translation Many works on science, art and philosophy were translated from Arabic into Latin and Romance and some originals were also composed Just as systematic translations had once brought home the ancient sciences of the West to the Arabs, so now the medieval West, by the very same method of translation, appropriated the sciences of the Arabs The Arabs got the Greek science as a tradition through some important ancient works, while the Europeans got the Arab science refined and polished at its apogee There were more commentaries than translations of Greek originals in the libraries of Muslim Spain which gradually fell in the hands of the Christians The Latin-Arabic School of Toledo developed much during the time of Ferdinand III and his son Alfonso X, the Wise Alfonso patronised many Arabic scholars, Muslims and Jews, and gave more and fresh strength to the force which was already working from many years before The Toledan school became known after his name He directed Muhammad al Ricoti to establish a school in Murcia and another at Seville in 1254 A D to teach Arabic and Latin Students flocked to these schools The Jews and Mozarabs used Arabic texts and others, who did not know Arabic, the Latin and Romance translations

Science

By the tenth century A D the intellectual superiority of the Arabs was recognised in Europe The first Christian to take up the torch of learning was Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II, d 1003 A C) He introduced Arab astronomy and mathematics, and Arabic numerals in place of the clumsy Roman ones He was followed by many, especially Constantinus Africanus in the eleventh century A D, and Bishop Raymond (Raimundo) in the twelfth century A.D As early as the eleventh century Toledo became a centre for the transmission of Arabic culture and science to Europe Raymond (d 1163 or 1164) established a regular school of translation at Toledo A number of translators flourished there. Among the scholars, who flocked to it from all over Europe, were Gerard of Cremona (d 1187 A D), John of Seville (Avendeath) and Gundisalvi (Domenico Gonzalez) Under the supervision of Archdeacon Domenico Gundisalvi, and with the coopera-

1 R Dozy *Recherches*, t I p 204

tion of the Hebrew Johannes ben David, the school of the Archbishop of Toledo rendered into Latin a large number of Arabic works on science and philosophy Gerard, who was the Hunayn ibn Ishaq of Toledo, translated into Latin more than seventy Arabic books on different subjects Among his translations were the surgical part of "Al-Tasrif" of Al-Zahrawi, the "Kitab al-Mansuri" of Al-Razi and the "Qanun" of Ibn Sina, Banu Musa's works, Al-Biruni's commentary on Khawarizmi, the tables of Jabir b Allah and Zarqali [1] John of Seville under the patronage of Raymond translated several works of Avicenna, Qusta ibn Luqa and Al-Farghani Gundisalvi translated the "Kitab al-Nafs" (Anima), the "Kitab al-Shifa" (Sufficientia) of Ibn Sina, "Al-Kulliyat" (Colliget) of Ibn Rushd's commentary on it There were many other translators at Toledo who had neither command over the languages nor sufficient knowledge of the subject-matter They translated word for word and, where they failed to understand, Latinised the Arabic words The Italian Plato of Tivoli, Michael Scotus, Robert of Chester and Hermanus Allemanus (Teutonicus) were other famous translators of the thirteenth century [2] They flourished at Tarrangona, Leon, Segovia, Pamplona and other northern cities of Spain [3] Thus Spanish Arabic learning permeated through all Europe. It passed from the Portals of Toledo through Provence and the Alpine passes into Lorraine, Germany, Central Europe and England [4] Constantine travelled for 30 years in Muslim lands and on his return he taught Arabian medical sciences at Salerno and translated Arabic works into Latin Adelard of Bath was the first of a long series of Arabic scholars of England who travelled extensively in search of Arabic books He visited Syria, Sicily and Spain On his return to England he translated several works on mathematics and astronomy Among the most important works he translated was the astronomical tables of Al-Majriti (1126 A D) Several European Orientalists like Mirabilis, after making the tour of the Muslim countries, were so much impressed that on their return home encouraged their students to leave the European schools for those of the Arabs and this yielded beneficial results The valuable works of the Arab astronomers and scientists were widely studied in Europe and became basis of modern astronomy and science. Most of the star names in European languages are derived from Arabic origin such as Acrab ('Aqrab = scorpion) and Pherked (farqad = calf) In the mathematical vocabulary there are other examples of Arab influence Algebra, cenit (zenith), nadir (nadir = the point opposite to the zenith), and cipher are borrowed from Arabic words Elixir (Arab al-aksir = a kind of medicine), alcohol (Ar alkohol = highly rectified spirit of wine), antimonio (Ar antimun, Engl antimony), alcanfor (Ar Kafur,

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1 Sarton *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol II, p 321

2 Wustenfeld *Ubersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Lateinische* (the Introduction) pp 5 10, quoted by Joseph Hell *Arab Civilization* p 111

3 Kimble *Geography in the Middle Ages* p 75

4 Bernard Lewis *England and Arabic Learning*, pp 2 6

camphor), are examples of medical terms of Arabic origin commonly used in European languages

"Not till the education of Europe passed from the monasteries to the universities, not till Mohammadan science and classical forethought and industrial independence broke the sceptre of the Church, did the intellectual revival of Europe begin " [1]

Literature

Side by side with Arabic science there developed Arabic literature which entered more or less deeply into all the rising literatures of Europe The Europeans borrowed the materials and substance from Arabic sources In the early part of the tenth century the combination of the Zajal and the Mowashshah metres of the Andalusian poetry was introduced by Mocadem el Ciego of Cabra (d before 912) The best known writer of popular songs was Ibn Quzman, who lived in the twelfth century and wrote about 150 pieces of Zajal poetry The Provencal poet William of Poitiers wrote some poems in metres used by Ibn Quzman As the later was a contemporary to the early troubadours, his writings had a living effect on the latter The origin of the poems of the troubadours (torvadores) is chiefly the popular Zajal poetry of Andalusia This well-known and established fact is however contradicted by some Spaniards like Ramon Menendez Pidal [2] Arabic Andalusian poetry contributed to a great extent to the rise of new poetry in Europe Several fabulous and popular Indian stories were translated into Spanish and other European languages from their Arabic translations In this respect the names may be mentioned of some Spanish translations "Calila e Dimna," which was translated in 1251 A D from the Arabic text of Ibn al-Muqaffa, the "Sendebar" or the book of the "engannos y assayamientos de las mujeres" (the deceit of the women), and the history of "Baarlam y Josafat, translated from the Arabic version of the legend of Buddha "Alif Layla" was translated and entitled "Las Mil y una Noches" under the direction of Fadrique, brother of Alfonso (1253 A D) The story of "Alif Layla" was copied later by several story and novel writers This gave birth to modern novels Besides these, several other literary works were translated from Arabic into Latin and Vulgar Romance languages and many Arabic songs and musics were appropriated by the Christians Thus Mackail asserts "As Europe owes its religion to Judaea, so it owes its romance to Arabia " [3]

Philosophy

The close contact of Muslims and Christians not only influenced their culture and mode of living, but also their religion To such influences are traced the origin of certain

1 *History of Rationalism* Vol II p 206

2 *Poesia arabe y poesia europea* (Revista Cubana, enero marzo 1937)

3 *Lectures on Poetry* (1911), p 97

heresies in Christianity Many Christian youths, after receiving education at any university of Spain under Muslim or Jewish professors, went back to their land to rise against the Pope and Bishops Claudius, who was born and bred in Muslim Spain, on being appointed Bishop of Turin in 828 A D., defaced, burnt and abolished all statues and crosses in his bishopric

The Arab influence was no less felt in the philosophical productions of the Christian Spain and Europe It would be lengthy if we were to describe the sources of this influence Suffice it to say that the sketch of this influence known as Christian philosophy was drawn by Raymond (Raimundo Lulio), who was the direct disciple of the Spanish Muslim philosopher Muhi al-Din ibn al-'Arabi In the Toledan school many philosophical works were translated from Arabic into Latin and some originals were written The Jewish scholar Gundisalvi or Domenico Gonzalez wrote some original works like the book of "immortalitate animae" which shows the doctrines of Avicenna and Abengabirol, the book of "processione mundi" based on Oriental and Neo-Platonic theories and the book of "divisione philosophiae" based mainly on Al-Farabi's books. The book of the "doce sabious y las Flores de Filosofia" (twelve wise men and the flowers of philosophy) initiated the Muslim influence Many commentaries were written on the works of Avempace, Averroes, Ibn al-'Arabi and "Hayy ben Yaqdan" of Ibn Tufayl (twelfth century) or the philosophy "autodidacto' Men like Roger Bacon read Averroes and other Muslim philosophers Arabic philosophical ideas are reflected in the works, especially "Divine Comedia" of the Italian philosopher Dante and in the leading ideas of the other poets of the "dolce stil nuovo" The influence of Muslim philosophers, especially of Avempace, lived in Italy up to the sixteenth century and gave birth to the disputes between Achillini and Pomponazzi

Music

Ziryab and, after him, Abu'l-Qasim 'Abbas ibn Firnas (d 888 A D) introduced oriental music into Spain According to Ribera, Spanish music was transmitted to Europe Like the wandering troubadour, who carried new love songs, the Arab merchants brought new musical instruments to Europe Music began to make new progress when it was no longer a mere preservation of ancient ecclesiastical chants By reading in the Spanish universities the Europeans were directly benefited by the Arabic fount They did not have to base their ideas on the intermediary Latin translations Sarton, referring to the twelfth century, remarks that the new musical theories feltering through from Arab writings into Latin and Hebrew ones were now for the first time systematically explained in Latin treatises Alfonso made a collection of medieval poetry, with contemporary musical notations, called "Las cantigas de Santa Maria." Three manuscripts of this book are preserved, one in Madrid and two in the Escurial libraries The poems are

written in the Galician dialect They are Andalusian poems of Muslim origin consisting of the Muwashshah and Zajal type Many of the instruments shown in the miniatures are of Muslim origin There were some well-known Muslim musicians at the courts of the Medieval Kings of Castile and Aragon In the later medieval period, i e that of the Archpriest of Hita, flourished towards 1320 A C , the Moors were generally described as dancers

The following musical instruments were introduced by the Muslims 'Ud (the lute), qitar (guitar or Sp guitarra) and rebeck or ribible (Ar rabab = Sp rabeb = Prt rabeca) a favourite instrument with dancers The word troubadour or trobar is derived from the Arabic word 'taraba' - to sing The old Spanish trumpet 'anafil' is the Arabic 'al-nafir' and the fanfare played by several trumpets is derived from 'anfar' (pl nafir) The Spanish bagpipe 'gaita' is the Arabic 'al ghayta' and the equivalent English is alligator The old Spanish instrument albogou or albogue (Ar al-buq and Latin buccinum) is played today in the Basque provinces [1] The most important legacy in the field of music left to Europe by the Arabs is mensural music Prior to the end of the twelfth century the Cantus mensurabilis or measured song was unknown to the Europeans , but under the name of iqa' (pl iqa at) or rhythm, it had been known to the Arabs even in the seventh century The medieval 'hocket' is a combination of notes and pauses and is derived from the Arabic 'iqa'at '

Civil Organisation

Wherever the Muslims went they left the tax organisation of the country as it was and appointed native people to collect taxes Economic reorganisation of the Visigothic system, Latifundia, Mozarabs, Christian wives, slaves and eunuchs brought a great change in the life of the Arab and Berber Muslims Similarly when the Christians reconquered Spain they maintained the custom house in their kingdom keeping the same employees, the 'almakharif (mostly Jews) and the town organisations with the same Arab attributions It was not only difficult but unadvisable to make any immediate change in the system By and by certain necessary alterations were made However, the use of many adopted Arabic words of towns and villages, though in corrupt Spanish, are clear indications of Arab influence The Arab tax collector 'al-makharif is called now *almoxarife in modern Spain The taxes are called 'alcabala' or 'gabela'* (Ar al-qabala), garrama (Ar. gharrama), albaquia (Ar al baqiya). The legal charity called azaque is of Arabic origin (al-zakat). There are several other words like habices (Ar habis= donation), and the alfarda (Ar al farada), certain contributions paid by the mudijars and

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1 Rodney Gallops *A Book of the Basques*, (1930) p 163

the Jews to the Christian rulers, etc The municipal mayor is still called alcalde (Ar al-qadi = magistrate) and the city magistrates were called zalmedina (Ar sahib al-medina = head of the night watchmen) and zahazorta or savasorda (Ar sahib al-shurtah), head of the police.

The night watchman of the city was an important officer in Muslim Spain He was officially called sahib al-shurtah but publicly sahib al medina, zahbal medina or sahib al-leil, zahbaleil (head of the night watchmen) He was the night police inspector and decided criminal and other cases He was partly civil governor and partly judicial officer He assisted the qadi in deciding the cases. During the time of the Umayyad Khilafat, this officer was posted only in the royal cities of Cordova, Al-Zahra and Al-Zahira When the Christians reconquered the Muslim towns they appointed these officers in Saragossa, Toledo, etc , with the same powers and duties that they enjoyed during the time of the Muslims These duties are performed in modern Spain by 'alcaldes de casa y cortes' (mayors of House and Court)

The wazirs were incharge of different administrative departments and used to communicate to the Amir or Khalifa through the 'hajib' (chief minister) During the time of the 'Taifas' these wazirs of Toledo, Seville, Murcia, Saragossa, etc , did not hold the positions and honours of their predecessors and were mere court constables carrying out the order of their kings In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Toledo after its reconquest, by the Christians, the duties of wazir and qadi were discharged by the same man His duties were performed at Aragon by the 'alguacil real' (royal constable) who had jurisdiction over all court matters—civil and criminal until the establishment of 'Casa de Asturia (Asturian House) alguacil mayor (great constable) held the same position of the wazir of the 'Taifas ' The duties of the sahib al-mazalim of Muslim Spain were copied by the 'Justicia mayor de Aragon' (the great judge of Aragon)

The muhtasib, the market inspector of weights and measures, of Muslim Spain was commonly known as mustasaf, now called 'almotacen ' This officer intervened in frauds, deceit of weights and measures, urban traffic, construction of houses and punished the guilty

Military

If we examine the medieval and modern terminology of the military organisation of Spain, we are sure to find in it a large number of words of Arabic origin The al-qa'id or commander-in-chief of the Arab army was copied by the Christians In the beginning the alcaid (al-qa'id) was the chief of the royal garrison but now is the military head of the prisons The 'al-faris' (Sp alferez), who was a simple horseman in the Arab force, is the lieutenant in the Gerarqia of the modern Spanish army The al-dalil (Sp. adalid =

guide) of the Arab army had the same function in the Christian army, i e. he guarded the dangerous passes and rivers The Aragonese in imitation of the Arabs had a light infantry called almogarabe or almogavar (Ar al-mughawar), chiefly employed to make frequent incursions into the Muslim lands The word tournament is derived from the Arabic 'dauran' (Sp torneo), which was a part of the military parade Many Arabic terms relating to the military and the maritime are still prevalent in the French and Italian languages but far more so in Spanish The watch-tower is called the 'atalaya' (Ar al-talaya), the rearguard, the 'Zaga' (Ar saqa), the shield, the adarga (Ar al-darqa)

Almost all the vocabulary dealing with fortifications, which followed the technology of the Arab construction, are of medieval Muslim origin The officer-in charge of construction is called 'albanil' (Ar al-banna), the mortar, 'tapia' (Ar tabiya), the crude and unburnt brick, 'adoke,' (Ar al-tub) There are many military forts and towns from Arab times which preserve the old names in Spanish garb The present Calatrava was the Arab Qilat-Rabah, a fort on the southern bank of the Guadiana, Almodovar (Ar al-Mudawwar), Iznajir (Ar Hisn al-hajar), Medinaceli (Ar Madinat Salim), Albacete (Ar al-Basit).

Economic

Arab influence was more so felt in the economic life of the Europeans, especially Spaniards They are indebted to the Muslims for the introduction of rice, sugarcane, cotton and an infinite variety of fruits The Muslims developed the agricultural resources of the country to the advantage of the industry and commerce This was one of the lasting gifts of the Muslims to Spain The Christians, after the reconquest of the districts and towns inhabited by Muslims, adopted the existing institutions without much change, as is proved by the charters granted by the kings of Aragon and Castile to the inhabitants of the conquered cities The Christian states of the North did not have their own coins but used those issued by the Muslim mints Alfonso VII minted maravedi at Toledo in imitation of the coin of the Almovarids. It was not only current in medieval Christian Spain but is still in use in some parts of Spain Ramon Berenguer I copied the coins of Yahya ibn al-Qasim [1] The Christians followed the agricultural and industrial policies of the Muslims Paper mills and textile industries were opened in European countries in imitation of those of the Muslims of Spain

It would be tedious if we were to continue listing the Arabic words used in the daily economic life of Spain Briefly it may be said that the influence is so great that the Spanish language has the Arabic words in the actual topousury, which is commonly

1 A G Palencia *Historia*, p 198

found in the Spanish dialects of the South. In the agricultural field certain especial technical Arabic terms still survive In irrigation the terminology with rare exceptions has continued to be Arab, though their system of irrigation had been very much influenced by the earlier Visigothic and Roman types The Arab names dominate in the case of rivers, for example, the Guadalquivir (Ar Al-Wadi-al-Kabir = the great river), the Guadalaviar (Ar Al-Wadi al-Abiad = the white river), etc Almost all Spanish words carrying the meaning of water for drinking or irrigation purposes have been derived from Arabic roots. For example, the 'azequia' (Ar al-Saqiya), a camel carrying water for irrigation, noria (Ar al-na'ura), Persian wheel for drawing water from a well, azud (Ar al-sud = wall, obstruction), dam, aljibe (Ar al-jub), well, Choiro (Ar Khorro), the noise produced by running water, dula or a lula (Ar), unirrigated piece of land, alfarada (Ar al-farada) duty paid for the irrigation of land, almenara, (Ar al-minhar), a channel which conveys back the surplus water in irrigation etc, mar de zacac (Ar Bahr al-zaqaq), Strait of Gibraltar (bahr Jibal al-Tariq), mar de Xem (Ar Bahr al-Sham), Sea of Syria, i e East Mediterranean sea, mar de Ciran (Ar Bahr Tirren), Mediterranean Sea, albufera or albuhera (Ar al-buhayra), small sea, alberca (Ar al-birka), tank or pond, safareche (Ar Saharij), cistern or reservoir, alcantara (Ar al-qantara), the bridge alcantrilla (Ar al qantara), a small bridge, drain.

The Muslims introduced many corn, fruits, flowers and plants in Spain of which the botanic dictionary of Spanish language still bears testimony, for example, Sandia (Ar. Sindiya) melon of Sind, cafari (Ar safari = the traveller), a pomegrante of Syria, moz, mussa or mossa (Ar mawz), banana, almez (Ar al-mis), the lote-tree, alberchigo (Ar al-farsaq), peach, azafran (Ar al-Za'faran), saffron arroz (Ar arruzz), rice, berenjena (Ar badhanjan), eggplant, azahar (Ar al zohor) flower, orange flower, jazmin (Ar. yasamin), jasmine, azucar (Ar Sukkar), sugar, aceituna (Ar zaytun), olive, etc

The whole of Levante (eastern) and southern parts of Spain were industrialised by the Muslims whose successors, the Christians, still preserved many Arabic names, for example algodon (Ar al-qutn), cotton, alfombra (Ar al Khamra), floor-carpet, ajorca (Ar al-Shirka), Moorish trimming ring worn about the wrist or ankle, alpargata (Ar al-barghat), shoes or sandals made of hemp, chupa (Ar jubba), waist-coat, jacket, carro (Ar. Karro), two-wheeled cart, jabega (Ar shabka), a Moorish wind instrument, almirez (Ar al-mihras), a brass mortar, anafre (Ar al-furn), portable stove or furnace, alcancia (Ar al-kanziya), money-box, al-bornia (Ar. albarniya), a large glazed jug, tahonero (Ar tahuna = mill) miller, who manages a horse mill, alfarero or allaborero (Ar al-fakhkhar), potter, albardero (Ar bard'a, Pr barz'a = saddle), pack-saddle maker; atarazana (Ar dar san'a), dockyard, magazine, alvexi (Ar al-wusha), brocade, altiraz (Ar. al-tiraz), silken dress embroidered by hand, algupa (Ar al-jubba), short gown,

allihaf (Ar al-lihaf), wrapper, dibajo (Ar debaj), silken stuff, mobatana (Ar al-mubatana), gloves of skin, barro (Ar barro), mud, clay, garbillo (Ar ghirbal), sieve, atutia (Ar. tutiya), tutty, a mineral, azofars (Ar al-sofar), yellow, a yellow metal, brass, arrope (Ar al-rob), a kind of sweetmeat, burdo or burda (Ar burda), coat, cloak, almojabana, cake made of cheese (Ar. aljabbana), a woman who makes cheese

As we still see in modern markets, merchandise was separated and sold by the Muslims in greatly allocated stores in order to facilitate shopping As a reminder to the Arabs many market places still have in many medieval towns of the Muslims, Arab names in Spanish garbs and many Arabic words in relation to marketing are current in modern Spanish, for example almacen (Ar al-makhzan), magazine (shop), alcaiceria (Ar al-qaysariya), market place for raw silk, royal market, almoneda (Ar munada), sale by auction, zocco (Ar suq), narrow street on both sides of which are shops of a particular trade, fonda (Ar fundaq), a large inn for foreign merchants to live and exhibit their goods, alfondica, alhondiga (Ar al-fundaq), market place, a public grannary, etc

Most of the Spanish names for measures and weights have been derived from the Arabic words for example, kilate (Ar. qirrat or qirat), a weight of four grains, denique (Ar daniq), a weight of two kirites, mizcal (Ar mithqal), a weight of 1½ drachms, arralde or arrelde (Ar ritl), a pound of twelve ounces, quintal (Ar qintar), a measure or weight of one hundred pounds, Xeme (Ar shama), a span, cantara (Ar qantara), a measure for milk, wine and other liquids

Until fairly recently the Spanish language retained many of the Arabic words pertaining to clothes Although the type of fine Arab silk has been changed to a heavy one used now, there is still a great similarity between the two even after the lapse of about six hundred years The vocabulary of hair dress, dress, foot wear and jewellery is almost all Arabic, some of which are given above For further information on dress, etc, we can consult the Arabic books, some manuscripts of which are still preserved in the Escorial library, matrimonial contracts, medieval archives and museums.

Architecture and Art

Of the diverse influences that Christian Spain received in the medieval period notable were those on the field of architecture and art According to Gomez Moseno, a great archaeologist, the churches, built in Castile, Leon and Galicia during the time of the Umayyad rulers of Cordova (711-1031 A C), are distinguished for the Arab style of constant employment of tombs supported by the arches of horse shoe shape The Mozarabs and Mudejars built palaces and churches for the Christian kings and nobles in their style. The Muslim architects constructed the chapel for Henry II in Cordova

and the Rest House of Burgos for Alfonso VIII The Alcazar of Seville was constructed at the order of Pedro I (d 1364) on the foundation of Arab Castle The Mudejar towers in Aragon decorated with the Moorish tiles and the towers at Teruel and Calatayud still speak of the Muslim influence The Castilian palace resembled in many respects the Andalusian palace The Moorish painters and carpenters decorated the religious and residential buildings of the Christians built by the Muslim architects The Mudejar art thus passed unobserved steadily but surely to all Christian buildings in Spain

After the Reconquest, the Christians continued to prosper in the manufacture of arms at Toledo and leather industry in Cordova From that time cordoben became synonymous with the word leather goods Still in Spain the Hispano-Morisco form of decoration is very frequent but the Quranic suras used in decoration are defaced now due to the constant and ignorant use of the copyists

In short, Spain enjoyed under the stimulus of Muslim rule greater economic, social and intellectual vitality than it had in the days of Romans The political and cultural base of Muslim Spain lay in the more southerly areas with a Mediterranean climate, but the rest of the peninsula also felt the impress of Muslim rule If the geography of Spain and Portugal is studied carefully, one is sure to come across the corrupted Arabic names, which thousands of villages, hundreds of thousand of forts and many hills, mountains and rivers still bear A glance at the history of Spain clearly shows that no branch of culture and civilisation was left by the Muslims uncultivated The Spanish language still has about 4,000 Arabic words though in corrupted form It was easy for the Christians to destroy the mosques and monuments of the Muslims but not to remove the effect of the dose of culture given by the Arabs The Muslims shaped their culture in such a way that it remained shining for long as a beacon of light in the cultural darkness of medieval Europe.

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Editorial . . .

PHILOSOPHIC OUTLOOK OF ISLAM—I

ISLAM was neither a philosophy, nor a religion, but a social movement which aimed at the transformation of the then existing society The Holy Qur'an is a historical record of the social struggle conducted by the Holy Prophet No religious book can be understood except in the context of and in reference to the prevailing atmosphere of belief and feeling and this is particularly true of the Holy Book of Islam It is not designed to set at rest philosophic doubts but to rouse men to practical activity In other words, it is a message of action But as action presupposes some metaphysical concepts, it is proposed here to bring out the main philosophical ideas of the Qur'an

The dominant concept of the Holy Qur'an is the unity of life, the *Tauhid*, as it is called It is nowhere set out in precise and clear terms, but runs like a thread through the whole book At a time when the religious world was riven into sects and classes, Islam sought to bring men together on the fundamentals of life without insistence on detailed observance of religious practice or entering into the minute metaphysical implications of religious belief It said to the Jews and the Christians, "Rise unto a word common between us and you" It destroyed the hegemony of a priestly class and the sharp classification of men into the religious and the worldly By refusing to recognise national and racial superiority and the distinctions of colour, it repudiated the dogma of nationalism and established the principle of human unity It contained no hint of an esoteric knowledge as opposed to the knowledge obtained by and through the senses On the other hand the Qur'an speaks of the *Anfus* (the inner world) and the *Afaq* (the outer world) as equally valid sources of knowledge and says that the hearing, the seeing and the heart shall all alike be held responsible meaning that knowledge through the heart is in no way superior to the knowledge obtained through external means It, therefore, restored the unity of knowledge at a time when both the Greek and Hindu worlds regarded supersensuous knowledge as the exclusive ground of truth, and knowledge of the particular and the sensible was derided as illusion

Again, the Qur'an, by implication, destroyed the barrriers between economics,

politics and religion In the Holy Book of Islam all the problems of life are discussed with reference to each other Political matters, economic precepts, and family affairs are mentioned in constant relation to each other and with ultimate reference to the religious sense of mankind The secular departmentalised view of life and knowledge is repudiated, because all spheres of life and departments of science react and modify each other and none can stand in self-subsistent isolation The idea that political systems or economic arrangements do not react and modify men's moral life and religious views and vice versa is negated by the Qur'an's recurring reference to ultimate religious values in matters dealing with trade, contracts, family obligations and economic teachings The underlying concept is that of interpenetration and mutual modification of one life factor by another In the words of Dr Radhakrishnan, "The life of man centres round certain basic cravings, each distinct from the other in its object and each stimulating men to a particular mode of activity in order to satisfy it If the several desires were independent of one another and never crossed or modified one another, then their different expressions would be separate and uncoordinated Family life will have little to do with economic pursuits. Industrial relations will be ethically colourless Religious activities may be indifferent to the secular sides of life But man is a whole, and so all his activities have an over-reaching unity Each individual has in him the sex and parental instincts love of power and wealth, desire for the common good and a hunger for the communion with the Unseen The different activities react upon and modify one another They function in interdependence in man's life If life is one, then there is one master science of life" (*The Hindu View of Life*, p 78)

According to the Quranic view, not only the various spheres of life react on each other but also the different elements and factors within each sphere are interacting Thus the Qur'an is opposed to the modern capitalistic view that the factors of production alone are to be taken account of in judging the efficiency and stability of economic system Hence its constant insistence on *Infaq* or expenditure of wealth for collective welfare, because the way in which wealth is spent and distributed also reacts on the productive system Consumption and distribution of wealth in an equitable manner is as much necessary for the efficiency of an economic system as the accumulation of capital This is the basic idea of what is called Islamic Socialism as opposed to Western Capitalism which ignores the human factor involved in the attitude of the labour towards the productive system For the same reason Islam does not view the economic life as if it has no relevance to spiritual values Wherever man and his welfare are involved, whether in politics or economics, the spiritual factor emerges in full strength This is the fundamental difference between the Islamic and secular view of life

Hence also, Islam would agree with the Pragmatic repudiation of pure intellect from which the will factor has been eliminated It would support the thesis of William James that our passional nature does and ought to enter in intellectual decisions, where rational evidence is equally balanced on either side. The Qur'an says "They (the true Muslims) think over the structures of the heaven and the earth Our Lord ! Thou hast not created these things in vain, then save us from the torment of fire" This means that knowledge and thinking are motivated by interests, the dominant motive being, as the Qur'an points, avoidance of loss or injury, spiritual as well as material Desires, interests and motives are the moving force behind the intellect, as the history of philosophical thought itself proves Therefore, they cannot be divorced from reason A thought thinking itself is an impossibility

[*To be concluded.*]

MODERN RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS AMONG THE ARABS AND THEIR RELATION TO AND INFLUENCE UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THOUGHT, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS

A Programme of Study

Nabih Amin Faris

This is an interesting article by Mr N A Faris on the religious situation in the Arab world Mr Faris refers to the intellectual confusion among the Arabs as regards the correct interpretation of Islam The situation in Pakistan is similar It will be a long time before the Muslims will reach an agreement about real Islam, but the present confusion is also a healthy sign It means that we have broken the fetters of traditional religion

Mr Nabih Faris complains that the Muslims have not undertaken a historical criticism of the Holy Quran This is true, but the criticism if undertaken will not shake the foundations of Islam or the towering personality of the Holy Prophet Of course much depends on who undertakes the criticism and with what motives

1 The Problem

THIS *study is concerned with the religious movements in the Arab world,* particularly the circumstances and factors which led to their rise, the nature of their development, the features they have in common, the peculiarities of each, as well as the attitude of the Muslim Arabs towards them and the extent of the influence of these movements on Arab life in general

The study could be carried out by investigating the existing religious movements in the Arab world without reference to previous movements except in so far as it should prove necessary It might be better, however, to pursue these movements historically, since most are either developments of previous ones, or a continuation and an extension, or even a reaction thereto In some cases they might even be traced to the same conditions and circumstances which have given rise to earlier movements.

2 Tools

Religious books, i e. books treating of religious problems, are insufficient for an adequate study of these movements Rather, the entire literary output of the modern Arabs should be examined In order to determine the extent to which mass Muslim opinion has been influenced by these movements and define the nature of its reaction to them, the investigator should not neglect his own personal observations and first-hand intimate contacts with Arab society, especially because the oral tradition is often more important than the written

Modern literary books in general and religious books in particular are limited in scope to a small minority of educated and semi-educated individuals Consequently, their influence beyond this limited circle is practically non-existent It is, therefore, necessary to examine carefully the daily press as well as the radio and the constant stream of pamphlets issued by individuals and organisations alike Above all, the investigator or investigators should establish personal contacts with leaders and members of all existing movements in the Arab world

3 Factors which have given rise to these Movements

1 Political Penetration by the West

The first quarter of the sixteenth century saw the fall of the Arab world within the orbit of Ottoman rule and influence While Europe was disengaging itself from the spiritual hold of Rome and embarking upon the hazardous yet challenging road of freedom, the Arab world was being isolated from and insulated against almost all outside influences and changes This process of isolation and insulation continued, unabated, for almost three centuries, coming to an abrupt end at the time of the Napoleonic Expedition against Egypt in 1798 This was indeed the first serious external stimulus the Arab and Muslim world had received since the Ottoman conquest in 1516 The French Occupation of Egypt ushered in a period of Western and, particularly, European inroads into the Arab and Muslim world In 1830, the French launched their North African Empire by an attack on Algeria Fifty years later, France extended its occupation to Tunisia (1881), and Britain started its still-continuing "temporary" occupation of Egypt (1882) The opening years of the present century (1904) witnessed the French imperial hand extend also to Morocco A few years later (1912) Italy played the copy-cat and entered the race for empire by occupying Tripolitania Last but not least, the First World War enabled Britain and France, through the ingenious device of the Mandate, to spread their direct and indirect rule over practically the entire Near East

The story of these conquests does not fall within the scope of this study But it was through these conquests that the peoples of the Arab world made the acquaintance of Europe, its peoples, and their dealings A medieval and ossified society faced a relentless and superior power which subjugated its people and exploited its wealth The method in which the policy of empire was executed and resistance was crushed, the way with which the wealth of the area was tapped, the manner with which the culture of the conquerors was imposed, all these did not promote either understanding or friendship, but rather promoted fears that the very community, institutions, culture, and even faith of the natives were being threatened

The fact that the intruders were Christians and the natives Muslims was accidental, nevertheless it complicated matters and in time became an essential part of the conflict Every action, therefore, taken by the invaders to consolidate their hold upon the area was interpreted as a direct attack upon the native population, its institutions, society, culture and religion The advent of the modern Christian missionary movement at about the same time confirmed this belief Islam as a result became a rallying call for resistance and an instrument of protest against the foreigner The foreigner in turn arrived at the conclusion that unless this potent instrument is dulled his position in the land would become untenable Besides fastening their political control, the invaders quietly and persistently followed a twofold policy which aimed at encouraging Christian missionary activity and foreign educational efforts among the natives, at the same time relegating the Arabic language—the cultural ally of Islam—to a secondary place The French in particular went a step farther when they initiated in their North African empire laws restricting and often prohibiting the teaching of Arabic The only foreigners who encouraged the teaching of Arabic were the American missionaries in Syria and Lebanon But these Americans were not invaders and had no political axe to grind then

The policy of empire extended to other parts of the Muslim world The British established their control over the sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, to say nothing of India and Melanesia, and the Dutch laid their imperial hand upon Indonesia. Russia also seized the Muslim principalities of Central Asia

Throughout the Muslim world in general and the Arab world in particular this relentless political penetration galvanised Muslims into a reaction consonant with Islam's politico-religious structure Being both a religion and a state at the same time, weakness in the one was deemed by Muslims weakness in the other and vice versa. To strengthen Islam the religion, therefore, it was essential and imperative

to strengthen the political power of Islam the state Such honorific titles assumed by and equally lavished upon caliphs and sultans as *al-Mu'izz li-Din-illah* and *al-Mu'ayyid li-Din-illah* are but a reflection of this mentality And it was this very weakness of the political power of Islam in the face of ubiquitous foreign power which was primarily responsible for the nineteenth-century development of Pan-Islamism (*al-Jami'ah al-Islamiyah*) Of course, more than one bankrupt Muslim ruler, such as 'Abd-al-Hamid II, tried to "muscle in" on the movement and exploit it to uphold his tottering throne and power But its real inception was in Muslim reaction against Western political penetration To a large extent this is true of most of the major religious movements in Islam during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries For this reason this political penetration forms an integral part of this study

2. *Economic Penetration by the West*

It is practically impossible to separate politics from economics or economics from politics, although it might be safely assumed that the political penetration of the West preceded the economic and was employed as an instrument for establishing Western economic hegomony in many parts of the Arab world Laws and regulations were introduced and enforced by the various foreign administrations to facilitate the control of the economic resources of the area, and whenever no foreign administrations were in control concessions were extracted, often under duress from weak sultans and princes The story of the notorious "Capitulations ' offers an interesting and an equally illuminating aspect of penetration where the political and the economic factors were combined to fasten foreign domination and extend its control over the far-flung domaints of the Ottomans Later on, too, economic policy was used to facilitate the creation of national homes for foreign nationals in Arab lands.

The economic power of the West, its superior organisation, and its relentless vitality produced a deep impression upon the minds of Arab leadership and thinking men In contrast, native economy was weak, disorganised, and indeed primitive despite the vast potential of the area, its buried wealth, untapped resources, idle labour, and hoarded capital frozen in bracelets, kerosene tins, and buildings Gradually, the importance of national economy both as a basis and a bulwark of national power, began to dawn upon the Arabs The secret of the economic power of the West must, therefore, be probed and the results employed

3 *Intellectual and Cultural Penetration by the West*

The intellectual and cultural assault of the West upon the Arab world took two different forms The direct assault was felt through the West's attack upon Islam, its doctrines, and its foundations Western missionaries sought to prove the falsity of its

beliefs, the weakness of its principles, and the inadequacy of its teachings Their attacks were mainly directed against Islamic history in general and the life of the Prophet in particular, attempting to subject both to the uncomfortable glare of historical criticism. Here again the struggle was an unequal one, and it seemed to Muslims that all missionary activity had but one goal a concerted attack upon Islam

Indirectly, the assault was felt through the effect of modern education upon the youth of the area Modern schools, both native and Western, exposed Muslim youth to modern thought, opened to it the vast treasury of its Western literature, partly through foreign books directly, and partly through translation

Many of the lettered and cultured Muslims, therefore, began to entertain certain doubts regarding Islam and to question some of its fundamental doctrines They questioned some of the practices of its society, and more particularly its very adequacy to modern life and society

Simultaneously, the relentless spread of some of the material aspects of Western civilisation into the Arab world, the useful products of its industry, the efficient methods of its commerce, and the attractive nature of its luxuries swept away practically all conscious and unconscious resistance, at least among a goodly segment of the population This in itself constituted a radical departure from Islamic practice and traditional norms

The impact of all these factors prompted Muslim leadership to action They had to act to ward off the onslaught of the West politically and economically, but above all to ward off the pressure against Islam and to defend it, intellectually, against the attacks of the missionaries, as well as against the attacks of the sceptics and agnostics of Islam itself Muslim leadership, too, had to guard Muslim youth against sliding into pitfalls of westernisation (*tafarnuj*), scepticism, and unbelief

4 The Older Religious Movements of the Nineteenth and the Early Twentieth Centuries

In the face of Western supremacy in almost every field of life, and in the face of apparently concerted European attacks upon the Arab and Muslim world, the spectre of foreign domination loomed larger Realising its inability to stop the march, Muslim leaders awoke, almost with terror, to the helplessness of their position, individually and collectively The cause of this helplessness and weakness appeared to them simple. A survey of the Arab and Muslim world revealed a divided and disunited area, torn by internal feuds and external rivalries The symptom was mistaken for the cause. Hence the weakness of the Arabs and Muslims was the result of their disunity. To combat weakness and restore vigour, they must be united

to strengthen the political power of Islam the state. Such honorific titles assumed by and equally lavished upon caliphs and sultans as *al-Mu'izz li-Din-illah* and *al-Mu'ayyid li-Din-illah* are but a reflection of this mentality. And it was this very weakness of the political power of Islam in the face of ubiquitous foreign power which was primarily responsible for the nineteenth-century development of Pan-Islamism (*al-Jami'ah al-Islamiyah*). Of course, more than one bankrupt Muslim ruler, such as 'Abd-al-Hamid II, tried to "muscle in" on the movement and exploit it to uphold his tottering throne and power. But its real inception was in Muslim reaction against Western political penetration. To a large extent this is true of most of the major religious movements in Islam during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For this reason this political penetration forms an integral part of this study.

2. *Economic Penetration by the West*

It is practically impossible to separate politics from economics or economics from politics, although it might be safely assumed that the political penetration of the West preceded the economic and was employed as an instrument for establishing Western economic hegemony in many parts of the Arab world Laws and regulations were introduced and enforced by the various foreign administrations to facilitate the control of the economic resources of the area, and whenever no foreign administrations were in control concessions were extracted, often under duress from weak sultans and princes The story of the notorious "Capitulations" offers an interesting and an equally illuminating aspect of penetration where the political and the economic factors were combined to fasten foreign domination and extend its control over the far-flung domaints of the Ottomans Later on, too, economic policy was used to facilitate the creation of national homes for foreign nationals in Arab lands.

The economic power of the West, its superior organisation, and its relentless vitality produced a deep impression upon the minds of Arab leadership and thinking men In contrast, native economy was weak, disorganised, and indeed primitive despite the vast potential of the area, its buried wealth, untapped resources, idle labour, and hoarded capital frozen in bracelets, kerosene tins, and buildings. Gradually, the importance of national economy both as a basis and a bulwark of national power, began to dawn upon the Arabs. The secret of the economic power of the West must, therefore, be probed and the results employed.

3. *Intellectual and Cultural Penetration by the West.*

The intellectual and cultural assault of the West upon the Arab world took two different forms. The direct assault was felt through the West's attack upon Islam, its doctrines, and its foundations. Western missionaries sought to prove the falsity of its

beliefs, the weakness of its principles, and the inadequacy of its teachings. Their attacks were mainly directed against Islamic history in general and the life of the Prophet in particular, attempting to subject both to the uncomfortable glare of historical criticism. Here again the struggle was an unequal one, and it seemed to Muslims that all missionary activity had but one goal a concerted attack upon Islam

Indirectly, the assault was felt through the effect of modern education upon the youth of the area Modern schools, both native and Western, exposed Muslim youth to modern thought, opened to it the vast treasury of its Western literature, partly through foreign books directly, and partly through translation.

Many of the lettered and cultured Muslims, therefore, began to entertain certain doubts regarding Islam and to question some of its fundamental doctrines They questioned some of the practices of its society, and more particularly its very adequacy to modern life and society

Simultaneously, the relentless spread of some of the material aspects of Western civilisation into the Arab world, the useful products of its industry, the efficient methods of its commerce, and the attractive nature of its luxuries swept away practically all conscious and unconscious resistance, at least among a goodly segment of the population. This in itself constituted a radical departure from Islamic practice and traditional norms

The impact of all these factors prompted Muslim leadership to action. They had to act to ward off the onslaught of the West politically and economically, but above all to ward off the pressure against Islam and to defend it, intellectually, against the attacks of the missionaries, as well as against the attacks of the sceptics and agnostics of Islam itself. Muslim leadership, too, had to guard Muslim youth against sliding into pitfalls of westernisation (*tafarnuj*), scepticism, and unbelief

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But how? The Muslim reply to this problem was unity under the standard of Islam and the great caliphate—the Ottoman caliphate United under the banner of Islam and once again governed by its benevolent laws, their ills would vanish, their society would regain its former vigour, and their rulers would repair to the paths of justice and truth This represented, at least, the core of the pan-Islamic movement to which both al-Afghani and al-Kawakibi summoned the Arab and Muslim world

Furthermore, the reply continues, the Arabs and Muslims have departed from the spirit and letter of true Islam Islam itself has become riddled with heresies and innovations which should be plucked out as the farmer would pluck the tares from the field of wheat Islam should be restored to the mainsprings of its *Sunnah*, to the Qur'an and the Usage of the Prophet

What is true Islam? How is it defined? Islam, the reformers replied, as it exists today, is the handiwork of scholastic theologians who stultified the faith and thwarted its development towards the end of the Abbasid period It is therefore necessary to ignore what these theologians have done and to repair to the Qur'an and the Usage of the Prophet These, too, must be reinterpreted in the light of modern concepts The leading lights in this attempt were al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida

It might be noted here that these men have not in any way subjected the Qur'an to any kind of historical criticism Rather they often violated its norms and tried to read into it and the *Hadith* positions and principles not borne out by their historical context Obviously they did not attempt to reconsider any basic doctrine. Those were accepted just as the Qur'an was and is accepted, removed from any *hows* and *whys* In this they do not differ from the *bila kayfa* of Ahmad ibn-Hanbal and the great al-Ash'ari. Feeling always on the defensive because of the concerted attacks upon Islam, its doctrines, practices, and Prophet, their efforts gave rise to a school which might be described as Muslim Romanticism, at present perpetuated by men like Sayyid Qutb and Mustafa al-Siba'i It is the school still most in vogue

5. Modern Religious Movements

The modern movements do not basically differ from those of the nineteenth century, except in their response to the new conditions and circumstances surrounding their rise and determining their development. For the Arab and Muslim world in the twentieth century is radically different from what it was in the nineteenth. New factors, new pressures, and new norms have made themselves felt in almost every aspect of society and in the manner and mentality with which this society is facing them. For the present it might be sufficient to enumerate these factors, leaving it for the detailed study to

determine their proper place and scope in the rise of the modern religious movements in the Arab and Muslim word.

(1) These factors are ·

(*a*) The increase in the spread of modern education.

(*b*) The continuing spread of Western culture.

(*c*) The growth of the political and economic impact of the West.

(*d*) The destruction of the Caliphate and the fall of most of the Arab countries under the colonial domination of the West

(*e*) The growth of class distinction in Arab society

(*f*) The rise of national movements in a more clear and extensive manner

(*g*) The growth of social consciousness with a corresponding growth in Arab awareness of their social problems, particularly as a result of changes in economic and educational conditions, political struggle, and the spread of new socio-political doctrines and ideologies such as socialism, communism, nazism, and fascism.

(2) These new factors made is necessary for Muslim leadership in particular to turn its attention to the following

(*a*) A more thorough study of Islam and its interpretation

(*b*) The rise in the need for a basic reinterpretation of Islam, since existing interpretations, whether medieval or modern, are no longer adequate and could no longer withstand the impact of modern scientific criticism, notwithstanding the fact that this need is still, like all attempts towards its fulfilment, hesitant, half-hearted, and vague

(*c*) Increased interest in organised cultural and political activity, as reflected in

(*i*) Jam'iyat al-Shubban al Muslimin

(*ii*) Jam'iyat al-Hidayah al Islamiyah.

(*iii*) Jam'iyat al-Adab al-Islamiyah

(*iv*) Jam'iyat al-'Ulama' (in Algeria).

(*v*) Shabab Muhammad.

(*vi*) 'Ibad al-Rahman.

(*vii*) The Muslim Scouts.

(*viii*) The Najjadah.

(*ix*) The Ikhwan al-Muslimun.

(*x*) *Divers reform movements with no particular organisation but religio-centred, such as Islamic Socialism, Islamic Democracy, and other reform movements.*

(*d*) Ultra-conservatism of the Azharites and their tenacious clinging to traditional Islam.

(*e*) Revival of Pan-Islamism. Role of West in this revival. (The Muslim Cartel) See Rashid Barrawi, *al-Kutlah al-Islamiyah*

(*f*) Attempts at forging the various Muslim rites and schools into one. Counter movements aiming at maintaining the status quo.

6. Characteristic Features of the Movements

(1) In general all these movements share what Professor Gibb has described as "the intellectual confusions and paralysing romanticism which cloud the modernists of today." (See H A R Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago, 1946, pp. 106 ff.)

(2) In general all these movements, too, are deeply influenced by Western liberalism on the one hand and by the precepts of social democracy on the other. They are continuously attempting to interpret Islam "freely" in the light of these two schools The result has been what has already been described as "Muslim Romanticism," through which Muslim writers and apologists read into the Qur'an and the Sunnah those ideas of modern Western culture which have found their way to their minds But in so doing they have invariably violated the norms and dictates of strict historical interpretation This "free" interpretation seems to determine the direction of all their efforts

(3) In general, too, all these movements share a common feature not purely religious Because of the dual nature of Islam as a religion and a state, and because of the pressures to which Muslim society has been subjected in almost every field, these movements resent and resist Western penetration and influence with methods almost modern. In this respect they share with nationalism the same immediate goal In this connection, the relation between Nationalism, Islamism, and Pan-Islamism should be further investigated with special reference to their interaction

7. Muslim Attitude towards these Movements

(1) *Educated Muslims* These are not agreed on Islam and, therefore, their attitude towards these movements differs in accordance with their respective positions. Some are :

(*a*) *Muslims in name and atheistic in practice.* They are for the most part indifferent, and only react whenever the Prophet, whom they esteem as the national hero, is attacked or slighted.

(*b*) Others are practising Muslims, at the same time believers in Western culture. They try to introduce reforms in Islam while avoiding conflict with Islamic doctrine or even ignoring it completely (This is actually what the various Arab governments have done and are still doing when they graft European systems on the administrative system of their governments, introduce modern education, and accept modern economic methods and practice)

(*c*) Others are educated but confine their attention to and emphasise on the spiritual and ethical aspects of religion, ignoring the social and institutional.

(*d*) Others, comprising the majority of those concerned with Islamic studies and reforms, attempt, by artifice and subterfuge, to introduce modern reforms into Islam by interpreting the latter in such a way as to prove that these reforms are already found in the system

(2) *The Masses.* These are of course the normally inarticulate majority Their attitude is for the most part determined by the following

(*a*) The overpowering impact of modern civilisation which continues to be a disturbing factor wreaking confusion and perplexity in their thinking.

(*b*) The superficiality of their faith Their religion is a combination of superstitions, traditions and formalistic sufism

(*c*) Their religious zeal is inflamed only when challenged, particularly by other religious groups, foreign missionaries, and proponents of extreme reforms. This has been the case in India where Islam is pitted against Hinduism, and in North Africa where it is under pressure from the French. In North Africa, the political complications are perhaps more provocative, especially because Islam there represents a more extreme tradition, going back to the Kharijite and 'Alawite sects. Islam in the Lebanon confronts a similar pressure combining the religious, social and political factors

(*d*) The spread of modern culture and civilisation, the steady progress in education, the increased general enlightenment of the average man, and the far-reaching changes in the economic and social foundations of Muslim society have undermined doctrine, particularly when they were obtained without violence and have not collided head-on with religion. This is indeed the real reason for the hue and cry of the professional men of religion, as well as for their constant opposition to reform and their reactionary leadership of the masses.

8. Treatment and Study

(1) It is obvious that it would be difficult for one individual to undertake the study of these movements and successfully treat all its aspects and various facets.

(2) Likewise it would be equally difficult to subdivide the general subject because it forms a unit of interlocking parts It would, therefore, be necessary, in the event the subject is divided, to insure the greatest degree of coordination and cooperation.

(3) The general subject may be divided into two main parts:

(a) Movements which aimed at introducing basic reforms into the law and the doctrine, like Iqbal, and those which aimed at a reformulation of their interpretation in the light of modern ideas and concepts, Muhammad Abduh and Muhammad Rashid Rida.

(b) Movements which concerned themselves with political and social reforms This could be further divided so as to have each investigator pursue one aspect of the movement or movements.

(4) It would also seem desirable for one or more investigators to take up the study of the religion of the masses, its nature, characteristic features, the extent of its vitality and the extent to which these masses have been and are being influenced by the various reform movements and by modern culture and civilisation.

(5) One or more investigators might well concentrate on the influence of religious movements upon social movements in particular and upon modern Arab and Muslim thought in general

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'OBAID-ULLAH SINDHI

M. Mazheruddin Siddiqi

This paper was written for one of the seminars of the McGill University Mr Siddiqi traces in this paper the political activities of 'Obaid-ullah Sindhi and his intellectual outlook

Life-Sketch

MAULANA 'Obaid-ullah Sindhi was born in March 1872 in a village near Sialkot (Punjab) In his *Personal Diary*[1] he says that his father embraced the Sikh religion through the persuasion of his maternal grandfather. He spent his childhood with his maternal uncles who held the office of patwaris in Jampur Village in Dera Ghazi Khan, because his father was dead four months before his birth He received his early education in the middle school at Jampur and, while still in the third standard, an Aryasamaj boy at the school gave him a copy of *Tuhfatul Hind* Some Hindu boys of the primary school at Kotla Moghlan who were also interested in this book gave him a copy of Isma'il Shahid's *Taqwiyatul Iman* The Maulana says that this book brought him a clear understanding of Islamic theism and its contrast with Puranic polytheism. On August 15, 1887, he left the school with a companion named 'Abdul Qadir and arrived at Kotla Rahm Shah in Muzaffargarh District, where he embraced Islam

Pursued by his relations, he crossed into Sindh where he received instruction from Hafiz Muhammad Siddiq of Bharchondi As a result of this, he says, he imbibed Islamic teachings and felt as if he were a born Muslim Owing to his devotion to the teacher, he adopted him as his spiritual father and the province of Sindh as his homeland. From Bharchondi 'Obaid-ullah went to Dinpur in Bahawalpur (State) where a disciple of his Bharchondi teacher, Abussiraj Ghulam Muhammad, called his mother. She came, but failed to persuade him to return home

From Dinpur 'Obaid-ullah moved again to Kotla Rahm Shah and thence to Deoband in 1889 Most of his time in Deoband was spent in attending the lectures of Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan, the Sheikh-ul-Hind After a year of study, he secured a distinction in the annual examination and the examiner, Maulana Syed Ahmad, remarked that if he used his opportunities well, he would be a second Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz.[2] In the

1. *Personal Diary*, Adabistan, Lahore, October 1946, p 10
2. Ibid, p 14

following year, he returned to Bharchondi, but his spiritual guide, Ghulam Muhammad, was dead. He, therefore, moved to Amrot in Sukkur District, where the second successor of Ghulam Muhammad, Abul Hasan Taj Muhammad, married him to the daughter of a Muslim teacher in the local high school. His mother also came and lived with him to the end of her years During this period he learned the practices of the Naqshbandia and Qadiriya orders. In Amrot 'Obaid-ullah set up a printing press and published a monthly magazine, *Hidayat-ul-Ikhwan* He was also the executive head of a Madrassah set up in conformity with his own plans. But in 1910 the Sheikh-ul-Hind called him to Deoband Later on, he was directed by the Sheikh-ul-Hind to emigrate to Kabul He says that he was not given any detailed instructions and, therefore, he carried out the orders of the Sheikh-ul-Hind rather unwillingly, but when he reached Kabul, he found that the Sheikh-ul-Hind had already done some preparatory work in Kabul and the movement he had started was bearing fruits. He now felt elated at his selection. In 1910 Amir Habibullah Khan, ruler of Kabul, asked him to work in cooperation with the Hindus He had no alternative, he says, except to join the Indian National Congress In 1922 he formed the Congress Committee of Kabul which was affiliated to the parent body by the efforts of Dr. Ansari. This was the first Congress Committee outside the British Empire and 'Obaid-ullah says that he felt proud to be elected its first president

In 1923 'Obaid-ullah started for Turkey and stayed in Moscow for seven months His connection with the Indian National Congress having been proved, he was treated as a state guest by the Soviet Government, which provided him with all available facilities for study 'Obaid-ullah repudiates[1] the popular impression that he met Lenin in Moscow and says that he was seriously ill at the time In 1923, he reached Ankara with the help of the Turkish ambassador in Moscow and the Soviet foreign office He lived in Turkey for three years and there published his own politico-religious programme. In 1926 he reached Hedjaz via Italy. He had to assure the Hedjaz Government that his visit had no political importance. In Mecca he was particularly helped by three Indians and one Arab family who provided him with library facilities. Here he studied Shah Waliy-ullah with greater thoroughness He also made a special study of Shah Isma'il Shahid and Shah Rafi'uddin. In 1936 the Indian National Congress made efforts to get him back to India as a result of which he landed in Karachi in 1939 after twenty-five years of exile and received a great welcome in Karachi, Lahore and Delhi.

During the last five years of his life, 'Obaid-ullah planned to disseminate the teachings of Shah Waliy-ullah and founded a party within the Indian National Congress founded on them. His complex of ideas, however, estranged him not only from the Indian

1 *Personal Diary*, Adabistan, Lahore, October 1946, p 21.

National Congress but also from the Ahrars and the Muslim League. He did succeed, however, in founding a new party called the Sindh-Sagar-Narbada Party, but it did not command much following. He also opened centres of learning in Delhi and Lahore to instruct the youth of the country in the principles of Shah Waliy-ullah. He died in August 1944 at Dinpur in Bahawalpur State

'Obaid-ullah did not leave many writings behind him His most important books are two, one of which deals with the political aspect and the other with the philosophical aspect of Waliy-ullah's work Another book, *Mahmudiya*, is said to have been published after his death[1] Another book, *Al-Tamhid 'Arabi*, remained unpublished[2] One of his disciples, Muhammad Sarwar, however, has published an exhaustive account of his religious, sociological and philosophical ideas.

Political Activities

'Obaid-ullah's political interests seem to have shaped early in his life, soon after his conversion, if his own account is to be taken as a reliable guide But since his biographical notes evidently bear the impress of his later experiences, they can be accepted only after making allowance for the factors which shaped his ideas after his visit to Moscow. Muhammad Sarwar, his pupil, quotes him as saying, "After my conversion to Islam, I happened to study the biography of Maulana Isma'il Shahid From the very beginning, I felt an emotional attachment to his personality In Deoband, Maulana 'Abdul Karim gave an eye-witness account of the fall of Delhi From my childhood my mind was filled with the stories of the Punjab Revolution narrated by the females of my house I formed a political programme based on the epistolatory writings of Shah Isma'il Shahid It was both Islamic and revolutionary But it had no relation to the movements of Muslims outside India I took with me the group which was making a study of *Hujjatullahul Baligha* (Shah Waliy-ullah) and commenced my work slowly according to my ideas."[3] Afterwards he adds, "I took along with me (to Deoband) two tracts The Maulana (Sheikh-ul-Hind) approved of them. In connection with certain questions on jehad, our group was mentioned The Maulana expressed his approval of it and having suggested certain improvements, linked it to the movement for Islamic unity (pan-Islamism ?).

It appears from this that so far 'Obaid-ullah had not developed the international outlook which characterised his later thought and activity He seems to have had, however, a revolutionary fervour from a very early age. Early in his career, he was caught in

1 *Personal Diary*, Adabistan, Lahore, October 1946, p 38

2. Ibid., p. 38

3. Muhammad Sarwar, *Life of Maulana 'Obaid-ullah Sindhi*, p. 342.

the vortex of Muslim internationalism which was brewing fast According to Muhammad Sarwar, Deoband itself had been a centre of Islamic internationalism for, he says, the Deobandi group looked to the Ottomans as the political leaders of the Islamic world. Even Sir Sayyid adopted the Turkish cap as the distinctive head gear of Aligarh students. Shibli's accounts of his travels in Turkey further intensified this trend On top of all this came the Italian invasion of Tripoli and the Balkan wars So far the Aligarh and Deoband groups had been working separately. These events brought them together. 'Obaid-ullah, being a product of Deoband and still closely connected with it, could not escape this universal delirium In 1905 he was instructed by the Sheikh-ul-Hind to guide the activities of a body called Jami'at-ul-Ansar According to Muhammad Sarwar,[1] the object of this body was to provide facilities to Aligarh students, if any of them wished to join Deoband and vice versa Through this organisation, the Aligarh and Deoband movements came together and a common political platform of the two groups resulted. When the Great War of 1914 started, both groups resolved to help the Ottomans. The idea was, according to Sarwar, that if the international power of Islam could be preserved, it would contribute to raising the political status of the Muslims in India.

It was in conformity with this programme that 'Obaid-ullah was despatched to Kabul by the Sheikh-ul-Hind who himself proceeded to Hedjaz where he was arrested and exiled to Malta

It has already been stated that in Kabul 'Obaid-ullah was elected the president of the local Congress Committee It appears from his biographical notes that 'Obaid-ullah was urged by Amir Habibullah Khan to work in cooperation with Hindus 'Obaid-ullah remarks that it might appear strange that Amir Habibullah Khan should like the Indian national activity better than the pan-Islamic activity. In a further statement he says that he was advised by one of his countrymen from Lahore to pose as the representative of the Indians at the court of Amir Habibullah rather than a pan-Islamist.[2] 'Obaid-ullah also admits that because the Sheikh-ul-Hind's instructions in sending him to Kabul were not very clear, he disliked his emigration. All these things put together suggest that he himself was not interested in the pan-Islamic movement and therefore readily adapted himself to the trend of thought at Kabul which was distinctly unsympathetic to pan-Islamism in consequence of the treaty-relations with the British power in India. 'Obaid-ullah's anti-British and anti-Imperialistic inclinations were more pronounced. This is shown by the statement made by Maulana Ahmad Husain Madani that 'Obaid-ullah played a decisive role in Amanullah Khan's victory over the British [3]

1. Muhammad Sarwar, *Life of Maulana 'Obaid-ullah Sindhi*, p. 345.
2. *Personal Diary*, Adabistan, Lahore, October 1946, p 81
3. Ibid , p. 46

The British, however, saw his activities in another light. Since the movement for the political freedom of India had been inextricably mixed up with the pan-Islamic activities of Indian Muslims, the British looked upon 'Obaid-ullah as the supreme leader of pan-Islamism. Describing his activities in Kabul, the Rowlet Committee Report speaks of a conspiracy to overthrow the British Government by a simultaneous rising within of the Indian Muslims and the frontier troubles of the tribes on the Afghan borders. To carry through this project, it is stated that 'Obaid-ullah went to Kabul in 1915 with three companions. Tracing his earlier activities, the report adds that 'Obaid-ullah wanted to start a pan-Islamic movement with the help of the Deoband Maulvis, but the management of the Deoband expelled him from the institution Then 'Obaid-ullah contacted a group of fanatical Muslims and reached Kabul where he met a Turkish-German mission. After some time his companion, Muhammad Mian, who had gone to Hedjaz with Mahmud-ul-Hasan and obtained a *fatwa* of Jehad, joined him, after having the copies of the *fatwa* distributed among the tribes of the North-West frontier Here a plan was drawn up to set up a provisional government of India after the overthrow of the British. Mahendar Pratab, it is added, who was a fanatical Hindu of a high family and had gone to Geneva where he contacted the German Consulate, was to be the president and Obaid-ullah was to be the minister of the new India The report goes on to remark that one of the proposals of the provisional government of India was to contact the Turkish government. Accordingly 'Obaid-ullah sent a letter to the Sheikh-ul-Hind in Mecca requesting him to inform the Turkish Government about the events connected with the Turkish-German mission and the schemes drawn up for a provisional government and an army to be called Hizbullah, which was to be recruited in India

From 'Obaid-ullah's own biographical notes, *it appears that* a *party of revolution*ary Indians had reached Berlin at the commencement of the great war and under the aegis of the German foreign office had formed a party called the Indian Nationalist Party. Two members of this party visited Kabul along with a Turkish German mission whose object was to persuade Afghanistan to join the Turkish German alliance. Failing in this object, the Indian members of the mission formed a provisional government of India which included 'Obaid-ullah, who had also formed another party of workers called Junudullah. It appears that Haji Turong Zai who had his own group of Mujahidin in the tribal areas was persuaded to join the Jundullah. The provisional government of India, 'Obaid-ullah says, decided to send a deputation to the Russian Government 'Obaid-ullah proposed that a Muslim member, Dr Khurshid Muhammad, should also be included in the mission. 'Obaid-ullah further *remarks that for his success* both *in Afghanistan* and Russia, he was largely indebted to this young man, whose name was changed to Mirza Muhammad and who later joined the Russian Communist Revolutionary Party It also appears from 'Obaid-ullah's notes that when Amanullah came to power in Afghanistan, he

recognised him as a member of the provisional government of India and admitted him to his inner council which decided matters relating to war and peace with India.

With regard to his visit to Moscow, 'Obaid-ullah says that his relations with Soviet Russia began on the initiative of Amanullah Khan [1] Tashkand was the centre of the Indian Communist Party founded in Moscow. 'Obaid-ullah had friendly relations with Jogendar Nath, leader of the Indian Communist Party In 1922 he crossed into the Soviet border and stayed in Tirmidz as the guest of the Soviet workers.

Very little information is available regarding 'Obaid-ullah's activities in Soviet Russia, Turkey and Hedjaz In Turkey, however, he published with the permission of the Turkish Government a party programme based on his religious ideas but integrated with the ideals of the Indian National Congress. In this he seems to have been inspired with the lessons of the Turkish revolution, because he says that following the Turks, he decided to incorporate his religious ideas within the framework of the Indian National Congress

After returning to India in 1939, he did not take much part in Indian politics, but he seems to have presided over the Sind Congress Committee and the Bengal Section of the Jami atul 'Ulema. Muhammad 'Abdul Quddus says that his friends and co-workers became increasingly estranged from him, because of his protests against the increasingly religious outlook of the Indian National Congress leadership and other Muslim parties, his defence of Khaksars and the policy of recruitment to the British forces championed by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, his admiration for Communism, his favourable interpretations of Akbar's Din i-Ilahi and his advocacy for the adoption of European dress and of the Roman script There is no doubt that he was vehemently opposed to the Gandhian leadership of the Indian National Congress Muhammad Sarwar says that it was the opinion of 'Obaid-ullah that Mr Gandhi was doing great harm to the Muslims in particular and Indians in general, because his concept of Indian Nationalism was limited to Hindu culture and philosophy and the development of the Hindi language. Gandhism, in his opinion, was a reactionary force 'Obaid-ullah was glad that the Muslim League and the Khaksars had ranged themselves against Gandhism, although he did not agree with their programme Muhammad Sarwar adds that 'Obaid-ullah believed in one India but not in one Indian nation. By raising the slogan of one nation, one language and one culture, Gandhi intended to revive the primordial culture of the Aryans. 'Obaid-ullah complained that Mr. Gandhi overlooked the fact that for the last 800 years a new nation had been in existence in India which had given to the people of the land a new language, culture and ideology and that this new Muslim nation had as much a right and

1. *Personal Diary*, Adabistan, Lahore, October 1946, pp. 135-136.

stake in the country as Mr. Gandhi's own philosophy and culture. According to 'Obaid-ullah, India was more like Europe with its myriad nationalities, languages and cultures existing in their own right

Religious Thought of 'Obaid-ullah

'Obaid-ullah Sindhi derives his teachings from Shah Waliy ullah of Delhi and finds all the most contradictory strands of human thought woven into the seamless garment of Waliy-ullah's Philosophy Ibn-al-'Arabi's Pantheism, Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi's violent reaction against it, Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi, Aurangzeb's Puritanism, Mr Gandhi's Non-violence, Russian revolutionary Communism, Turkish Secularism, the Jurisprudence of Abu Hanifa, and the anti-Shari'at trends in Muslim thought—all these diverse and contradictory lines of thought merge into the grand symphony of Waliy-ullah's philosophy. He is described as a revolutionary leader who envisioned a new India more or less in line with Akbar's conception of secular rule, set to work methodically and laid the basis for a party of revolutionary workers which, having completed a part of its programme in the Puritan Movement led by Syed Ahmad Brelvi, split itself into the two rival schools of Aligarh and Deoband and then emerged into the unity of a revolutionary movement of which the Sheikh-ul-Hind, Mahmud-ul-Hasan, and himself were the top leaders.

Waliy-ullah's Philosophy

According to 'Obaid-ullah, Shah Waliy-ullah laid down two basic principles for his reform programme (*a*) the practical wisdom enshrined in the Qur'an with regard to social and political organisation, (*b*) the principle of a well-balanced economy which lies at the root of all social well-being [1] It is stated that in 1731 Waliy-ullah dreamt that he would be instrumental in the destruction of the existing order in India and the setting up of a new order. In other words, 'Obaid-ullah says, he (Waliy-ullah) would be the eternal leader of all political and intellectual movements of the Indian Muslims He inaugurated his movement in Delhi on the principle of the Holy Prophet's Meccan life adopting the method of non-violence and basing his organisation on well-recognised Sufic lines Waliy-ullah is declared as a 'Siddiq' and 'Hakim' patterned on prophetic lines whose message is directed to all Muslims and non-Muslims, Indians and non-Indians, Arabs, and non-Arabs. 'Obaid-ullah finds the quintessence of Waliy-ullah's teaching in the following five points: (1) The Qur'an calls for a revolutionary system of life, international in its breadth and inclusive of the entirety of mankind Whenever a Muslim group carries out this revolutionary programme, it is bound to achieve the same results as did the Prophet and his companions. No conditions of time and space can make a difference to the results. (2) The movement initiated by the Qur'an kept its pristine purity until troubles started in the reign of 'Othman, the third Caliph. 'Obaid-ullah repudiates the popular misconcep-

1 *Personal Diary*, Adabistan, Lahore, October 1946, p 46

tion that the revolutionary fervour of the Islamic movement was the product of the holy Prophet's individual personality. The Qur'an and not the personality of the Prophet was, *according to him, the inspiration behind the Islamic movement.* (3) *The Quranic promise of the victory of Islam has already been fulfilled* Shah Waliy-ullah refutes the Shi'as again and again on this point, because they look to an Imam or Mehdi for the fulfilment of this promise (4) All human well-being, mundane as well as super-mundane, rests on four principal moral qualities Purity, Humility before God, Self-control, Justice (5) Whenever any Muslim society undertakes to revive the Quranic movement, it should pattern itself on the character of those first emigrants who followed the Prophet to Medina Obaid ullah adds that he did not understand the full import of the fourth moral quality, that is, justice, posited by Waliy-ullah and his insistence that no society can produce justice which does not abstain from putting too heavy a burden on the main workers of the society, until he had studied Socialism in Europe (Russia?) According to 'Obaid-ullah, Shah Waliy-ullah was the first to point out that there is no fundamental disagreement between Ibn-al-'Arabi's *wahdat ul-wujud* (Unity of Existence) on which Akbar sought to mould his policy and administration and the alternative theory of *wahdat-ush shuhud* (Unity of Phenomenal Existence) put forward by Sheikh Ahmad of Sirhind on behalf of Muslim aristocracy which was adopted by Aurangzeb as the basis of his policy under the guidance of Sirhindi's son and successor, Shah Ma sum 'Obaid-ullah, accordingly, takes Shah Waliy-ullah as the mediator between the universalism of Islam as represented by the Sufis and the particularism of the Shari'a which found its exponents among both 'Ulema and the orthodox Sufis Similarly, he claims that Shah Waliy ullah reconciled the contradictory positions taken by those who based their thought and practice on the Qur'an and others who derived their main inspiration from the Hadith.

Qur'an

Muhammad Sarwar says that Maulana Sindhi believed in shaping life according to one's belief and he admits that this principle of Jehad or the progressive moulding of life he learned from the Qur'an Its highest exemplification was the life of the Prophet and the lives of his companions The Qur'an, according to him, represents the basic trend of human thought which is eternally unvarying The Qur'an incorporates the essence of all religious and intellectual philosophies Its outer garment is no doubt Arabic and bears the marks of its temporal and local surroundings, but, stripped of all its relativities, it stands forth as the hard core of eternal truth This core is the real *Din* Everything else is custom and tradition, that is, local and temporal manifestations of an eternal idea. But 'Obaid-ullah admits that when life evolves its outward manifestations, they become as necessary as the idea which they body forth. The mistake lies in confusing them with the underlying essence.

Law, according to 'Obaid-ullah, arises from the special circumstances of time and place As these change, law follows suit The outstanding achievement of Shah Waliy-ullah, in 'Obaid-ullah's opinion, was that he disentangled the eternal wisdom (*Hikmat*) of the Qur'an from its legal precepts which were conditioned by the special circumstances of the age and society in which the Quranic message was delivered. The results of the Quranic teachings manifested themselves in a particular age, in a certain form appropriate to it, but it is not necessary that they should appear in the same form in another age Justice and equality were embodied during the period of the early caliphate in certain institutions The ideal still remains valid, but its institutional forms will be different The early caliphate was one specific form of the Quranic idea of society and politics This form cannot be transferred to a later age, but a system of life and political organisation can be built up on the self-same principles 'Obaid ullah echoes the Marxist theory when he repudiates the popular impression that revolution means destruction or the negation of values He says that a revolution *only* negates the false values, but preserves the more salutary ones 'Obaid-ullah welcomes the Soviet Revolution but disapproves of its unadulterated materialism which leaves no room for the multisided development of man

Hadith and Fiqh

Sunnah, according to 'Obaid-ullah, constitutes the by-laws derived from the basic law of the Qur'an The by-laws framed by Islam during its early stage when it was confined to Hedjaz and codified in the *Mu'atta* of Imam Malik, which, in the opinion of 'Obaid-ullah, is the agreed basis of all systems of jurisprudence in Muslim lands From these by-laws of the early Islamic society, each Muslim nation developed its own separate system of jurisprudence. 'Obaid-ullah divides the traditions of the holy Prophet in two categories . those dealing with the personal habits and practice of the Prophet and those which took into account the temporary and transient needs of the moment This category of Hadith is wholly irrelevant to the Islamic Shari'a. Of the rest there are again two sub-divisions those which are of eternal validity like the Qur'an, for example traditions dealing with rules of prayer, pilgrimage, etc , and the rest which do not have such validity and cover many alternative modes of action, leaving freedom of choice to Muslims [1]

Dealing with the development of Fiqh in Islam, 'Obaid-ullah says that after the Arab conquest of Persia, Syria and Egypt, there was a large group of Arab Muslims who were ready to give equal rights to non-Arab Muslims This group represented the

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1. Sayyid Ahmad Akbarabadi, *Maulana 'Obaid-ullah and His Critics*, Sindh-Sagar Academy, Lahore, January 1946, p. 198

real teachings of Islam Another group was filled with the pride of Arab nationalism and gave non-Arab Muslims a secondary position. The first group championed the Hanafi system of jurisprudence The nationalist-minded Arabs inclined towards Shafi'i's system The Hanafi system of jurisprudence came to be accepted by all non-Arabs, precisely because it did not breathe the spirit of Arab culture and tradition but was built on a genuine appreciation of the needs and traditions of non-Arabs The non-Arab nations also developed a Kalam of their own Ash'ari, according to Obaid-ullah, was a product of Arab reaction against the non-Arab Kalam, because the Ash'arite Kalam reflected the Arab mentality and did not appeal to the non-Arabs.

Islam and Communism

Islam and Communism are both international movements It is true that, under *Stalin, Communism became more and more nationalised*, but it still retains its *international character* According to Maulana 'Obaid-ullah, Communism is an imperfect movement because it is based exclusively on the economic needs of man and overlooks the spiritual aspects of life But in so far as it is international and revolutionary, it resembles Islam Communism did to the Russians what Islam did to the Arabs It galvanised a people rich in human qualities into constructive activity and dynamic revolutionary fervour But for Islam the Arab bedouins would have been a horde of Attillas and Changez Khans As in Communism, the Islamic revolutionary party split into two groups those who looked only to its universal, human and international aspect and those who were inclined to Arab nationalism The period of 'Othman's caliphate was one of struggle between the two Ultimately the nationalist party triumphed 'Ali represented the international wing of Islam, but he failed like Trotsky to gauge the strength of Arab nationalism and accommodate it to his international programme The internationalism of the party of 'Ali was constantly in evidence throughout history as the Alids were always supporters of non-Arab movements Thus, in spite of the nationalism of the Omayyad rulers, the internationalism of Islam continued to exert its influences and the Abbasids came to power mainly through the support of the international forces in Islam The rise of the Ottoman Turks represented the complete victory of international Islam, because the Arab element had no share in the power of the Ottoman Sultans. With the impact of the West, the principle of nationality within international Islam completely reasserted itself. The internationalism and universalism of Islam, however, will remain a factor of great influence but it will take the form of a voluntary confederation of Muslim states [1]

Secular versus Religious State

According to 'Obaid-ullah, Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi was an admirable step towards

1 Muhammad Sarwar, *Life of Maulana 'Obaid-ullah Sindhi*, p 236.

secularisation and it was based on the mystic philosophy of *wahdatul-wujud*. But many factors conspired to make it unsuccessful. In the first place, Akbar gave little importance to the Shari'a and the regulation of social morality Some people found in the secularisation of Akbar a means of escape from the rules of morality Again, because it was a movement built up from above and thrived on court intrigues and motives of personal gain, it lacked the touch of moral sincerity 'Obaid-ullah clears himself of the charge that he depreciated the religious state He says that a religious state is the best state so long as the revolutionary fervour of religion inspires the rulers. Such a state possesses a revolutionary zeal and ennobles human life, because the leaders and administrators of the state regard their power as a means towards a spiritual end. States and governments of this type last for a very brief period but their influence is enduring But when religion becomes the monopoly of a class or nation and loses its power of transforming human lives, its upholders become a reactionary force [1]

General Remarks

'Obaid-ullah ploughed a lonely furrow in the country of his birth. None of his associates, political and religious, were well pleased with him He was criticised by all religious groups those associated with the Indian National Congress as well as others, including the Jama'at-i-Islami led by Maulana Maududi. He combined too much and harmonised too much. He was drawn and attracted by widely diverse movements of thought But he seems to have had a highly integrating faculty and a deep sense of history. He was too much of a revolutionary and had too much of the universalism of Islam to appeal to vested interests in religion and politics who were either fighting to maintain their power or struggling to share in the disintegrating power of the British. He did not see the cruder and more inhuman aspects of the Soviet experiment and the complete annihilation of human individuality under it. He also failed to see that Communism was wedded to violence and force in human affairs as a fundamental article of faith But for all this, there is a depth, originality and universalism in 'Obaid-ullah which cannot but evoke our admiration His richly laden thought may yet find its interpreters

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1. Muhammad Sarwar, *Life of Maulana 'Obaid-ullah Sindhi*, p. 300
2. 'Obaid-ullah Sindhi, *Shah Wali-ullah and His Political Movement*, Sindh-Sagar Academy, Lahore, 1944.

ABU 'UBAIDAH AND THE OLDEST COMMENTARY ON THE QUR'AN

Helmer Ringgren

This is a short sketch of the life and work of Abu 'Ubaidah, a leading philologist of Basra during the reign of Harun ar Rashid It is interesting to note that Abu 'Ubaidah denies that the Holy Qur'an contains words borrowed from foreign languages

EVERYONE who has read the famous *Book of Songs*, or *Kitab al-Aghani* has certainly met the name of Abu 'Ubaidah For the majority of the material contained in that book concerning the tribal battles of the Arabs is derived from him, one of the greatest philologists and traditionists who ever used the Arabic language

His true name was Ma'mar ibn al Muthanna, and he was born in 110/728 in Basra, being a *maula*, or client, of the Quraishite clan of Taim. His father, or perhaps grandfather, came originally from Bajarwan in Mesopotamia, and is said by some to have been a Jew, although there are good reasons for doubting this statement. Abu 'Ubaidah studied under 'Amr ibn al-'Ala and Yunus ibn Habib, two of the leading philologists of Basra at that time, and he devoted special interest to everything pertaining to the history and culture of the Arabs in ancient times He is said to have acquired such knowledge of Arab history that he might say "Neither in heathen nor Islamic times have two horses met in battle but that I possess information about them and their riders"

Abu 'Ubaidah spent almost all his life in Basra, but in 188/803 he was summoned to Baghdad by the Caliph Harun ar-Rashid to read his works before him. He was dreaded for his sharp tongue and sarcastic humour, and by collecting traditions and verses concerning the *mathalib*, or vices, of the Arab tribes "he gave much offence to the tribal pride of the Arabs" and aroused so much hatred that, at his death in 210/825 (or in any case between 208 and 213 A H), nobody followed him to the grave

In matters of religion he is said to have been a Kharijite. He is also said to have taken side with the so-called Shu'ubiyyah movement, which endeavoured to

depreciate the genuine Arabs in favour of the non-Arab elements of the Muslim empire. However, this statement is open to certain doubt. The truth is probably that his collections of *mathalib*—which, by the way, were counterbalanced by similar collections of *manaqib*, or virtues—provided the men of the Shu'ubiyyah with material for their anti-Arab polemics, and that, therefore, he was considered by the Arabs to be himself one of those polemists

Abu 'Ubaidah's literary works were numerous. According to some writers, they were about 200, although the *Fihrist* gives the titles of only 105 of them. But only a few of them have been preserved till our days The *Ayyam al-Arab*, or Battle-Days of the Arabs, is lost, but the material it contained has to a great extent been incorporated in the *Kitab al-Aghani* and other similar works The *Kitab al-Khail*, on famous Arab horses, was published in Hyderabad in 1358

His *Gharib al-Hadith*, giving explanations of strange expressions in the Traditions, "seems to have been the earliest work of its kind" The same might probably be said of *Majaz al-Qur'an*, a book which was long considered to be lost for ever but is now being edited in Cairo by a young Turkish scholar, M Fuad Sezgin. It is a kind of commentary on the Qur'an, and it seems to be the oldest instance of that branch of literature which is commonly known as *tafsir* or Quranic exegesis. When Tabari in his *Tafsir* refers to the authority of Abu 'Ubaidah, his source seems to have been *Majaz al-Qur'an*.

The word *majaz*, which occurs in the title of the book, is not taken here in its usual sense of "trope" or "metaphor", it simply seems to mean "interpretation" or "paraphrase" of words or passages which in some way or other deviate from normal plain speech The work consists of "brief notes on the meaning of selected words and phrases in the order of the Surahs," forming thus a running commentary to the Qur'an, and it is richly interspersed with verses in order to illustrate the meaning of a rare word or to prove the occurrence of a peculiar construction outside the Qur'an itself

The basic principle of Abu 'Ubaidah's interpretation of the Qur'an is set forth at the beginning of the book The Qur'an was revealed in a clear Arabic language, and those who heard it recited by the Prophet had no need of asking for its meaning, because they were Arabic-speaking people, and since they knew Arabic they did not need to ask about its meaning But being a work written in pure Arabic, the Qur'an shares all the peculiarities of style and grammar characteristic of the Arabic language, and consequently, interpreting the Qur'an presupposes thorough knowledge of Arabic philology, especially of the works of the poets who, as is well known.

were considered to have composed their verses in the purest Arabic. Therefore, Abu 'Ubaidah often quotes verses in order to substantiate his explanations

There is also a discussion of the question of loan-words Abu 'Ubaidah argues that there are no foreign words in the Qur'an , when, occasionally, there are words similar to words in Persian or other languages, it can be stated that they are similar but not identical, as, for instance, in the case of *istabraq* which is in Persian *istabrah*. However, he does not consider the possibility that words may have been borrowed into Arabic so early that at the time of the revelation of the Qur'an they were commonly understood by all Arabs and were felt as genuine Arabic words.

As was already hinted at, the explanations given are very brief and mainly consist of interpretations of rare or difficult words, metaphors, or figurative expressions, discussions of questions of style and grammar, etc In doing so, however, Abu 'Ubaidah gives us much valuable information concerning the language of the Qur'an There are, for instance, several verses quoted to illustrate the meaning of certain words, which are not found in Tabari or other commentaries, nor in the usual lexicographical works Thus, in explaining the word *hub* (حوب) in iv 2, in addition to one verse, given also by Tabari, he adduces a verse by Abu Dhu'aib al-Hudhali, and in iv 3 he quotes two verses containing the word *mathna* (مثنى), none of which is given by Tabari. To *muflih* (مفلح) in ii 5 he gives one verse from the diwan of Labid ·

> " We inhabit a country which was all inhabited before us, and we hope for prosperity [or . safety, duration, *falah* (فلاح) explained as *baqa'* (بقاء)] after (the destruction of) 'Ad and Himyar " ,

and another verse from 'Abid ibn al-Abras

> " Be *successful* [*aflih* (افلح)] in what you want , sometimes things are obtained through weakness while the able are deceived."

Hence he infers that *muflih* is " anyone who attains something good."

All this is derived from philological arguments and is not applied to historical or theological questions. This is obviously a consequence of Abu 'Ubaidah's principle of interpreting the Qur'an by the application of the laws of the Arabic language, a principle which is clearly formulated in opposition to other commentators, who at every point wanted to base their interpretation on the authority of the Prophet's contemporaries. Abu 'Ubaidah thus tried to interpret the Qur'an *bi-r-ra'y*, by his own judgment, or opinion.

In matters of pure philology it is clear that much might be said in favour of Abu 'Ubaidah's method. But it is equally clear that in many cases it is not applicable at

all if we want real information about the meaning of the Qur'an. One instance might suffice

In v 22 the writer explains the word Sabians (*sabi'un*) as those who "go out" *from one religion to* another, i e who change their religion, deriving the word from *saba'a*, a verb which is used of stars that "go out" from their places of rising, i e. rise. *However, it is obvious that this must* be supplemented by information from other sources, historical and religio-historical, in order to give a real idea of what the Sabians were—as far as we can have any knowledge about it This is easily confirmed by a single glance in some other commentary, e.g. Baidawi or Tabari.

However that may be, Abu 'Ubaidah's *Majaz al-Qur'an* is a valuable source of information concerning the earlier stages of Quranic exegesis, and it is not the least important because it is one of the sources used by Tabari in compiling his huge *Tafsir*. Besides, it contains lexical material for the elucidation of difficult passages, which is not always easy to find in other works.

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CONSTANTINE THE AFRICAN

De Lacy O'Leary

This is an epic story of the medical work done by the school of Salerno under the Norman kings of Sicily which they conquered from the Aghlabids A secretary of the Norman ruler, Guiscard, Constantine, surnamed Africanus, undertook to translate in Latin many of the Arabic medical works produced at Qairawan by the Jewish physician Ishaq b Sulaiman and his pupil al Jazzar

IFRIQIYA, the Roman Africa, became a province of the khalifate in 40/661, but it proved a very difficult and insubordinate area during most of the period of the Umayyad Khalifs. It remained a difficult province under the early Abbasids and a costly one for the province of Egypt to which it was attached In 184/801 the Turkish commander Ibrahim ibn Aghlab offered Harun ar-Rashid to take charge of it and pay an annual tribute of 40,000 dinars if he was granted the hereditary governorship of the province without requiring any payment from the imperial treasury and without making any demand on Egypt This offer was accepted and thus Ifriqiya became a hereditary fief in the hands of Ibrahim and his successors under the suzerainty of the Khalif of Baghdad

The Aghlabid dynasty lasted until 207/909 and Ifriqiya was held by eleven Aghlabids in succession, several of them men of great ability, and under them the province was extended and prospered, its capital Qairawan became an important city, the possessor of a noble mosque and a centre of Islamic scholarship.

The last of this dynasty Ziyadatallah, the third of that name, was a degenerate and unworthy man who secured his succession by criminal devices and proved an incapable ruler. He obtained the throne of Qairawan in 291/903, at a time when Baghdad and several other great cities of the Eastern Khalifate were distinguished not only by their wealth and power, but also by their patronage of scholars and scientists who produced a renaissance of the learning of the ancient Greek world, a revival of the "Wisdom of the Ancients." At that time scholarship was fashionable in those cities and princes took pride in being the hosts of scientists. Ziyadatallah wished to share this fame and looked round for a scientist sufficiently famous to add lustre to his court at Qairawan.

At that time Egypt was beginning to reflect the glory of Baghdad in literature and scholarship. Not long before an Egyptian known as Abu Ja'far al-Muradi, commonly

known as an-Nahhas "the copper-smith" had visited Baghdad and studied there under the Basri al-Mubarrad and other distinguished scholars, and induced one of them, Abu l-Hassan 'Ali ibn Sulaiman, commonly known as al-Akhfash al-Asghar, "the younger Akhfash," to go with him when he returned to Egypt, and there these two introduced the literary scholarship of Baghdad to the Egyptians. About the same time the physician Ishaq ibn 'Amran, who had received his medical training in Baghdad, migrated to Egypt and introduced there the new science which revived the work of the ancients. This Ishaq ibn 'Amran was the author of a work entitled *Maqala fi melankhulia* "a treatise on melancholy," of which a copy is still preserved in the library at Munich (Munich 805/2).

Egypt was now in touch with the revived "Wisdom of the Ancients" and Ziyadatallah found there a scientist willing and ready to go to Qairawan and introduce this new and fashionable learning at the Aghlabid court. This was a Jewish physician Ishaq ibn Sulaiman al-Isra'ili (d. circ 320/932). Acting in a princely way Ziadatallah gave him an invitation to join his court to teach the new science there and sent him 500 dinars to cover the cost of his removal. Ishaq went to Qairawan but soon found that his employer was entirely devoted to frivolous pastimes and had no interest in philosophy or science at all. This being the case Ishaq gave himself to his own studies and the supervision of two pupils, the Muslim Ibn al-Jazzar and the Jew Abu Sahl Dunash ibn Tamim who was also known as Adonim

Ishaq left several works which were afterwards translated into Latin by Constantine the African about 480/1087 and latter in an improved version by Gerhard of Cremona and as "Isaac" he became a leading medical authority in the medieval West and his writings were amongst the earliest products of the printing press. His extant works are (a) a Pharmacopeia (*Kitab al-adwiya al-mufrada wal-aghdhiya*) printed at Padua in 893/1487 as "*De diaetis universalibus et particularibus*" (MS. Munich 809). (b) A treatise on fevers (Leiden 1305). (c) *Kitab al-bawl*, a treatise on urine, the best work on this subject known to the Middle Ages (Bodleian 611/2 ; Vatican 369). Two other works of his exist in Hebrew translations, (d) a medico-philosophical treatise on the elements (text and translation in S. Fried *Das Buch uber die Elemente*, Leipzig, 1900), with a Latin translation by Constantine the African and a revised translation by Gerhard of Cremona (published Leiden 1515) This was a treatise drawn chiefly from Galen, Hippocrates, Aristotle and neo-Platonist writers. Maimonides referring to this work says that Ishaq was only a physician though he wrote about philosophical subjects and his treatise was only windy imagination and empty talk. Its philosophical treatment is neo-Platonic, but quite independent of the teaching of the Mu'tazilites. (e) The other Hebrew translation was the popular and widely used "Guide of the Physician" (*Manhiq* or *Musar ha-rofe'im*) of

which there is a German translation in D. Kaufmann's *Magaz. f.d. Wissenschaft d. Judentums*, Berlin XI (1884) 97-112

Not long after 288/900 the emissaries of the Isma'ilian sect, an off-shoot of the Shi'ites who denied the legitimacy of the Khalifs of Baghdad and recognised only an Imamate hereditary in the family of 'Ali, stirred up a Berber revolt against the Aghlabids. In the spring of 296/908 they defeated Ziyadatallah and drove him out of the country. The Isma'ili leader who was recognised as the Mahdi established a rival khalifate at Qairawan in opposition to the Abbasid Khalif at Baghdad The Jewish physician Ishaq who had served Ziyadatallah continued in the service of the Mahdi and so did his pupil al-Jazzar.

This pupil Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Ibrahim ibn Abi Khalid ibn al-Jazzar (d 395/1004) remained at Qairawan after his teacher's death and produced several medical works which had a wide circulation and were translated into Latin and Hebrew. Amongst his works was a medical compendium called *Zad al-musafir waqul al-hadir*, which contains a good description of smallpox, measles, etc , and shows careful first-hand observation (MSS Bodleian I 559 , Paris 2284, 2884 , Dresden 209 ; Alger 1746) It was translated into Latin as the " Viaticum " by Constantine the African and was printed in the supplement to the " Opera Parva Abubetri Rhazae " at Lyons in 916/1510. Eight minor treatises on medical subjects, including perfumes, a philtre for improving the memory, and others exist, some in the original Arabic, others in Hebrew or Latin translations (Bodleian 579 , Goth 2034 , Escuriel 852, 891 , Nan., II 240)

Under the earlier and more efficient Aghlabids, in the course of the years 212/827 to 265/878, their rule was extended over the island of Sicily. When the Isma'ili Mahdi conquered the Aghlabid possessions in 297/909 Sicily went with them, but in 300/912 it revolted and invited Ahmad, son of Ziyadatallah, the last Aghlabid ruler, to become monarch of Sicily. After some hesitation he consented, established himself in the island and held it as a vassal of the Abbasid Khalif of Baghdad.

In the early days of the restored Aghlabid rule over Sicily there was a distinguished Jewish physician there, Sabbathai ben Ibrahim ben Joel Donolo (d 372/982) who was a writer on medicine and astronomy One of his works was the *Sefer ha-yokar*, a Hebrew manual of medicine which is still extant, but only in manuscript So far as intellectual culture was concerned Sicily seems to have been an outpost of the scholarship of Qairawan and so remained until its conquest by the Normans under Count Roger (d. 484/1090). The founder of the medical school at Qairawan, Ishaq ibn Sulaiman, and his pupil and successor Abu Sahl Dunash ibn Tamim were both Jews, and it is probable that the Sicilian Jew Sabbathai also derived his medical knowledge from the school at Qairawan.

This would go far to explain why medical books transmitted by Sicilian teachers and translated into Latin show signs of having passed through a Hebrew medium on the way. The earliest Latin versions of the works of Arab physicians were made from Hebrew translations of the Arabic originals, not directly from the Arabic itself.

The Norman conquest of Sicily began with Robert Guiscard "the Crafty," who took part in the defeat of Pope Leo IX in 455/1053 and again seven years later. When after that he was reconciled with the Pope he received papal investiture as Duke of Apulia, Calabria and hereafter of Sicily, this country being as yet in Arab hands and merely promised to Robert whenever he could get hold of it In addition to the Pope's donation all these dominions had to be won by force of arms and that proved a task demanding some years of military activity Robert and his brother Roger soon commenced taking active steps to make good the claim to Sicily Roger began by laying siege to Messina, and there he had the cooperation of Ibn ath-Thimnah, the Emir of Syracuse, who was glad to get Norman help to revenge himself on the Emir of Girgenti with whom he had a quarrel Ibn ath-Thimnah died in 454/1062 and the Normans had by then secured a foothold and continued their efforts until ten years later when they succeeded in getting hold of Palermo, at which the Arabs relinquished the struggle and gave up the island to them

Meanwhile Robert Guiscard was steadily extending his authority over Calabria, driving out the Arabs, Greeks and Lombards who had already formed settlements along the Calabrian coast One of the strongest of these settlements was at Salerno, a Lombard colony at the head of a bay south of the Bay of Naples It had a strong fortress and was able to hold out for eight years, but at last it was taken and Robert made it his capital There already was a medical academy there in which, it would appear, physicians were trained in the system of Arabian medicine followed in Qairawan.

That academy at Salerno is commonly reckoned to have been the earliest instance of the medieval *Studium Generale* or University, though it hardly fitted in with the normal course of university evolution, it was of a rudimentary type, only tardily adapting itself to the regular university type That it ever did so probably was due to Norman influences which brought it into contact with the university life already struggling into existence in Paris, which was the product of earlier educational activity at Chartres, Bec and elsewhere. Salerno was exclusively a medical academy, and in its maturer days took the form of a corporation of teachers under a Praepositus or Prior. In 629/1231 the Emperor Frederick II, seven years after he had founded the university of Naples, issued a decree that no person might practise medicine in his dominions without his imperial licence, and that licence was granted only to those who had been tested and approved by the Masters at Salerno. In this decree Frederick refers to Salerno Academy as already

well known and enjoying good repute. About a century later the historian Odericus Vitalis in his *Ecclesiastical History* (II. iii 1) speaks of it as a school which had existed from ancient times.

Legend ascribed the foundation of the Studium of Salerno to monk-physicians of the i/vii century, and recorded a series of distinguished Jewish teachers That is no more than legend, but has a probable germ of truth in so far that there seems to have been a Jewish element engaged in medical teaching there Certainly the works of Ishaq ibn Sulaiman and his pupils who lived and taught in Qairawan were studied there These works had been written in Arabic, but at an early date were translated into Hebrew, sure proof of Jewish teachers there.

When Robert Guiscard obtained possession of Salerno he looked with favour on the medical school there and tried to extend its work to Christian students, and in this he was encouraged by his secretary Constantine the African, whom he brought over from Sicily. That this secretary was surnamed "the African" associates him at once with Qairawan, the capital of Ifriqiya or Africa It does not follow that he was a native of Ifriqiya, but merely that he had been there, probably as a student and so familiar with the sciences studied there According to his own statements, he had wandered through many lands and had visited Iraq and Egypt, but that is not supported by internal evidence; possibly he only claimed to be familiar with the science then flourishing in Baghdad and Egypt

In the later part of his life, Constantine became a monk and finally settled in the monastery of Monte Cassino where he died in 480/1087 During the closing years of his life he prepared Latin translations of some of the leading medical authorities used in Qairawan, and did that under the direction of his superiors In making those translations he used Hebrew versions, not the original Arabic, and traces of the Hebrew medium appear in his translations.

Constantine's chief undertaking was the preparation of a version more a paraphrase than a translation, of the medical treatise of 'Ali ibn 'Abbas al-Majusi, whose name appears in Latin as "Haly Abbas." In its Latin version this treatise was called the *Regalis Dispositio*, representing the title *Al-maliki*. Before the appearance of Ibn Sina's *Qanun* it had been the leading medical authority in Arabic, and no doubt many Arab practitioners adhered to it in preference to Ibn Sina's compilation which only gradually made its way. The late Professor Browne, who was himself a physician as well as an orientalist, preferred it to the *Qanun*, because it seemed to him more practical in character. Undoubtedly it was a very suitable work to select for the introduction of Arabic medicine to the West, and the translation rapidly became popular. Constantine para-

phrased the whole of Part I, the ten discourses dealing with the theory of medicine, and the beginning and first half of the ninth discourse of Part II, the part dealing with surgery This work was done towards the end of the v/x century, unfortunately we cannot date it more precisely. About a century later it was fairly well recognised as an authority, *perhaps the* authority, on Arabic medicine, and a revision of the translation was made by Canon Stephen of Pisa at Antioch, and that he completed in 521/1127. That definitely connects the work of revision with the Crusades. Canon Stephen was in one of the Latin kingdoms established by the Crusaders and at a period when some of the clergy attached to the Crusaders were beginning to take notice of Arabic culture

Constantine also made translations of several treatises by the Jewish physician Ishaq ibn Sulaiman, which seem to have been used in the school at Qairawan, and it was due to Constantine having selected these African works for translation that the authority of " Isaac " came to have great weight in the Latin West.

As translations Constantine's productions were defective and obscure, but they obtained a rapid and wide circulation and were the first means of making Arabic medical science accessible to Latin Christendom. All were afterwards revised by Gerhard of Cremona and other more skilful translators, and in that revised form exercised a great and beneficent influence.

Constantine the African had a pupil known as John the Saracen, or Afflacius, who translated the second part of the ninth discourse of the second part of the *Al-maliki* and so completed the portion dealing with surgery

Professor Haskins in his study on " England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century " [*English Historical Review*, xxvi (1911) 433-447] shows that there was intimate intercourse between the two great Norman states, England and Sicily, in the twelfth century. Norman chronicles, such as those compiled on Mont St Michel and Bec, and English historians of the end of that century, show that they were well informed about events in Sicily and South Italy, whilst liturgical calendars prove that local saints were exchanged between the churches of the two Norman communities St. Thomas of Canterbury was early commemorated in South Italian calendars, and we hear of a Brindisi merchant as a pilgrim at his shrine at Canterbury. There seems to have been close and constant intercourse between Sicily, South Italy and England, all occupied by the seafaring Normans. This line of transmission of Arabic science was quite distinct from that which originated in Andalus about 519/1125 when Raymund of Toledo formed an academy for the translation of Arabic medical, mathematical and philosophical works into Latin.

ISLAM : THE FOURTH-DIMENSIONAL RELIGION

Afisqratısi

In this article, the writer says that Islam was different from all other religions But when the Muslims conquered the Jews, the Christians and the Persians, they succumbed to intellectual influences of the defeated He also criticises the universal engrossment of the Muslims with the Hadith and goes on to show that in following the letter of their religion, the Muslims have forgotten its spirit

Broadly, we agree with the writer The fact is that Islam had come to destroy theology Thus the development of intellectual freedom, free and independent thinking and philosophical outlook was arrested So long as the Muslims are dominated by theology and do not develop the scientific and philosophic outlook which the Qur'an sought to build up, they will remain backward The Hadith literature which the writer criticises errs just on this side It is a collection of the judgments of the Holy Prophet on particular issues But each judgment is based on some ultimate reason The Muslim does not look to the ultimate reason, but sticks to particular facts and decisions Thus he is never to pass from the particular to the universal precepts which sprang from the needs and calls of a definite historical situation which ceased to exist much earlier Attachment to personalities in preference to principles, treading the paths chalked out by others, rather than setting out to discover new paths for himself modelling oneself on a type which regarded as being sacred and holy and became stereotyped in time rather than making a new model and a type of oneself,—such have been the results of theological thinking

IF A traveller from some far-off star were to make a trip to study the present prevailing religions of this earth, he would simply fail to see any very serious differences between the religions now prevalent on this earth. We are reminded of a run-away trip of an English boy to see Scotland, who was thoroughly disappointed and disgusted to see everything just the same there as in England, the only difference being somewhat in the dialects.

The religious ceremonies, the rites and rituals, the sects, the customs, the principles, even all the minutest details are the same in all the religions. Hence one is obviously led to conclude that all the religions are the same in spirit with a trifling difference here and there, and that too in the outer form only. Even the surface similarity between Islam and the Hindu religion is too striking. Hence Mr. Gandhi was led to believe that all the religions were the same as far as their fundamental structures were concerned. Priesthood with all its inherent rights and privileges, caste system, mysticism with all its

secret tenets, saints invested with all the Godly powers and attributes, the same spirit in *worship, the same ceremonials, every detail is the same in all the prevailing religions of the world. Hence conversion from one religion to another cannot deprive a man of any special advantage of his former religion.*

A big question looms large before one's eyes · Why should a man leave his religion to embrace Islam? This question can be put in another from. Why did God take the trouble of creating a new religion of Islam when already His own sent religions Judaism and Christianity were rendering the same service to mankind? They were already instructing their followers to perform His worship and their followers were having their prayers regularly, keeping fasts, performing pilgrimages to various shrines, were giving away alms, etc Big shrines were already there with decorated graves lit at night Saints were then enjoying the same Godly powers. Priests were giving sermons to peoples containing charming myths, and fictions about God, prophets, hell and paradise, coupled with lessons about good conduct, etc Various holy personalities were even then endowed with the same power to get sinners absolved and exonerated of their sins and misdeeds Hymns were chanted with the same devout spirit, as *qawali* (قوال) of ours Conversion and preaching were even then current. In short, nothing new has been given in the new religion of Islam as it is practised now. An unprejudiced critical examination of the new and the old religions would undoubtedly reveal that there has been nothing new in Islam in its present form Difference in some small details avails of nothing to abandon one religion for another Some persons having become tired and disgusted with the alarming similarity between Islam and other religions have endeavoured to create new sects in Islam, but, being unaware of the real nature of Islam, have miserably failed to achieve anything.

II

Islam, no doubt, was fundamentally quite a different religion and considerably new from all the already existing religions But the tragedy is that the Muslims soon lost sight of this very important fact. They were soon called upon to indulge in the various wars, etc., they had to wage against all the surrounding nations possessing different religions. It took quite a long time to defeat them all and then, when they settled again as conquerors and turned their attention towards their own religious shape and form, they desired to copy all the other religions with whose adherents they had come into contact with during those wars. Even before the advent of Islam the Arabs used to perform long journeys into other countries in connection with trade, etc., and used to see and get impressed with the very attractive and decorated courts of the rulers of those notions, their priests and temples, churches, etc., their mystics and their esotric philosophy. Being themselves backward and uncivilised, they were struck deeply by those imposing institu-

tions of those nations. A strong desire to have similar institutions of their own always lurked in their subconscious mind When they conquered the surrounding world and became the rulers themselves, the long, old, hidden desire sprang out forcefully and they wanted to own similar institutions. Like children they wanted those painted toys to play with. Though they had conquered the Jews, Christians, the Persians and other unbelievers, yet they got mentally defeated by those old pompous and dazzling civilisations They soon fell prey to them and opened their arms to embrace them, little thinking that they were going astray from their original right path and were themselves dealing a death blow to Islam.

III

The question still awaits our reply. Why was Islam created when it fetched nothing new? The simple answer to this question is that Islam did not originally correspond with the already existing religions. It was radically a new faith. It differed vastly from those already existing It was perpendicularly different from the others, as the breadth is parpendicularly different from the length and the length from the depth To understand this difference fully, we will have to cast our glance towards the earlier history of mankind in the process of evolution Two fundamental principles guide us in this research We know that physically the phylogeny repeats ontogeny and psychically the phylogeny preserves the ontogeny These scientifically proved facts prove the evolution without any doubt So in the beginning man was also one-dimensional animal. Then he evolved into two-dimensional one and again after considerable time achieved the stage of the three-dimensional one Man was endowed with religion at the third-dimensional stage. In his long evolutional march, this stage was the most important one because before that he was mentally on the same stage as that of other advanced animals, just as cat, horse, elephant, bear, monkey and etc Then his world consisted of only two dimensions, the length and the breadth, lacked the sense of depth, the third dimension. The third dimension was for him a problem of fate, of future, the unseen and the hidden which he did not and could not then discern and fathom He always suffered from this third dimension which always caused him sudden and unseen accidents and catastrophies quite out of reach, control and understanding He feared the third dimension the most Even today the past record of human march is still preserved in our subconscious mind. The newly born child dreads the fall most of all the other accidents. Having no sense of the depth dimension he very often crawls beyond the boundry of his cot or seat and falls down and injures himself sometimes too seriously. He cannot detect the cause of this accident and wonders why he came to such a trouble for no fault of his. But then be develops fast and soon evolves into the three-dimensional stage and comes to know the third dimension. It was at this stage of

evolutional march of mankind that he was taught to change the mode of his living and to make artificial dwellings other than those of trees and caves, etc., the abode of his two-dimensional life. Having regard to this very important turning in the evolutional march of mankind, Islam has even mentioned the historical event of entering into the third-dimensional stage. The Qur'an mentions it thus. "اول بيت وضع للناس ...." The first dwelling house that was ever built on this earth for man was at Mecca. The house was the embodiment of all the three dimensions, i.e. length, breadth and depth. The first house thus built was kept and preserved as a model for the mankind to see, to study and to build similar other houses for their own use. Being the most important event in man's history, it ought to have been preserved for ever It brought with it not only three-dimensional consciousness in man, but also the new civilisation of living in self-built three-dimensional buildings, the fact that brought a new phase of life, society, and the sense of living together, and thus leading a collective life in all its various forms and phasee, etc. Even today we go to Mecca and visit this first-built model house, and celebrate the dim rather altogether consciously forgotten fact of having achieved the third-dimensional stage, by going all around it with all reverence The period of its first rearing up is almost shrouded in mystery Since then up to the time of the holy Prophet of Islam, man had been progressing and marching on the third-dimensional stage of evolution. He had been getting new religions every now and then, but all those religions meted out the requirements of the mankind on the third-dimensional level and therefore there was basically and fundamentally no radical big change in them all The Christian religion was the last on the three-dimensional plane of evolution. It ended and with it ended all the three-dimensional civilisations and everything connected therewith Psychically man had developed fully to be bestowed with another turn in his long journey which had started with the descent of Adam The whole universe was eagerly watching the very tedious long march of man and was now too pleased to see him enter the new era in this march. A new prophet had now to come with the four-dimensional religion and its civilisation to meet the newly created requirements of man who was then stepping the fourth-dimensional stage. This was the second very great and important step in man's long march The first important step was that of entering the third-dimensional stage. But this was by far the most important of all the previous stages. Even the angels suspended their steps to see man's advent into this new era True it was that all the universe stood agog to see the harbinger, of the fourth-dimensional phase of evolution, enter on the stage. Even from the first moment of creation of the whole universe such an important event had not occurred before. Prophet Muhammad (صلعم) was posted with the most high and superior task of ushering this utterly new stage of civilisation to mankind, most radically superior to all the previous ones. Man had to cast aside the already old, worn

out, fading and no more wanted civilisation to embrace the new one which had to render this earth anew altogether, as if to bring paradise on this very earth The angels in heaven and all the universe celebrated the inauguration of this new fourth-dimensional religion of Islam. Even the stars twinkled merrily on the opening ceremony.

IV

The then Prophet was taught the secret of the three-dimensional religion who then built a house in Mecca to demonstrate the new civilisation, the new ways and methods of collective living, etc., to mankind. Similarly God had again to explain the whole complications and most difficult technique of the four-dimensional religion After the preliminary introduction of the new religion of Islam to the people, the Prophet was called forth to transgress the limit of four dimensions to see the whole universe of four dimensions from without. One cannot fully see and understand a thing while remaining inside and within it. One has to go out of the thing to view it from a distance to see all its phases Thus the Prophet had to go out of this four-dimensional universe to see its workings He was sent for and was bodily taken out of the universe of four dimensions where God Himself had to teach and instruct the ways and workings of the four-dimensional religion and its civilisation This was the second most important incident in the march of man and, therefore, like the first one God has recorded this event in the Qur'an of how the Prophet preformed the upward journey which goes by the term of ascension ("معراج").

V

In order to understand fully the four-dimensional religion of Islam a little explanation of the four dimensions themselves needs mention here

A point is defined in geometry as a body without dimension When a point moves in space, a line is produced as a trace of the movement of the point. The point has got no direction in itself whatever to move Thus a point moves in a direction not contained in it Hence in a point it is impossible to imagine the line and the laws of the line The point must move outside of itself to become a line. Similarly when a line moves in space it leaves behind the trace of its movement, in the form of surface. But to do so the line must move in a direction not contained in it, because, moving in a direction contained in it, a line will continue to be a line for ever. In a line it is again impossible to imagine the surface and the laws of the surface The line moving in a direction not contained in it gives rise to the second dimension, that of the width, which is perpendicular to the line of length, i e. the first dimension. When the surface (length and width) moves in space in a direction not contained in it, it leaves a trace of it, the "solid." In surface it is impossible to imagine the solid and

laws of the solid. Thus a third dimension of the depth is originated which is also perpendicular to the other two dimensions, that of length and width. From the movement of a point which has got no dimension at all, we have got three dimensions, i e. a solid body. Similarly when a solid body moves in space in a direction not contained in it and perpendicular to itself and out of itself, a fourth dimension is created. This fourth dimension is the "Time" In order to produce the fourth dimension, the solid, i e *three-dimensional body, must come out of itself, set off from itself, and move in* a direction which is not contained in itself. Similarly the time, our fourth dimension, moves perpendicular to itself to produce the line of 'Eternity' which is the fifth dimension, which we mankind will get after death, that is the life beyond death For fuller description of the four dimensions, please see "Tertium Organum" by Ouspensky.

VI

Thus we get the reply to our question What is the difference between Islam and the other old religions? All those older religions were the three-dimensional ones and therefore could not accompany the march of Time for ever, while Islam is the four-dimensional religion destined to lead and guide mankind for ever Hence, being a new and the four-dimensional one, Islam is perpendicular to other religions and consequently quite a new one and a different code of life on a different plane and level The code of life, art, meaning of life and society, literature, philosophy, sciences, ethics, in short everything, must be vastly different in Islam and the other religions. God has explained this fundamental difference in the Qur'an The true Muslims were to be on a higher level than the followers of the other religions Someone has rightly expressed this difference in these words

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i.e. the good qualities of virtuous men are the lower qualities and even sin for those who are above the virtuous people and on still higher level and more nearer to God.

In order to move on the fourth-dimensional level we have to come out of the three-dimensional code of life and to proceed perpendicularly to the three-dimensional religions and their code of life Therein lies the greatest difference between Islam and the other religions We as Muslims had to discard their attitude towards God, life, actions, the society, etc , etc Ours was the new path. We had not to beat about the old trodden paths of the other religions For our salvation were the other set of rules and laws quite foreign to those of the older ones We had not to run after other persons to recommend us to God. God is nearer than anything else to every individual and we can please Him only by our own individual and collective

good acts, and not by and through other persons who should intercede on our behalf. God dislikes or rather is displeased by flattery and lipe service He does not care for our clean and new garments, but cares much more for our cleaner and purer hearts Big shrines covered with silk draperies, illuminated by candles and silver lamps at night, and the mausoleums reverberating with the chantings of *qawali* with the accompaniment of Tablas and Sarangis are the things of the past. They have been discarded with at the four-dimensional level. Amassing of wealth by individuals was once desirable but it is not so in Islam Society and not the individuals are units now. Caliphs and not the kings are the order of Islam Teachers to teach the Islamic principles as given in the Qur'an, and not the priests and mullas to cater the older foresaken theories and fictions, are needed now Old economy of two dimensions, i e production and consumption of wealth, is utterly derogatory to man on this new plane of life God is never pleased with lip service He is pleased with right action Mere repeating of his name on a rosary thousand times a day cannot please God The Namaz is not the means of salvation It is simply a parade to prepare a Muslim for the battle to be faught against sin and evil If one's Namaz cannot prevent one from committing sins it is not simply a waste of time, rather it is a hindrance in one's way, because it beguiles one by appearing as an end in itself, as a great virtue by itself, while it is not so the case. Similar is the case with other cardinal virtues. They are not an end in themselves They are means to other ends and if they fail to get their proper results they are mere waste of your precious time These cardinal virtues have to prepare us to be able to move on with the fifth dimension, that of eternity. The major portion of our so-called Hadith is the repetition of the older religious fictions and dogmas The mullas picked up the five pillars, as they call them, of Islam, and gave up and abandoned the entire remaining portion of the Qur'an The five *arkans* have been taken up as the whole of Islam and the religion has been confined to the performance of the five pillars only and that too in the form of ceremonies and rituals. The Qur'an is in no sense the guiding code of life for the present-day Muslims It has been relegated into the niches in mosques and homes A very pious Muslim nowadays will very easily stoop to every mean and degrading sin without any remorse, but will take every care not to leave the five *arkans*. Thus the Muslims spend all their lives in building up these five pillars and the time will never come when they should construct a grand roof and building over these pillars.

VII

All the religions of the world at present are facing very baffling problems of life to find out the immediate solution Man as a whole stands very much perplexed and involved in very intricate problems He looks towards religions What

solution and help can they present? Can they solve the riddle? The sentimental religions are no more helpful. Man does not need a religion which can only assure him of the deliverance in the next world after he dies. The modern man cannot be deluded by the nursery stories. He wants immediate solutions of the present perplexing problems The present-day economic plunder, the poverty, social inequilibrium, crimes, wars, etc, etc., need practical and immediate scientific solution with speedy results But what man gets from the present religions of the world is an opium pill which brings lethargy, inactivity and slumber Then there is mysticism. "Saints have found out a very queer commodity for a stock-in-trade. They deal in souls, a fable so productive. Thus they all sell very dearly the tickets of a lottery that will never be drawn" (Gourmont).

The present-day three-dimensional form of Islam has been dealt with at length by E. J Bolus He writes

"Sunna is parasitical growth which has fastened itself upon the Qur'an The tradition took the place of custom, which was the main criterion of morality among the pre-Islamic Arabs Hadith was valued as a means of political propaganda. In nothing do we see pious men more given to falsehood than in Traditions Hadith forces one to accept the truth at second hand and not to use one's own private judgment in any manner The Muslim is not expected to prove all things That has already been done for him by Hadith, thus the critical faculty of Muslims has been chloroformed. Thus the attitude of acquiescence in the decrees of authority darkens all the capacities of the mind Independent research for a Muslim borders on the profane Before Hadith you are required to be entirely submissive and not to question 'why' and the 'wherefore.' Hadith tends to induce lethargy in its sedentary followers Five times prayers is an intolerable interference in the affairs of daily life Hadith has improved upon the Qur'an by adding two more prayers to the three prayers of the Qur'an The Persians always wanted gods and demigods and Ali supplied them with one though at the expense of the Prophet There, like Christ, Ali is considered not to have died Mehdi is a luxury of fancy Muslim a hundred beads on his rosary and a hundred sins in his heart The principle of agreement (اجماع) was not constitutive but merely regulative. It could originate nothing. The *ijma'* instead of leading was content to lag behind. Islam is a stranger to the inductive reasoning in law. The method of legislation remains substantially deductive.

"Ibn Khaldun says, 'The ceaseless writing of commentaries on the work of others has withered the capacity of the Muslim mind for independent thought and enterprise.' Mystics in Islam · because God is Immanence—present in all things—therefore all things are good, hence no sin or evil Sufis are thus ensnared in a vicious circle.

Ibn al Arabi : 'Religion only contains a fraction of truth.' One extraordinary defect is apparent in all Muslim pictures, the almost total absence of perspective; so their work never escapes the sense of flatness. None of their figures threatens to walk out of the canvas

" The system of the veil (پردہ) is based on a low view of human nature," etc., etc.

No doubt what Bolus has written about the present-day Islam is a bitter pill to swallow for a Muslim, but should we condemn him wholesale simply because he is a Christian ?

One cannot help saying that the mullas and the saints have misappropriated and divided between themselves the whole of Islam and have not only thwarted the right onward march of Islam on its original path, but have erected impassable hurdles in our ways to our utter ruin and destruction. They have duped the Muslims into swamps and quicksand where stuck fast the Muslim could not disengage himself for the last so many centuries, to continue his march on the right path and therefore God's repeated calls in the Qur'an, to rationalise, to think deep, to open one's eyes to see, to consider, to meditate, etc , have fallen flat on Muslim ears

Dr Iqbal in the manuscript of his last book which could not be completed due to his untimely death, writes : "The Arabs, while destroying Rome and Iran, succumbed to their institutions of kings and priests "

Whatever may be the causes of forming kingdoms in Islam the result thereof was not useful for the Muslims. The big conquests of other kingdoms brought within their folds such peoples who were the bearers of the old systems of priesthood and sainthood. The net result of this was that Islam itself got converted into the pre-Islamic religious status and it thus begot all the old intricate and disputed problems of those religions such as 'soul,' 'psyche,' 'eternal,' ' the created ' 'the creation of Qur'an,' etc , etc. Thereby the real Islam lost all chances of further growth and advancement.

In the pre-Islamic religions the 'revelation' was considered to be secret and unfathomable esoteric mystry, while Islam founded it on a scientific apprehensible system.

The conception of the universe, i.e. space and time, as unreality is un-Islamic, while Time and Space are not mere fictions, rather they are the realities.

Islam was in reality a strong protest against all the creeds and the religions prevalent at the time of coming of Islam into existence. Islam is not a mere religion ; it is much more than this.

No Prophet will visit this earth again

One of the Islamic aims and objects is an economic equality : La Rahbaniat fil Islam

The advancement beyond the world of sensations will be on the scientific bases only Islam is a protest against all the previous creeds which are called religions.

In Islam contemplation (مراقبه) includes and contains both the action and the thinking, and brings before us this universe as a reality wherein the old and previous conceptions of race, caste and creed and beliefs all end at once

Islam considers and includes "sleep" and "dance" in the category of intoxicant drugs, because they frustrate the powers of the Ego and its concentration. Then again they are the escapes from the time and space, while Islam wants you to prevail and overcome the time and space by means of your Ego's concentrating power. The hard and concentrated thinking can overcome the universe. The objects of the universe can be understood through the system of cause and effect, i e sciences, and not through fear and magical incantations (سحر منتر). Approach this universe and its contents through the laws of nature and their workings

" One who has departed from this world will never come back here again "

These quotations have been taken, and rendered into English, from the Urdu monthly ماہ نور, December issue. These notes show very clearly what the real Islam—the religion of the four dimensions—was and how it has been frustrated and deformed simply because the Muslims were led astray by the mullas and the pirs, etc, who soon got possession of the Muslims and dragged down Islam back to the level of the three-dimensional religions The result which was inevitable ensued and brought about in Muslims, frustration, decay, chaos, ugliness, mutilation, conflicts, lesser morality, unrest and mental inebriation, etc., etc.

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SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
KASHMIRI BAZAR - - LAHORE

STATE AND RELIGION IN ISLAM

A. K. Faizuddin Ahmad

In this article Mr F Ahmad says that Islam does not encourage too much individualism This is true because Islam was an organised social movement and did not rest on individual preaching But the question is why the Muslims lost the social spirit of Islam, so that today their religion has become pre-eminently individualistic There is no power of organisation among the Muslims Their society has become atomistic, each individual going his own way Corporate association and organisation are so feeble among the Muslims, that in no field they can lead an organised activity without quarrelling among themselves This point requires thinking on the part of Muslim intellectuals

A STATE in Islam has no Sovereignty of its own. It is founded on the authority delegated by Allah (the Maker) to the people through His Prophets and Messengers. To be more precise and particular, a state according to the concept of Islam is founded on the authority delegated by Allah to the people through His Apostle Muhammad (peace be on him) To understand a state in Islam one has first of all got to understand what is Islam and what is its bearing to humanity and to a Musalman in particular. Islam has since its inception been a politico-religious institution. Islam literally means submission and resignation to the will of the Supreme Being, namely Allah. Islam is a human religion and a universal character To the Creator of this universe it is the best of religions It has been admitted to be the best of all religions by all shades of opinion in the modern world It is a code of moral and spiritual conduct for the guidance of man towards the best path Islam aims at maximum perfection in all the branches of human faculties for all-round development Islam is never a religion of monks and anchorites. It enjoins man to so perfect himself as to be able to contribute his mite towards the formation of a society where peace and tranquillity will prevail. It is a religion of mutual enterprise for attainment of a society which is run and guided for the ultimate good of all according to the rules of laws as embodied in the Qur'an. The Qur'an is the basis of Islam In Islam individualism is not encouraged. Individual perfection is good but according to the teachings of Islam such perfection is completed and strengthened by joining or forming a Righteous Society in which the individual can expand and develop. Islam lays great stress on social duties which in many ways rest and train the individual character.

2. Islam covers life in its entirety. It enjoins Musalmans to turn to the Qur'an and Sunna, individually and collectively, for the solution of all their social, political and

economic problems. A Muslim must accept the Qur'an and Sunna as final authority for guidance in life and actions. Islam enjoins a very strict sense of responsibilities and duties. Without a deeply ingrained sense of responsibilities there can be no enjoyment of rights, freedom or privileges. Islam warns man that the freedom Allah grants to the human beings is for ever conditional on the latter's unswerving abidance by the Ethical Code Islam also warns man that an enjoyment of rights exists in direct function of the fulfilment of responsibilities A society can subsist only on condition of mutual respect of each other's rights by all the members of the household and the social circle Each member must constantly endeavour to fight against any social evil and must so conduct himself as to be of utmost help to others

3 The state in Islam aims at the cultivation of all the faculties of man to meet all human needs. It is the function of the state to attain at the all-round social, political, moral, religious, cultural and economic improvement It recognises all people's right to profess and practise their religions according to their likings It ensures minimum necessities of life—food, cloth and shelter—for all the inhabitants of the country irrespective of caste, creed or religion.

4 As already said, in Islam sovereignty does not vest in a state, government or anybody In Islam sovereignty rests with the Creator. Man, however powerful, has no independent authority or sovereignty The only sovereignty with which a man may be credited with is the delegated sovereignty, that is, the sovereignty which God has delegated to a man or a body of men who have been chosen by the people at large to administer the affairs of the land as His deputies or Vicegerents (Khalifa) God has endowed man with "Divine Trust" (Qur'an, xxxiii 72) and he is only the deputy of the Lord on the earth

5. The basic principle and policy of a state in Islam was laid by the Apostle of Allah (peace be on him) by the famous pledges of 'Aqaba in 620 and 622 A.C. when a handful of men just twelve in number paid homage to Muhammad in a lovely place outside the city walls of Mecca placing their hands on his and took a vow that they would follow the path of universal, immutable law, they would worship no deity except God; that they would not steal or commit adultery nor kill their offsprings nor calumniate and slander anyone and would be loyal in happiness and sorrow. In the second pledge a couple of years later there was a definite promise to obey and if need be to defend the Apostle in everything. The Apostle also on his part declared that their interests and his were identical. The same year the Muslims with the Prophet moved to Medina to build the superstructure of the great brotherhood of Islam and Islamic State. In Medina Muhammad granted a charter to the native Jews by which

it was declared that the Jews were as much citizens of the state as the Muslims themselves and that the two groups of men were to form one composite nation, that the guilty would be punished whatever their faith and that both would be called upon to defend the state when need arose Islam therefore, *from its inception, started with the* basis of a state to administer the affairs of the land according to the divine and universal laws for the spiritual and material improvement and development of humanity.

6. Reference may be made here with profit to the condition of things existent with the social life in Arabia before the advent of Islam It will increase the bulk of this article if a detailed description be attempted to For the purpose of this subject it will be worth while to note that before the advent of Islam the Arabs were in the darkest of age without any human insight There was no respect for social law or any decorum amongst the Arabs. Spiritually they were in the depth of degradation. Whatever was strange and new to them was considered as the creator They did not know the worth of man and the purpose of his creation in the best of forms and matters There was no moral value amongst the Arabs To be brief, before the advent of Islam there was absolute darkness in the world. There was no society or social laws to run the affairs of the world as desired by the Creator In such time and hour Islam was brought into perfection to guide humanity to shape its destiny in the best of forms to elevate them to the proper place. The advent of Islam was for forming and joining a society where perfect peace and tranquillity would prevail, and the laws of God would be enforced and abided and there will be all-round development in man as a result of mutual enterprise at perfection, both spiritual and temporal Islam is the only religion approved by Allah "Today I have perfected for you your religion and completed upon you my blessings and approved Islam for you as a religion" (v 3) Allah approved the best of religions for the best of His creations Muslims (followers of Islam) are the best of the nations raised up for mankind. Faith in the Lord and service to humanity is the creed of Islam Islam is not merely a thing of mere belief nor a thing of the observance of mere rituals It is a perfect and complete code of life itself. It is an ideal to be followed in private and public life. Islam is an all-comprehensive institution for the all-round development of man not only in social, ethical and spiritual aspects of life but in the economic and political side as well. Islam is a religion in state and a state in religion It is a complete civilisation by itself Thus religion of man was perfected by the advent of Islam and the best of the nations raised for the benefit of mankind to enjoin and enforce what is right and forbid what is wrong with a belief in Allah and abidance by His laws.

7. *A controversy* is rife in the firmament and is being regularly mooted, over the question whether the state should have any function over religion There is a section among the intelligentsia who hold that religion is a function with God and the state should have nothing to do there. There is another section as well who hold that the state should

have all functions within it to regulate and guide the religious aspect of life and conduct of its citizens According to the former, religion is an absolute private thing bearing relations only with Allah in some matters, and as such an interference there by the state is an interference with private and personal rights. According to the latter, on the other hand, religion is a part of the public life of every citizen and as such it should be one of the departmental functions of the state to see that religious aspect of citizen life is developed and regulated according to the rules of the immutable laws as enjoined by the Qur'an According to the holders of the former view, religion is man's personal affair and the conception of a state according to them is that a state is constituted and organised by man's intellect and is regulated by man-made laws with the object of organising society so as to further and increase worldly interest according to the wishes of men without any regard or reference to the mandates given by the Creator through his Messengers According to the holder of the latter view, a state is created by the Messengers of God according to the dictates contained in the Revealed Book with an object to establish the rule of God for the all-round betterment of mankind, both material and spiritual

8. Islam as a religion is an all-pervading institution for catering everything necessary for the all-round improvement of body, mind and spirit The Islamic conception of religion is rather wide. According to Ibn Khaldun, "Religions (or religious laws) are introduced by God in order to lead the people to eternal bliss Their objective is worship of God as well as management of worldly affairs, so much so that to establish a composite state and government on the fundamental principles of religion is also included in the scope of the religious missions of God " The objective and organisational structure of a state in Islam as enunciated by the Holy Prophet by the famous pledges of 'Aqaba is quite in keeping with the principle of religion as enunciated by Ibn Khaldun Having in view the mission of the Apostle of Allah and the superstructure of the state laid down by him in the famous pledges of 'Aqaba it can be reasonably accepted that the religion of Islam embraces all the organs and functions of a state, as state in Islam includes regulating mechanism to run the religious aspect of its citizens. Islam is a state in religion as it is a religion in state. According to the concept of Islam, a state cannot be divorced from religion and a state without the fabrics of religion is like a man without life.

9. The younger generation of educated class presents rather the pathetic picture of a wanderer between the two—between a state and religion They have not yet been able to acquire more than the bare externals of the religion of Islam without grasping its inner quality. It has become rather customary with a certain group of educated men to take religion as a force to make people fight each other. To such a group Islam has lost all

cultural and social significance. In ultimate analysis there can be no clash between the general social principles of all regions of the world, their purpose being universal religious outlook and morality and righteousness. This is nothing but a mental conflict all due to a very hazy notion about religion, for want of search and culture for truth and nature. However one may sucessfully feign to shun religion—be he an American, a Russian, an Egyptian or a Pakistani—ultimately he will find himself entangled in religion. For religion is embeded in human nature—nay nature itself. A human being cannot live without religion. One who so can is not at least a rational man Instead of wandering between the two it will be profitable for those young men to apply themselves in search for truth to understand the inner and natural meaning and purpose of state and religion, when, I am sure, they will appreciate that the state and religion can and should run concurrently for the benefit of mankind as desired by the Creator Religion is the ethics of life built round one's imperfect faith in the supernatural which puts man under a sense of obligation without the right to reason "why" In Islam the whole community, by implication, has a responsibility to see that God's commands are obeyed It is on this thesis the intelligentsia should give thought and research, how the commands of Allah can be put to obedience without a machinery with authority like the state to enforce it.

ISLAM'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD PROGRESS AND CULTURE AND ALL-ROUND ADVANCEMENT

Nur Ahmad

In this article Mr Nur Ahmad discusses the achievements of the Muslims in the field of science and philosophy, etc But he does not discuss the question why Muslim intellectual activity became arrested after some time, so that the West outstripped it in knowledge and wisdom The reason must be explained if the Muslims are to get out of their intellectual stagnation The cause of Muslim intellectual depression seems to be their lack of interest in any field of knowledge that does not come under the definition of religion Muslim mind became so much confined to theology and law, that it considered these two branches of knowledge as quite sufficient for the purpose of life It was afraid to venture in any new field, for fear that any new knowledge might conflict with the presuppositions of theology and the ' Fiqh " Because it thought that truth has already been found and fixed in those two departments—Fiqh and Theology—therefore, it was afraid of new truth Thus its view of truth became narrow and rigid. It took for granted that truth has been completed already, whereas the Western world discovered that Truth is never final but has to be perpetually sought for and discovered anew The old truth is, of course, never destroyed, but it is taken up and absorbed in the new system of truth Unless the Muslims give up their old theological view of the finality and completion of truth, they will never march forward intellectually and morally

PROFESSOR Snouck Hurgronje in his thesis *The Muslim World Today* (London 1926) writes. " The ideal of human races has indeed been approached by Islam more nearly than by any other religion for the League of Nations founded on the basis of Islam as Islam takes the principle of the equality of all human races so seriously as to put other communities to shame."

Professor Seditote remarks, " What is attributed to the ancient civilisation of China by the Europeans is only borrowed light from the Moslems " Islam's contribution to knowledge and popular education is immense. Islam revolutionised the field of popular education and knowledge by the manufacture of writing paper and block-printing when the whole world was grovelling in the darkness of barbarism and illiteracy. History records that in the middle of eighth century writing paper was made by the Muslims in Samarkand. Paper made in Samarkand was considered matchless, and of high quality. Before the close of the eighth century, Baghdad set up its first paper mill; Egypt opened its first paper-manufacturing factory about 900 C.E.; Morrocco had

its own paper mill about 1100 C.E. and Spain had its own paper mill in about 1150. Various kinds of paper—white and coloured—were produced. The oldest Arabic paper manuscript that has been discovered is on tradition under the caption "Gharib-al-Hadith" by Abu 'Ubayd about 837 C E and is now preserved in the Leyden University Library. From Muslim Spain in the twelfth century, the manufacture of paper was introduced in Europe where with the discovery of printing made it possible the measure of popular education which America and Europe enjoy. Both America and Europe owe a debt of obligation to the Muslims for matchless contribution of paper-making and block-printing to these countries. Islam's contribution in her glorious epoch was not less but more to the agricultural development and to the development of mineral resources in other countries. The crusaders who invaded Syria and other Muslim countries destroyed many flourishing Muslim cities and many highly developed agricultural regions The Muslim rulers developed mineral resources greatly and made the jewellery industry and trade not only possible but to develop largely. The principal mineral resources of the Muslim Empire included gold and silver from Khorasan, marble, mercury, rubies, lapis lozuli azurites from Transoceana, lead and silver from Kamran, pearls from Al-Bahrain, turquoise from Nishapur, cornelian from Sana, iron from Lebanon, kaolin and marble from Tabriz, antimony from Ispahan, pitch and naptha from Georgia, sulphur from Syria and Palestine, asbestos from Transoxania and mercury, hotch and tar from Farghana Agriculture received a great impetus under the Muslim rule. The actual cultivation was left in the hands of inhabitants whose status as cultivators of the soil was much improved and stabilised. The deserted farm and ruined villages were rehabilitated and canals, new and old, were reopened and formed a network of irrigation. Arab geographers have mentioned Khalifs "digging or opening rivers" It means Khalifs reopening or digging old and new canals. The Muslim Khalifs and Governors paid great attention to proper irrigation and improvement of cultivated land and spread out a network of water-courses and canals in the whole of the Muslim world The remains of these wonderful systems of irrigation and canals are still found in Syria, Iraq, and other Muslim lands. Before the World War I the then Turkish Government commissioned William Willocks to study the irrigation problem of Iraq He in his report strongly recommended the reclamation and clearing of the old water-courses, rather than construction of new ones.

Khorasan vied with Iraq and Egypt as a most flourishing country of the world. The land round Bokhara was a veritable garden. Transoxania and Sijistan were the most rich and highly fertile track of the Muslim Empire. Between Samarkand and Bokhara lay the earthly paradise—the Wadi-al-Sugud and the gardens of Ubullah, canals extending many miles and the orchards of Damascus were the most famous gardens. In these gardens were grown several varieties of fruits, vegetables and flowers such as dates, apples, olives,

apricots, peaches, plums, lemons, basil, pomegranates, oranges, figs, grapes, roses, radishes, etc. The sugarcane plantation of Fars and Al-Ahwaz with their famous refineries were followed by similar plantations and refineries in Syrian coasts from which the crusaders introduced them into Europe. The reigns of 'Abd-al-Rahman III and his successor Al-Hakam II (961-976 C E) along with the dictatorship of Al-Hajib-al-Mansur (977-1002 C.E) mark apogee of Muslim rule in the West. Neither before nor after this was Muslim Spain able to exercise the same influence in European and African affairs In this period the Umayyid capital Cordova took its place as the most cultured city and with Constantinople and Baghdad as one of the three cultural centres of the world and with its one hundred and thirteen thousand homes, twenty-one suburbs, seventy libraries and numerous book shops, mosques and palaces it acquired an international fame and inspired awe and admiration in the hearts of travellers. It had miles of paved pucca streets illuminated by lamps. Even seven hundred years after this period, there was not so much as one public light in London and Paris and even centuries subsequently whoever stepped over his threshhold in a rainy day in London and Paris stepped out his ankles in mud. When the University of Oxford still looked upon bathing as a heathen custom, *generations of Cordovan scientists had been enjoying baths in luxurous establishments..* Whenever the rulers of Leon, Navarro and Barcelona needed a surgeon, an architect, a master singer or a dress-maker it was to Cordova and to Cordova alone they applied. The fame of the Muslim Cordova reached the distant lands such as Germany where a Saxon nun styled Cordova the jewel of the world (vide Hitti's *History of the Arabs*).

Islam's Contribution to Human Renaissance

Mr. M N. Roy in his famous book *Historical Role of Islam* remarks, "The age of Arabic learning lasted about five hundred years and coincided with the darkest period of European history During the same period India was also lying prostrate under the triumphant Brahmanical reaction which subverted or corrupted Buddhism Under the enlightened rule of the Abbasides, Fatemites and Ommayyid rulers, learning, culture prospered in Asia, North Africa and Spain from Samarkand to Bokhara, to Fergana, in Cordova numerous scholars studied and taught astronomy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, medicine and music. Roger Bacon was disciple of Arabs." In the opinion of Humboldt, the Arabs are to be considered "the proper founders of physical sciences in the significance of the term which we are now accustomed to give" (vide *Kosmos*, Vol. II). An eminent European author remarks about the glorious achievements of Islam in these words "The Arabian conquerors were able to make Egypt once more illustrious among the nations of the earth—to snatch it from the hideous fanaticism, ignorance, and barbarism into which it had been plunged The work of the sages of the ancient Greece were not only rescued, collected and preserved by the Arabs, they were profusely

commented upon and improved. The complete works of Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Appolonious, Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen were available to the fathers of Modern Europe at first only in Arabic version accompanied by erudite commentaries. Modern Europe learned from the Arabs not only medicine and mathematics The science of astromony which widens the vision of man and reveals before him the mechanical laws of nature was jealously cultivated by the Arabs With the aid of new instruments of observation, Arab philosophers acquired exact knowledge about the circumference of the earth, the position and the number of planets. The science of Chemistry owes its origin and development to the industry of Arabs. "They first invented and named the alembic for the purpose of distillation, analysed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alkalies and acids and converted the precious minerals into soft and salutary medicines" (Gibbon). It was in the science of medicine that the Arabs made the greatest progress

Mas'ud and Giber Giber was the worthy disciple of Avicenna and substantially added to what they had learned from Avicenna who was born in the tenth century in Bokhara and reigned in Europe as the undisputed authority of the medical science for five hundred years The school of Salermo until the sixteenth century was the centre of medical learning in Europe. It owed its origin to the Saracens and taught the lesson of Avicenna.

Professor Bausana of the University of Rome who was on a lecture tour of Pakistan said in a lecture at Dacca on 1st March, 1955, that the orientals in Italy had demonstrated the fact that Dante's sources for the construction of *Divine Comedy* were at least partly Islamic (vide *Statesman*, Calcutta, March 2, 1955). Muslim architecture exercised a great influence on the development of architecture wherein quite a large number of architectural patterns and designs of the Islamic world were adopted such as painted and couped arches, tracery patterns of surfaces for tracery in window, plate tracery, the use of engazed shafts at angles of pier, ornamental and pierced battlement, carved inscriptions, striped facades, metal grills, geometrical patterns in decoration, etc. A thousand other elements of architectural beauty of Islamic architecture were carried into Europe. George Sarton, a great historian of science, has very rightly admitted the great contribution of Islam to Western knowledge and progress He has paid a glowing tribute to Muslim scholars and other intellectual attainments in these words: "The most valuable of all, the most original and the most pregnant works were written in Arabic From the second half of the eighth century Arabic was the scientific and the progressive language of mankind. During that period anyone wishing to be well informed and up-to-date had to study Arabic." It will suffice here to evoke a few glorious names without contemporary equivalents in the West: Jabit bin Haiyan, Alkandi,

Al-Khwarizmi, Alfarghani, Al-Razi, Thabit bin Quira, Al-Battani, Hunain, Ibn Ishaq, Al-Farakhi Ibrahim, Ibn Siman, Al-Mas'udi, Al-Tabari, Abul Wafa, 'Ali Ibn 'Abbas, Abul Qasem, Ibn Al-Jazzar, Al-Beruni, Ibn Sina, Ibn Yunus, Al-Kharki, Ibn Al-Hatham, 'Ali ibn 'Isa, Al-Ghazzali, Al-Zaqabi, 'Umar Khayyam, a magnificent array of names which it would not be difficult to extend If anyone tells you that the Middle Ages were scientifically sterile just 'quote these' men All these scientists flourished within a relatively short period between 750 and 1100 C.E. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was a scientific renaissance in Europe and European scholars went to study Arabic sciences in the universities of Spain, Egypt, Syria and Morocco. The Arabic works in sciences were translated into Latin and used as text-books in European universities "It must be owned," says Moshein, the author of *Ecclesiastical History*, "that all the knowledge, whether of physics, astromony, philosophy, or mathematics or chemistry which flourished in Europe was originally derived from the Arabian scholars" A veteran German scholar Julius Ruska of the Berlin University, a great authority on the history of the Muslim science, remarks: "Arabic alchemy has developed so much and in so peculiar way beyond that of the Greeks and it had so exclusively influenced occidental alchemy that the students of medieval sciences could not find a more attractive task, than to trace the paths until now mostly obscure which the development once followed" According to H. G. Wells and Gibbon, the science of Chemistry owes its origin and improvement to the industry of Saracens The Muslims were the first to establish hospitals for common men and women Never before the advent of Islam medical facilities for men and women were on so larger scale and so well organised The Muslims were the first to organise hospitals, dispensaries and medical schools in the world "In the creative use of drugs remarkable advance was made by the Arabs It was they who first established apothecary shop, founded the earliest school of pharmacy and produced the first pharmacopœia"—so says Hitti From the earliest historical record, it is found that Islam's second Khalif Hazrat 'Umar sent a medical mission with the army bound for Persia The third Ommayid Khalif Walid ibn 'Abdul Malek established a dispensary staffed with best doctors and surgeons. Khalif Al-Rashid also established many hospitals and put medical science and profession on a most scientific basis. The Muslim Khalifs, Sultans and other rulers and Governors also established many hospitals and dispensaries throughout the Muslim world. Even separate rooms for females and medical schools were attached to the hospitals. For women patients female doctors were appointed.

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SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

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Editorial . . .

PHILOSOPHIC OUTLOOK OF ISLAM—II

NOTHING would better express the Islamic philosophical outlook than the following passage of William James taken from *A Pluralistic Universe*

"The absolute is said to perform its feats by taking up its other into itself But that is exactly what is done when every individual morsel of the sensational stream takes up the adjacent morsels by coalescing with them This is just what we mean by the stream's sensible continuity No element there cuts itself off from any other element, as *concepts cut off from concepts No part there is so small as not to be a conflux No part* there is that is not really next its neighbours, which means that there is literally nothing between; which means again that no part goes exactly so far and no further, that no part absolutely excludes another but that they compenetrate and are cohesive, that if you tear out one, its roots bring more with them, that whatever is real is telescoped and diffused into other reals, in short, every minutest thing is already its Hegelian own other"

For the same reason, the Islamic philosophic outlook is opposed to Platonic idealism. The ideas, according to Plato, exist in a world of their own. This second world of Plato is exclusive of the phenomenal world. Platonism offers no basis with which the Ideal world may be connected with the world of everyday life, the world of sense-perception. As Islam is a this-worldly religion, which believes in the reality of phenomenal life, it cannot recognise a realm of super-sensible ideas from which it is impossible to pass the world of matter. If ideas alone are real, that is, abstract principles, then there is no meaning in trying to regulate the life of this world, which rests on the particulars of sense-experience. But religion is not the contemplation of the Absolute, it is the ordering and arranging of the life here and now. It must and does concern itself with the local, the temporal, and the particular. In other words, it recognises the interdependence of the ideal and the phenomenal world or their subsumption in a more inclusive unity.

Again, Islam, from the beginning, was stamped with a deep social sense. It is not an individualistic religion, because it seeks to shape and regulate society. But Platonic idealism is anti-social, "It may seem paradoxical," says Ralph Barton Perry, "to charge idealism with being "excessively individualistic. And yet this has been the case with the

absolutist philosophies from the beginning, for they emphasise the relation between the individual life and the universal life and so tend to slight society. Both Plato and Spinoza, in so far as they have affected the fundamental motives of life, have tended to withdraw men from social relations and unite them directly, through speculation and contemplation, with God."—*Present Philosophical Tendencies*, p. 188. But in Islam God cannot be realised through contemplation but by *Jehad*, that is, by efforts for social improvement

There is a more fundamental reason why Islam gravitates towards Aristotelian philosophy as opposed to Platonic Idealism. Since it seeks to regulate social relations, it cannot overlook the individual, the determinate and the concrete, in which the universal manifests itself Hence its interest in law is opposed to theology, because law is not the statement of abstract principles or theological doctrines, but their application to historical particulars. A purely ethical religion may teach the virtues of mercy and justice and human fellowship. But these great principles are useless unless they exist in a determinate form and are embodied in concrete institutions. It is true that when an idea or a principle is given determination, it is apt to become formalised and deadened. This is what happened to the Islamic law after the third or fourth century of Hejira, the reason being that the universal is never fully exhausted in its temporal or determinate expression. But this is a danger which has to be accepted, if universal principles are to be realised in actual practice and are not to become empty abstractions. The reality of the individual in Islam and his primary importance in any social scheme, Islam's adherence to and insistence on democracy, its opposition to political absolutism and totalitarian autocracy, the Islamic concept of God as an individual standing in personal relationship with His creatures—all these spring from its basic anti-Platonic world-view.

This is not to say that Islam accepts the kind of Realism which views Reality as something finally determined. If this were so, man would have been an alien in an unresponsive universe. But the universe is responsive to the higher aspirations of man nor is Reality totally given and fixed so as to remain beyond modification by human effort. While most things may be given and fixed, some might be created or added to. All ethics and morality rest on the basic assumption that life is not completely determined beforehand and that to some extent Reality is plastic. According to Islam, man is the vicegerent of God on earth. If God has any causal efficacy, man too must share it. The idea that there is a Reality standing over against man and alien to him cuts at the basis of religious life and effort. Man is an essential part of Reality and a very potent part too. Determined by physico-chemical processes, he yet determines them in part. Even if he were a piece of dead matter, he would react on the rest of the material universe, because of the universal interaction of things. But there is that in him which defies all theories of mechanical determination. True, he cannot mould Reality absolutely. To a certain extent he is subject to necessity and must obey laws, in the determination of which he has had no say. But this submission is not final. To quote Bergson, "From the fact that an orator falls in, at first, with the passions of his audience in order to make himself master of them, it will not be concluded that to *follow* is the same as to *lead*. Now, living matter seems to have no other means of turning circumstances to good account than by adapting itself to them passively at the outset. Where it has to direct a movement, it begins by adopting it. Life proceeds by insinuation. The intermediate degrees between a pigment-spot and an eye are nothing to the point. However numerous the degrees, there will still be the same interval between the pigment-spot and the eye as between a photograph and a photographic apparatus. Certainly the photograph has been gradually turned into a photographic apparatus; but could light alone, a physical force, ever have provoked this change, and converted an impression left by it into a machine capable of using it?"—*Creative Evolution*, p. 80.

SUFI BROTHERHOODS

De Lacy O'Leary

This is an interesting article by Prof O'Leary who traces Sufism to the impact of Persian ideas But in our opinion, the Zoroastrian religion of Persia was world-accepting like Islam Sufism can more legitimately be traced to Egyptian Christianity and Buddhistic practices in Central Asia But whatever its source, Sufism does not represent the real spirit of Islam As this article shows, it produced many social evils The only thing of worth in Sufism was its universalism and its stand against narrow legalism, although here too a danger was involved of releasing the Muslims from necessary social and legal restrictions and making them individualistic On the whole, Sufism introduced highly individualistic attitudes in Islam which was a social religion

THE downfall of the Umayyad dynasty and the accession to power of the 'Abbasids as the result of a revolution which commenced in Persia, led to many of the most important offices of the administration passing into Persian hands, and also to a repercussion in the religious thought of Islam which then began to show the influence of Persian ideas. Amongst these was the doctrine of redemption, of a sacrifice which vicariously paid the penalty of sin This was most completely developed amongst the Shi'ites, who regarded 'Ali and his two sons as having ransomed believers by their sufferings and death. Such a teaching does not appear in the doctrines of traditional orthodox theology, but now occurs in a modified form in the view of God, not simply as the Supreme Ruler and Creator, but also as the Friend of mankind, the Truth *(al-Haqq)* to be sought and the Beloved *(al-Habib)* to be desired. This introduced the mystic or Sufi element, on which Persian influence laid great stress. In this the aim of devout worship was not merely to avoid punishment, nor even to earn graces (*fawa'id*) but to approach God and to seek union with Him

The name *Sufi* has been applied to Islamic mystics This name includes several diversities of meaning, but it is satisfactory in so far that it distinguishes those who seek God as the One to be desired, and thus implies something more than the purely legalistic attitude which is solely concerned with escaping God's wrath by following the legal ordinances of religion.

Various derivations have been proposed for the name Sufi, including one which takes it as representing *filasuf* or "philosophers," but Noldeke seems to have proved conclusively that it is derived from *suf* "wool," so that that it implies "wool clad," because

those devotees eschewed luxury in raiment as well as in food and preferred the home-spun garments of the peasant to any more costly clothing. It is a tradition that the Apostle said: "See that ye wear woollen raiment, that ye may feel the sweetness of faith" (Hujwiri, p 45), and it is related that the Companions and Early Followers (*taba'*) usually wore wool (Hujwiri, pp 45-46). In Hujwiri's time (early fifth century A.H.) many Sufis had left off wearing wool, because woollen garments had been adopted by a heretical sect (Hujwiri, p. 51), they preferred blue or dark garments, because blue commonly was the colour of the dress of mourners and is prescribed as appropriate for travellers. The proper garb of the Sufi was the *muraqq'a* or patched frock, "the garb of piety" (Hujwiri, p 54) Some Sufis held that the patch sewn to cover a tear in this frock should not be sewn neatly and accurately but at random, whilst others held that the stitches should be neat and regular.

The name of Sūfi was first applied to Jabir ibn Haiyan, the Kufi mystic and alchemist, or to Hashim who also was a Kufi mystic, both, it will be noted, connected with the city of Kufa, it was also used by 'Amr ibn Baha al-Jahiz (d. 276/889) in his *Hayawan* (II. 103). Later came the technical use of the term *faqir* "poor man" (Arabic) and *darwish* (Persian "mendicant"), both specially for those who adopted a life of religious poverty, but Sufi refers more particularly to those who professed certain theories about mystical religion. The name *darwish* or *dervish* (Turkish) has been supposed to be derived from the Persian *dar* "door" implying one who begs from door to door, but the earlier form of the word is *daryush*, and that is not consistent with such a derivation. *Daryush* was first applied to a certain Khalid who in 203/818 tried to organise the citizens of Baghdad as a police force to put down the brigandage and anarchy then prevailing in the city, and probably spread afterwards to the servants of religion.

The Sufis generally claimed that *al-Hasan ibn abi l-Hasan* of Basra (d. 110/728) was a precursor of their teaching, though he was not actually a Sufi. His father had been taken prisoner at Maisan during the conquest of Persia, and after emancipation had become the client of Zayd ibn Thabit. He was brought up in childhood in the Wadi l-Qurra' north-east of Medina, but later removed to Basra. When the first Umayyad khalif Mu'awiya announced his intention of nominating his son Yazid as heir to the throne and asked the approval of the 'Ulema, most assented from timidity, though feeling repugnance towards hereditary succession, and al-Hasan alone had the courage to express disapproval. He was an ascete of the older type, abstaining from luxuries which he regarded as "innovations," and protested against the growing secularisation of Mecca and Medina. As yet no Muslim had formulated any ascetic theories but, as he practised a life of severe self-denial and abstinence in accordance with the traditional life of the

desert Arabs, the Sufis looked back to him as one who had given a model of simplicity of life and self-denial which should be followed by the devout. In theology he inclined towards the doctrine of the freedom of the will as implied in God's commands to avoid evil and do good, which assumes that man has the power of choosing between obedience and disobedience, and in this, like some other teachers connected with Basra, he pepared the way for the Mu'tazilites. Wasil ibn 'Ata, who is often claimed as the first of the Mu'tazilites, was his pupil, and so was 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd who is Wasil's rival in the claim to be the founder of Mu'tazilism, so that both traditions trace the beginning of that sect to al-Hasan al-Basri's disciples Later writers commonly treat Qadirites and Mu'tazilites as heretics in the sense of their being rationalists, or at least modernists, but it certainly is important to note their close connection with the Sufi mystic movement which was a development of personal religion in Islam, a spiritual movement opposed to the strict legalism of the conservative element in the community. *Qadr* or "power" is used to denote man's freedom of control over his own actions, and Qadirite denotes one who believes that such freedom does not deny God's almighty power. But the Qadirites existed as a separate sect only in early times, later they were absorbed in the Mu'tazilites.

With the earlier Sufis "conversion" involved renunciation of the world and enlistment in God's service. Such renunciation of the world was made by giving away all one's property to the poor, abandoning every worldly honour and living a life of voluntary poverty and complete humility. The convert "hates nothing so much as the world," owns nothing save a woollen garment such as is worn by the poorer classes, and that torn and patched, so that the patched garment (*muraqqa'a*) became the outward symbol of the devotee. Hujwiri points out that the *muhajirin*, the first followers of Islam, were all poor men (Hujwiri, p. 19); God has exalted poverty (ib. p. 19) so that "poverty is wealth with God" (ib p 22), wealth, that is to say, possessions of any sort, hold men back from the path of quietism (*rida*), and poverty has a high rank in the way of truth (ib pp. 19-20). But the essence of religious poverty is free choice, it must be submission to voluntary poverty for God's sake (ib. p. 20), just as fasting has merit only if there is the intention of enduring hunger in God's service, not if it is forced on one by external circumstances (ib. p. 4).

Amongst later Sufis there was a diversity of opinion, some preferring poverty as freedom from all earthly cares and interests (ib. pp. 20-23), which was the opinion of most (ib. pp. 21-22), whilst others are said to have preferred wealth, that is to say, they were ready to possess goods or go without, just as God willed. The desire to abandon property itself attaches more importance to possession than it merits, the better course is to regard it as negligible, neither to seek it nor to take pains to abandon it.

How is the Sufi to live if he has no possessions? Many begged, but some of the leading Sufis disapproved of this and held that a man seeking after God should not live at the charge of others. Beggars were of three sorts those who asked for alms, those who sought alms without actually asking, and those who took only what was offered them without asking. But all three were censured by the stricter Sufis. Hujwiri and Qushayri both speak of Sufism as degenerate in their days, the chief sign of decadence being that many who claimed to be "followers of the path" went about begging and leading idle lives.

Closely allied with this doctrine of poverty was the practice of *tawakkul* or total dependence on God Those who professed that principle gave up any trade or profession which they had followed before conversion, and even abstained from asking for alms They cast themselves entirely on the mercy of God and relied on His providing their daily bread. But this was strongly opposed by many of the leading Sufi teachers and denounced as heretical by non-Sufi theologians, on the ground that the Apostle and his Companions, as well as the great Sufi saints of the earlier period, followed their accustomed trades and lived on their scanty earnings.

When religious orders were formed and dervishes lived together in community, it was held that whatever they had or received must be held in common and shared between them all.

Towards the end of the fourth century A.H. attempts were made to treat the doctrines of Sufism on scientific lines similar to scholastic theology, but it cannot be said that those efforts were entirely successful. The spiritual experiences of a mystic's life are hardly capable of being reduced to a classified system Efforts to form such systems were made by Hujwiri and Qushayri, probably because scientific classifications in other subjects were the fashion at the time, and so they were prompted to apply the scientific method to Sufism. Hujwiri gives the names of various "sects" which differed in Sufi theory, but it is improbable that any such sects existed otherwise than in his speculations; there were different opinions about various points of Sufi teaching, but those who differed in their opinions hardly deserve to be classed as "sects."

In general principle all Sufis sought release from the world, from its interests and indulgences, as a means of approaching nearer to God. All earthly possessions, wealth, honours, and even kinship and friendship, hindered access to God, so all must be discarded. God was no longer regarded as the transcendent ruler, but as the personal friend Who invited the love and service of men, and happiness could only be found in contact with Him. The supreme aim of man was union with God. Everything that hindered this was evil and to be rejected. Poverty, chastity, obedience to God's commands

and single-minded seeking for the "Way," the path leading to God must guide and dominate the Sufi's life, he, as a saint, no longer taking any part or interest in mundane affairs. But how this separation from the world and association with God takes place is variously described by different Sufis. Al-Junayd (d. 297/909) is said to have been the first to explain it as being the complete absorption of the soul with God, but he is said to have taught this only behind closed doors, though later Sufis often asserted it more openly, until the Buddhist position was reached which represents the soul as a drop of water, which is absorbed and loses its identity in the sea of Deity. Thus later Sufism approaches pantheism or pampsychism.

Hujwiri (chap. xiv) deals with the doctrines held by different schools of Sufis which he describes as "sects." Nicholson says: "The existence of these schools and doctrines, though lacking further corroboration, does not seem to me incredible, on the contrary it accords with what happened in the case of the Mu'tazilites and other Muhammadan schismatics. Certain doctrines were produced and elaborated by well-known shayks, who published them in the form of tracts or were content to lecture on them until, by a familiar process, the new doctrine became the pre-eminent feature of a particular school, when schools might then accept or reject it. In some instances sharp controversy arose, and the novel teaching gained so little approval that it was confined to the school of its author or was embraced only by a small minority of the Sufi brotherhood. More frequently it would, in the course of time, be drawn into the common stock and reduced to its proper level" (Nicholson, translation of Hujwiri's *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. xiv).

A person entering on the Sufi life must place himself under the guidance of a Sufi teacher who instructs him in doctrines which are claimed to be transmitted from the first Sufis. He may change his teacher if he is dissatisfied with him, and then place himself under another recognised teacher, but must follow an established tradition. It is obvious that Sufism has been developed and has passed through many changes in the hands of various teachers, but in theory all that is taught is attributed to certain early saints.

According to Hujwiri, a person entering a dervish community has to spend three years in a noviciate, the first year devoted to the service of the people, the second to the service of God, and the third in watching over his own heart (Hujwiri, p. 54). At the end of this preparatory period he is formally invested with the *khirqat* or religious habit, a mantle (*'aba*) in the form of a patched cloak (*muraqqa'at*) which is the garb of the saints of God (Hujwiri, p. 48).

These dervish orders have taken an important place in spreading Islam in Africa and in introducing Muslim observances amongst those who accepted the teaching of

Islam. In Somalia the orders known as Salihiyya and Ahmadiyya have founded settlements in the 'black land' along the rivers, land avoided by the nomadic pastoral Somali tribes because infested by the tse-tse fly, but admirable for agriculture. In these settlements "the land is owned by the whole community as a kind of collective farm and each of the *ikhwan* is assigned his specific duties of work on the land and care of livestock. The shaikh of the *jama'a* has full powers conferred on him by the regional *khalifa* and allots the work. Sometimes he allots a specific portion of the land to a particular 'brother' to cultivate, but more generally the fields are divided into six groups in each of which each member has to work one day a week. These settlements are centres of propaganda and teaching and have attracted somalized Bantu and disposed racial elements who are prepared to settle to agriculture." [J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, OUP, 1952, p. 239.]

[References to Hujwiri are to the English translation of his *Kashf al-Mahjub* by Nicholson, 1911.]

SOME ASPECTS OF ISLAMIC NATIONALISM

Anwar G. Chejne

This is a discussion of the various aspects of what the writer calls Islamic Nationalism But in our opinion, Islam and nationalism in any form are two incompatible modes of thought and life That is why we look upon Turkish nationalism with its revival of ancient Turkish traditions, pan-Arabism with its insistence on linguistic unity and Iranian nationalism with its glorification of pre-Islamic past as reactionary movements Nationalistics have always existed and will continue to exist but nationalism is a modern reactionary movement which has destroyed all respect for ethical and moral values and created divisions among humanity No movement or mode of thought built on geographical, racial and linguistic foundations can make people happy and prosperous It contains the germs of self-destruction Man is a spiritual and intellectual being Therefore, the only real bond of unity between men is a common mode of thought and common spiritual values

FROM the time of its appearance in the seventh century, Islam has been in close touch with the Western world. On the surface, the relationship between Islamic and Western civilisations has been characterised by a neutralising tendency, and has been marked by intermittent wars, ill will, mutual distrust, and chronic antagonisms Consequently, one might expect this relationship to have been totally unfruitful in the exchange of ideas, and the understanding of respective values and heritage This impression is enhanced by religious intolerance and prejudice. Indeed the interchange of ideas and the cultural osmosis that has been unnoticeably going on between the two civilisations has always been overshadowed by political rivalries and a seemingly uncompromising attitude toward each other.

To be sure, each culture has a set of values of its own conforming to its traditions and particular environment. This does not mean that those values are not interchangeable. In fact, Islamic and Western civilisations have prospered on the cultural nourishment each has supplied the other. While still in its vigorous youth, Islam demonstrated its fecundity and receptivity to ideas. It has remained throughout its history the strongest link between the Oriental and Western worlds. At a time when the West was partially eclipsed by the great *Volkerwanderung* and its immediate results, Islam was energised by a new sense of learning. This role of cultural supremacy soon changed

hands, and Islam experienced its "Dark Ages." The West still maintains a cultural supremacy, while the Islamic peoples are just now recovering from a long period of cultural apathy and intellectual stagnation.

Seeking balance and equilibrium within Islamic society, Muslims have responded to the challenge of Western colonialism with that European import called nationalism. What is more, Western colonialism aimed at an unholy exploitation, and was characterised by a display of arrogance and an air of superiority toward the subject people, and at times, by attempts at forcing "assimilation" on them. It lacked a subtle approach and availed itself of means and methods that soon created a negative reaction. Selfish drives, disregard for human beings proud of their long standing tradition, contributed to a condition of intransigence on the part of a subject people who were inclined to refuse to adopt the scientific advances already available to the West This spirit has characterised Islamic nationalism regardless of its shade or brand. Under the influence of al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh [see writer's article, "Pan-Islamism and the Caliphal Controversy," *The Islamic Literature*, December 1955, pp. 5 ff], Muslims awoke to the realisation of their moral and social values believed to be as good and even more endurable than those the West can offer. This belief is expressed by the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood as follows:

> "....Here is also the Muslim world which has over five million inhabitants [sic] It occupies the most fertile and important region in Asia and Africa. It constitutes an ideological unit without parallel among the political spheres existing at the present time. It also forms an important political force able enough to hold an important role in the tough political struggle between East and West." [*Al ahzab as-siyasiyah fi suriyah*, Damascus 1954, pp. 14-15]

To begin with, nationlism in its Western manifestation has been confined to the intelligentsia who have been in direct contact with Western thought. It was they who transplanted it to Muslim soil and dressed it with all of the ingredients of Islamic motifs that have appealed to the Muslim mind. From the place of its origin, nationalism has been understood to have been essentially secular in character, in its meaning as "devotion to one's country," or a policy of national independence However, Muslims adopted it and fitted it into a spiritual setting by means of which Islamic identity is maintained. Be this as it may, the consequences of Islamic nationalism cannot be assessed at the present time. Only the future will reveal whether it will undermine the religious feeling, or will keep, as it has been intended to be, a sound balance between church and state. [Cf. H A. R. Gibb, ***Modern Trends in Islam***, Chicago 1950, p. 111.]

It must be pointed out that Islamic nationalism exhibits diverse trends Generally speaking, it has aimed not only at emancipation and independence of Islamic countries from foreign rule, but at a revival of the Islamic religion to its true form, appreciation of the values of Islamic society in retrospect, and abandonment of what have seemed to be false standards and imported Western concepts. But even here nationalist sentiments are far from uniform owing to peculiar allegiance and motivations They are sometimes characterised by all the paraphernalia of xenophobia; others resort to puritanism and a strict adherence to the religious law, with a narrow frame of mind. Some preach progressive and outright westernisation Others hold a moderate view and believe that Islam, endowed as it is by certain qualities and assets, moral and social values, strength and vitality, is able to meet the Western challenge and adopt the best of what the West has to offer without the danger of being submerged and losing its identity.

This unshakable faith in Islam has led, in the present-day struggle between Communism and Western Democracy, to the belief that Islam is not only capable of achieving social justice, but has also all the necessary ingredients to devise a socio-ideological system of its own that would fit into the mode of thinking and the way of life of all Muslims This system will not only rejuvenate Islamic society but it will also render a great contribution to mankind if only its home will serve as a buffer zone between two irreconciliable ideologies.

This belief in the capability of Islam as an ideology is shared by the majority of Muslims. Nevertheless, there remains a variety of shades which relegate the role of Islam to a minor place One such obvious group is pan-Arabism

Pan-Arabism advocates the merging of all Arabic-speaking countries into a single state. Therefore its basis is linguistic and not religious as in the case of Pan-Islam. Throughout its existence of about one century, pan-Arabism has been making slow but sure progress. It had its inception in nationalism that is still incensing the rank and file of its adherents Despite many trials and errors, it has become a philosophy of life and the embodiment of hopes and aspirations for a large number of Arabic-speaking people in Asia and Africa Although concerted action is lacking among the Arab countries in regard to the movement, pan-Arabism has had its magnetic appeal. It is creating an awareness of a distinctive nationhood inspired by common interests and aspirations of a community which has been subjected to foreign rule for centuries. Arab lands have changed hands in the past, but have retained some essential qualities and a common denominator which bind them together. At its best, pan-Arabism is believed to be the most eloquent answer to the internal and external problems of the Arab world First

and foremost, it aims at Arab unity, which is considered to be the one source of strength capable of repelling imperialism, and hence of attaining full sovereignty and complete independence and—not the least—of achieving all-round reforms related to government, finance, economics, land, education and so forth

Pan-Arabism draws its inspiration from the past, and on the basis of what that past has left for the present generation. The men of the past and their age are to be remembered, not with idle praise and glorification, but with deeds and action The past, with its trials and errors, with its glories and triumph, is regarded as the mirror for the present and future [1]

Early Development

The early development of the Arab movement and its subsequent activities up to the period immediately following World War I are contained in George Antonius's *The Arab Awakening*,[2] which has not been surpassed No other work presents the Arab case and Arab yearning more eloquently than *The Arab Awakening* Subsequently, other works have appeared on Arab nationalism and do not concern us here [3] It suffices here to say that the Arab movement began about one hundred years ago, first as the result of literary output during the middle of the nineteenth century,[4] and second, by the establishment of secret organisations and societies throughout the breadth and width of the Arab countries [5] Early Arab consciousness of their own identity was rather the result of Turkish maladministration than a spontaneous move toward separatism. Thus its beginning was torn between Arab loyalty to the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and awareness of Arab identity as a socio-political personality, on the other. It must be remembered that the Ottoman Empire was considered the heir to the Islamic state, and in its quality as such, the Arabs had a difficult choice to make, either to break away from deeply rooted traditions, or to follow them within the spirit of Islam Attempts at establishing a caliphate, and preferably an Arab caliphate, were made and met with

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1 Cf N Ziadeh, *al-'Urubah fi mayazin al-qawmiyah* (*Mayazin*), Bayrut 1950 , N Faris, *al-'Arab 'ahya'* (*Arab*), Bayrut 1947 , C Zurayk, *al-Wa'y al-qawmi* (*Wa'y*), Bayrut 1938

2 First published in 1938 Reference to the Fourth Impression is made here (New York 1946)

3. A special study on the Arab movement has not appeared yet For an understanding of Arab anxiety and problems are the works of M Khadduri, *Independent Iraq*, Oxford University Press, 1951, Ch. Issawi, *Egypt An Economic and Social Study*, London 1947 , A. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon*, Oxford University Press, 1946.

4 Antonius, op cit., pp. 95 ff

5 Ibid , Ch. VI

complete failure. As good Muslims, however, the Arabs have continued to espouse the ideas of Arab unity and Islamic unity at one and the same time

The confusion of pan-Islamism and pan-Arabism can only be explained in that there was an Islamic or Arab state, and an Islamic or Arab culture, which both meant the same thing, and which were therefore indistinguishable [1] Furthermore, the Arabs were empire-builders and contributed to their empire the religion of Islam and the Arabic language which was the medium of its official, religious, and intellectual expressions [2] They constituted an aristocracy in the Islamic state, but they were hardly the nationals, strictly speaking, of an Arab state as it is currently understood by the promoters of Arab unity. Past efforts aimed at reviving Arab role with the assumption of an Arab caliphate have proved to be unfruitful because of many considerations—mainly nationalism, ethnic differences, linguistic barriers, therefore, attempts have been made to define the movement as a separate and self-sufficing one. Antonius[3] believes that two worlds, the Muslim world and the Arab world, have always existed, "of which the first contained the second." The distinction is made by virtue of the process of Arabisation the depth of which achieved "the enthronement of Arabic as the national language, the introduction of Arab manners and ways of thought, and the implantation of an appreciable Arab stock in the racial soil" Then he goes on to define the Arab world as made up of those countries in which a great majority of the population has remained impressed by those cultural and social influences His definition is as follows:

> "It does not include Spain or the Mediterranean Islands in which, after the disappearance of Arab domination, other forces arose to efface or submerge the results of Arabization. It does not include Persia or Turkey or Afghanistan, or any of the countries beyond the Indus or the Oxus, where Arabic never became the national language What it does include is that continuous chain of countries stretching from the Atlantic seaboard in the West, along the Southern shores of the Mediterranean, to the Persian border in the East, the North African coast from Morocco to Egypt, Syria and Iraq, and the Peninsula of Arabia."

This is the Arab world not only in a cultural and social sense, but in a *political* sense as well, as it is understood by the pan-Arabists. This political aspect is far from being a reality and constitutes the essential and the ultimate goal of pan-Arabism.

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1. Even Western scholarship hardly makes any distinction between "Islamic" and "Arab."

2 On this point, see P K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 3rd Ed., London 1946, p 240

3. Op. cit., pp. 17-18 This is the general criterion of Arab writers

A further distinction between pan-Islamism and pan-Arabism is made in that the former is a religious movement lacking all the factors of political unity, while the latter is strictly a political movement having the various factors that go to form a nation. Those who maintain this view reduce the area of conflict by saying that there is no enmity between the two; in fact, Arab unity could be a corollary to Islamic unity.[1] Others maintain that both are compatible and that pan-Arabism should be animated by the spirit of Islam [2]

The Bases of Pan-Arabism

In addition to these differentiations are the factors which characterise pan-Arabism. It would seem that the promoters of the idea of pan-Arabism had agreed among themselves on a minimum and essential factors that go to form a nation There is abundant literature on the subject,[3] and reference need only be made to some of the works since their contents are, in most cases, identical.

The Arab nationalist movement is known as *al-qawmiyah al-'arabiyah* aiming at Arab unity (*al-wahdah al-'arabiyah*) of all the Arabic-speaking peoples The word *qawmiyah* is a new technical term in the Arabic language and means nationality and nationalism in a legal and social sense as it was understood among the French, and particularly the Germans Al-Husri[4] understands it as having the meaning of both German words · *Nationalitat* and *Volkstum*. It also embodies all the elements of patriotism (*wataniyah*). In this respect, he defines *wataniyah* and *qawmiyah* as follows ·

> " Patriotism is the love for the homeland and the feeling of internal attachment to it, whereas *qawmiyah* is the love for the community (*'ummah*) and the feeling of internal attachment to it .. The homeland is fundamentally a piece of land, whereas the community is essentially a grouping of people. The love for the homeland comprises by its nature the love of the compatriots who belong to that homeland in the same way the love for the

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1. Cf S. al-Husri, *'Ara' wa-'ahadith fi-l-wataniyah wa-l-qawmiyah* (*Wataniyah*), Cairo 1944, pp. 91-98.

2. See S. A. Khulusi, "Conflicting Ideologies in the Arab World," *The Islamic Literature* 42, 1954, pp. 43-47. See also, A. R al-Bazzaz, *Islam wa-l-qawmiyah al-'arabiyah*, Baghdad 1952 English trans. by S. G. Haim under "Islam and Arab Nationalism," *Welt des Islam*, III, nos 3-4, 1954, pp 201-18 Cf. also writer's article, "Pan-Islamism and the Caliphal Controversy, *The Islamic Literature*, Dec 1955, pp 5 ff.

3. Cf. N Ziadeh, ' Recent Arabic Literature on Arabism, *The Middle East Journal* (:MEJ), VI, 4, 1952, pp. 469-73

4. *'Ahadith wa 'ara' fi-l-qawmiyah al-'arabiyah* (. *qawmiyah*), Cairo 1951, pp. 23 ff.

community comprises at the same time the love for the land on which that community lives.[1]

This intimate and interchangeable relationship between patriotism and *qawmiyah*, and between the homeland and the community inhabiting it should not be ignored even under the prevailing political circumstances in the Arab world. The fact, al-Husri says,[2] that there are various governments in the Arab world does not mean that there are to be distinguished various communities. A homeland, as is the case with the Arab world, can be divided and ruled separately, but a community, with distinctive characteristics of its own and a definite personality, cannot be divided by artificial political frontiers. Furthermore, the present division of the Arab world into petty states is unnatural, for it was devised by foreign powers.[3] Consequently, "community is one thing and government is another."[4]

In other words, a single Arab community exists, however obscured and burdened by artificial political frontiers existing at the present time It comprises all the Arabic-speaking peoples in Asia and Africa. Its members are Arabs, and in a national sense, ought to be Arabs in the same way an Egyptian of today is an "Egyptian national" whether he likes it or not.[5] What are the factors that make such a community transcend all the existing states and governments? Before attempting to give the answer of Arab writers to this question, it must be stated that Arab thinking on this point and many others have been invariably influenced by Italian, French and German writers on the subject. It would seem that Antun Sa'adah,[6] not a pan-Arabist himself, first introduced the notion of the "personality of a community" into the Near East—and on the basis of certain minimum factors that distinguish one community from another[7] While Sa'adah attempted to show the "Syrianism" of the people inhabiting the Fertile Crescent, the pan-Arabists have been trying to show the "Arabism" of all the Arabic-speaking peoples. The criteria of the pan-Arabists in this respect may be illustrated by

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1 Al-Husri, *Wataniyah*, op cit., p. 7

2. Al-Husri, *Qawmiyah*, op. cit., p. 17

3 Ibid, p 31

4 Ibid, p. 21.

5 Ibid, p. 45.

6 Cf writer's article "The Syrian National Socialist Party," to be published in *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York.

7 See A Sa'adah, *Nushu' al-'umam*, Damascus 1951, pp 159 ff. Cf. also his *Al-Muhadarat al-'ashar*, Bayrut 1948.

al-Husri's definition of " community ":

> "Community is a social entity distinguished by existence and consciousness—the existence of its language and the consciousness of its history. A community which forgets its history, and nevertheless, preserves its language, is like a living thing which had lost consciousness and feeling, but remained alive. It will regain its consciousness when it remembers and learns its history. But if a community loses its language and adopts the language of another community, it will be incorporated to that community, and it will lose its particular existence and will pass away."[1]

As a rule, writers on pan-Arabism grant that the majority of people are not aware of the existence of such an Arab community, least of all of its scope and magnitude. However, they consider it as a living entity, if only by virtue of the Arabic language In consequence, a full realisation of the existence of the Arab community should be brought to the rank and file of the Arabs. To achieve this end, history is believed to be the next important ingredient, the dissemination of which in a nationalist spirit will culminate in the establishment of an Arab nation [2] Of course, Islamic history is the guiding criterion for the unity of the Arab world However, the unity of history is expressed with certain reservation by al-Husri as follows

> "When we say the 'unity of history' we must not understand it as meaning the absolute unity throughout history, but we must understand it as meaning the relative and predominant unity, which is revealed in the most part of history, giving rise to the fundamental culture of the community such as language and stamping it with the original and particular mark . . . Otherwise, we will not be able to find a single community, which had complete unity throughout history."[3]

Along with this restriction, al-Husri cautions that each nation ought to forget part of its history, and suggests that one of the primary duties incumbent upon the leaders of the Arab movement is to " write our history in a new manner, with a western approach and with a nationalist outlook "[4]

While the majority of writers consider the Islamic period as having a continuous unity of history, others go beyond the Islamic period, to the times of the Akkadians up

1. Al-Husri, *Qawmiyah*, op. cit , p. 49
2. Al-Husri, *Wataniyah*, op. cit , pp. 28 ff.
3 Ibid., p 43.
4. Ibid., pp. 55-56. In fact, there exist a good number of historical works written on national grounds.

to the present, in order to show the unity of history. Farrukh[1] and Sharara[2] are among this group Farrukh[3] states that the unity of history is attested by ancient and medieval empires which ruled the region as a unit, not to mention the Islamic period and more recently, World War II during which the area comprising the Arab world was treated as a single unit

Sharara is more explicit in this respect. His *Ruh al-'Urubah* mainly deals with the qualities which distinguish an Arab from a non-Arab, and this study takes him to the times of the Akkadians The salient points of his book are as follows

Sharara attempts to bring out the hidden qualities of the Arab, his manner of life and his qualities of character His obvious aim is to show that Arabism has its *raison d'etre*, a " soul " of its own which distinguishes it from any other movement. That soul took a distinctive form under the influence of gifted men throughout history Conscious of his Islamic background, Sharara starts with Muhammad whom he considers as a gifted person and the product of a long cultural tradition going back to the earliest times. His historical interpretation is definitely inspired by that of Antun Sa'adah whom he often quotes.[4] Sharara is inclined to believe, as many outstanding Western scholars do, that Arabia is the Cradle of the Semites, and, therefore, all those ancient Semitic people were Arabs by provenience, customs, and culture Like Zurayk who believes in the " cooperative nature of Arab culture and the remarkable genius of the Arabic language,"[5] Sharara considers Arabic as the embodiment of all subtle and spiritual pursuits of Arab culture (Semitic), which has remained unshaken even when the area was ruled by Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Ottomans[6] Nonetheless, the way of life of the Arab has been also preserved, so are his individualism, energy, sincerity, and that unique quality of manliness (*muru'ah*), the sum total of them all[7] Arab mentality is prone to mysticism and poetry, by means of which the Arab expressed all his spiritual and beatific tendencies, and all form of art He is quick in detecting individual virtues and good qualities. Along with these qualities, the Arab dislikes organised authority, cooperative works, and man-made law, all of which make him short-sighted in the realm of politics.[8] This

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1 *Nahw at-ta'awun al-'arabi* (*Ta'awun*), Bayrut 1946

2 *Ruh al-'urubah* (*Ruh*), Sidon 1947 (?)

3 Op cit, pp 16 19, *Ta'awun* Cf also Shawkat, *Hadihi ahdafuna man 'amana biha fahwa minna*, Baghdad 1939

4. Cf above, p 15

5 C Zurayk, "The Essence of Arab Civilization," MEJ, 1949, p 137

6 Ibid , pp 61 ff

7 Ibid , p 107

8 Ibid , pp 108 ff

tendency has been deeply rooted in him. It is explained by his deep democratic spirit which allows a profound respect only to a Supreme Being to whom he will submit with all obedience. In short, his greatest contribution to mankind lies in the realm of the spirit and religion.

This balance sheet leads to some conclusions and recommendations · (*a*) the stagnation of Arab mentality should be effaced by the realisation of a "national personality", (*b*) the past must be studied with a view to understanding one's defects and qualities; and (*c*) Arab ability for success must be made activated, and the meaning of community, and government hitherto understood as being parochial, should be comprehended in their actual connotations [1]

It should be pointed out here that Sharara's work and the bulk of literature on Arabism are essentially meant to instruct and enlighten the rank and file of the Arabs. Passionate appeals are often made The cause of Arabism is eloquently presented by the majority of writers on the subject. History and language are not, by any means, the only factors of unity, although they are considered the "essential factors" Sentiments, customs, past memories, the outlook for the present, hopes for the future, geography, culture, and even race and religion are considered as factors of unity [2] Religion[3] and race are popular among a very limited group, and are considered as obsolete factors of unity, although at one time or another in history they have been successfully used as incentives for unity. For example, al-Husri[4] considers racism as resting on false foundations and compares people to rivers made up of tributaries originating from different parts. To Farrukh,[5] however, the factor "race" could be useful, but only within the framework of history and language. Still more, granting that the race factor has some validity, Farrukh believes in the Semitic origin of the Arabs which is the predominant stock to the extent that the non-Semitic people had been Arabised adopting the cultural traits of the Arabs. On these grounds, he believes that the Arab community is the purest in the world

Whatever are the virtues or the shortcomings of the several factors of unity, they do indeed refer to a social group rather than to a nation as it is understood today. Could the Arab community, defined as having all the factors of unity, be considered a

1. Pp. 233 ff
2. Cf Farrukh, *Ta'awun*, op cit, pp 10-30, also, al-Husri, *Wataniyah*, pp 15 16
3. Cf above, p. 14
4. Al-Husri, *Wataniyah*, pp. 21 ff Cf also Ziadeh, *Mayazin*, op cit
5. *Ta'awun*, op cit., pp. 11-12

nation in a strict sense? Here the problem is purely academic. The idea of an Arab nation' presents more difficulties than the idea of an Arab community. The main difficulty is that the concept of an Arab nation is still theoretical, and a long way from implementation. Therefore, the difference between an Arab as a member of an Arab community and an Arab national as a citizen of an Arab nation has not been bridged as yet. The Arab community has been in existence for centuries, whereas an Arab nation as conceived by the pan-Arabists has never existed except as a part of an Islamic state, or as a part of a kingdom that was generally not bound to that Islamic state. However, writers on pan-Arabism attempt to bridge the difference between community and nation by maintaining that " . a nation is a society whose individual members have a common philosophy of life and similar social habits, agree in their methods of expression, and have identical hopes and aspirations."[1] In other words, all the various factors that distinguish the Arab community from any other community are applicable to the Arab nation While this conception may be justified in a *social* sense it cannot be justified in a political sense. To this point, the pan-Arabists say that the area comprising the Arab world has been almost throughout history governed as a political unit whether it has been governed by non-Arabs or Arabs. Therefore, the area in question should be placed under a single government.

[*To be continued.*]

1 See N. Ziadeh's article, in MEJ, op. cit, p 470. Cf. also his *Mayazin*, op cit, C. Zurayk, *Wa'y*, op. cit.

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SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
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IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF DERACIALISATION

Prof.
Ziauddin Ahmad

In this article Prof Ziauddin explains Iqbal's condemnation of Western nationalism and racialism It is true that these two evils have done immense injury to mankind. What we do not agree with is the wholesale condemnation of the West by Iqbal, in so far as his poetry gives this impression If the West had been completely devoid of all good and if Muslim culture had been the paragon of excellence that it is made to look, the West would not have so easily dominated us. The fact is that all civilisations are mixtures of good and evil, and the nature of life is such that every advantage and point of strength become after a time also a disadvantage and a handicap Thus as against Christianity, Islam had this advantage that it was a socio-political order with a definite legal system But in time this turned into a disadvantage and Muslims became too legally minded and thought that by the observance of minor regulations, they can fulfil all their duties towards God and man This made them static and disabled them from working for higher and broader ideals of humanity, because their gaze was fixed on minor matters of law Similarly the West, by brushing aside an outworn theology and religious law, made great strides in the beginning But by releasing man from all moral and religious restrictions, and insisting on too much individual freedom, it developed aggressive nationalism, competitive individualism and an ungodly secularism The results are before us now after two world wars So it is not right to condemn any system wholesale Let us see the good and the evil and then reject whatever is repugnant to the moral sense of man.

IQBAL was a keen student of philosophy and devoted whole-heartedly to the comparative study of the philosophies of East and West, specially under the guidance of some learned German scholars when he was in Europe These exercised a profound and remarkable influence in changing his outlook and widening his horizon. The conception of narrow and aggressive nationalism ; the division of nations on territorial basis ; the discrimination of races and colours ; the artificiality of civilisation ; formalism , conventions ; low standard of morality and character—all these created in him a spirit of Revolt.

He revolted against the dismemberment of mankind into regional and sectional compartments. He believed in the futility and inefficacy of such a racial distinction in which man is set against man, creed against creed, and colour against colour. Dissatisfied and annoyed with the Western society and culture, he advocated the demolition of man-made barriers. He had an intense desire for regenerating humanity and rescuing

them from the thraldom of tyranny, conflict and hatred. He demanded allegiance to something enduring, permanent and noble; and found it in a common interest and universal outlook How true and reasonable he is when he says.

یہی مقصود فطرت ہے، یہی رمز مسلمانی
اخوت کی جہانگیری، محبت کی فراوانی

بتان رنگ و خوں کو توڑ کر ملت میں گم ہو جا
نہ تورانی رہے باقی، نہ ایرانی، نہ افغانی

The same idea of breaking the chains of conventions, established systems, oppressions and persecutions has been well put.

زمانے میں جھوٹا ہے اس کا نگیں
جو اپنی خودی کو پرکھتا نہیں

بتان شعوب و قبائل کو توڑ
رسوم کہن کے سلاسل کو توڑ

In the Poet's conception, Western civilisation and its political outlook are against the very laws of Nature. It is inimical to society. It is a stumbling block in the path of human cooperation and brotherhood It has retarded the progress of human understanding and postponed the dawn of liberty and equality. It is farcical to think that peace can be established by following in the footsteps of the West. It is futile to model our society on that. Their peace is war, freedon is servitude, fraternity is discrimination, justice is tyranny, democracy is dictatorship, self-determination is persecution. Iqbal has beautifully put these in the following lines:

فساد قلب و نظر ہے فرنگ کی تہذیب
کہ روح اس مدنیت کی رہ سکی نہ عفیف

رہی نہ روح میں پاکیزگی تو ہے ناپید
ضمیر پاک و خیال بلند و ذوق لطیف

مجھے تہذیب حاضر نے عطا کی ہے وہ آزادی
کہ ظاہر میں تو آزادی ہے باطن میں گرفتاری

نظر کو خیرہ کرتی ہے چمک تہذیب حاضر کی
یہ صناعی مگر جھوٹے نگوں کی ریزہ کاری ہے

حیات تازہ اپنے ساتھ لائی لذتیں کیا کیا !
رقابت، خود فروشی، نا شکیبائی، ہوسناکی

To Iqbal the passion for reforming mankind and bringing a Renaissance in the world of ideas and actions was in the highest degree. In his poetry he expresses a passionate devotion to the personality of Muhammad (peace be on him) whom he reverences above all as the Prophet of action. He vehemently recalls mankind back to the primeval Islamic society—where peace and tranquillity reigned, where manners were simple and pure; where pomp and luxury, inequality and slavery, injustice and tyranny were eliminated, and where a spirit of eternal love, truth, justice and courage reigned supreme in the hearts of men.

سبق پھر پڑھ صداقت کا، عدالت کا، شجاعت کا
لیا جائے گا تجھ سے کام دنیا کی امامت کا

He was keenly conscious and minutely aware of the imperfections of social structure. Love and simplicity were for him the reviving spirit of the universe. He held that reorientation and readjustment of the entire structure of society and government were essential. "Back to the Qur'an" and "Back to Hejaz" with simplicity, high-mindedness, faith and courage were his watchword. He sang of the early glories of Islám and paid homage to the embodiment of human perfection, symbol of fortitude, ideal of universal culture and brotherhood, image of character and indomitable will, who has shown the Straight Path (*Strat-i-Mustaqim*) and has led from darkness to light. In an inimitable style he outpours:

وہ نبوت ہے مسلماں کے لئے برگ حشیش
جس نبوت میں نہیں قوت و شوکت کا پیام

امارت کیا، شکوہ خسروی بھی ہو تو کیا حاصل
نہ زور حیدری تجھ میں، نہ استغنائے سلمانی
نہ ڈھونڈھ اس چیز کو تہذیب حاضر کی تجلی میں
کہ پایا میں نے استغنا میں معراج مسلمانی
نہیں تیرا نشیمن قصر سلطانی کے گنبد پر
تو شاہیں ہے بسیرا کر پہاڑوں کی چٹانوں پر

Why are the Muslims in subjection and degradation? Why have they fallen from the apogee of culture and civilisation? The Poet maintains that this is due to relinquishing of the teachings of the Qur'an which is in conformity and consonance with

the principles of Nature. How beautifully Iqbal expresses this idea in his *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* :

> "But inner experience is only one source of human knowledge. According to the Qur'an there are two other sources of knowledge—Nature and History; and it is in tapping these sources of knowledge that the spirit of Islam is seen at its best. The Qur'an sees signs of the Ultimate Reality in the 'sun,' the 'moon,' 'the lengthening out of shadows'; 'the alteration of day and night'; 'the variety of human colour and tongues'; 'the alteration of the days of success and reverse among peoples'—in fact in the whole of nature as revealed to the sense-perception of man. And the Muslim's duty is to reflect on these signs and not to pass by them 'as if he is deaf and blind,' for he 'who does not see these signs in this life will remain blind to the realities of the life to come'" (p. 178).

The belief in *Tauhid* (Monotheism) or Unity of God will blend all diverse elements into one whole. Iqbal in his *Lectures* has given expression to the same: "The new culture finds the foundation of world-unity in the principle of *Tauhid*. Islam, as a polity, is only a practical means of making this principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God, not to thrones. And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature. The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life; for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change" (*Lectures*, p. 207). With clarity the Poet has expressed thus

حود بدلتے نہیں قرآں کو بدل دیتے ہیں
ہوئے کس درجہ فقیہان حرم بے توفیق

زندہ قوت تھی جہاں میں یہی توحید کبھی
آج کیا ہے؟ فقط اک مسئلۂ علم کلام

Iqbal's conception of society, which in the main is the conception of Islamic society, is a confederation of human Brotherhood in which everyone, high and low, rich and poor, black and white, would be able to slake his thirst in the fountain of justice, freedom, equality, and fraternity. "Islamic society," according to the Poet, "is the only society which has so far proved itself a most successful opponent of the race idea." Further, he has emphasised the same idea in his *Lecture* on "The Conception of

God and the Meaning of Prayer." Thus he says, "The choice of one particular direction in Islamic worship is meant to secure the unity of feeling in the congregation, and its form in general creates and fosters the sense of social equality inasmuch as it tends to destroy the feeling of rank or race-superiority in the worshippers. What a tremendous spiritual revolution will take place, practically in no time, if the proud aristocratic Brahmin of South India is daily made to stand shoulder to shoulder with the untouchable! From the unity of the all-inclusive Ego who creates and sustains all egos follows the essential unity of mankind. The division of mankind into races, nations and tribes, according to the Qur'an, is for purposes of identification only. The Islamic form of association in prayer, therefore, besides its cognitive value, is further indicative of the aspiration to realize this essential unity of mankind as a fact in life by demolishing all barriers which stand between man and man" (*Lectures*, pp. 128-129)

هنوز ازبند آب و گل نه رستی
تو گوئی رومی و افغانیم من
من اول آدم بے رنگ و بویم
ازاں پس هندی و تورانیم من

تو اے کودک منش خود را ادب کن
مسلمان زادهٔ ترک نسب کن
برنگ احمر و خون و رگ و پوست
عرب نازد اگر ترک عرب کن

نه افغانیم و نے ترک و تتاریم
چمن زادیم و از یک شاخساریم
تمیز رنگ و بو برما حرام است
که ما پروردهٔ یک نوبهاریم

نه میں عجمی و نه هندی نه عراقی و حجازی
که خودی سے میں نے سیکھی دو جهاں سے بے نیازی

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A PEEP INTO EAST BENGAL AS IT IS NOW AND ITS VARIOUS PROBLEMS

Nur Ahmad

In this article Mr. Nur Ahmad refutes the popular idea that the Muslims of Bengal are generally converts from low-caste Hindus

EAST Bengal with its vast population and peculiar geographical, economic and other conditions is a most important part of our dear Pakistan. Though its peculiar characteristics and complex problems have been discussed and published now and then, yet it appears that much has not been said and written about East Bengal and its inhabitants. Even in some influential quarters, some wrong impressions still linger about the Muslim population of East Bengal and its cultural heritage. A few months ago an American journal published an article about Pakistan in which it quoted the opinion of one of the highest Muslim officers that he thinks that the Muslim population of East Bengal are all converts from low-class Hindus and scheduled caste Hindus In this article a narrative of Muslim population of East Bengal in brief will be given, all from reliable historical data and facts.

The whole area of East Bengal is 54,141 square miles with three administrational divisions—Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi—with 17 districts with average population of 24,66,607 per district as against 5,37,028 in N.-W.F.P., 11,75,887 in the Punjab, 5,74,741 in Sind and 1,20,517 in Baluchistan. There are 63 towns of which only 17 towns have electric supply. There are only three electric supply and hydro-electric installations in East Bengal There is no electric supply in any of the villages of East Bengal.

As regards Muslim population of East Bengal, there is a very erroneous impression that the majority population of East Bengal are converts from low-class Hindus Some non-Muslim writers and historians have created this wrong belief by their wrong and distorted version of historical facts. A deep study of reliable historical facts about the origin of East Bengal Muslims will prove conclusively that the original inhabitants of East Bengal were not low-class Hindu converts. No doubt, some Hindus having been attracted

by equality, fraternity and universal brotherhood of Islam, accepted Islam but they are mostly from high-caste Hindus Generally, low-class Hindus were fanatic and conservative So the theory that the Muslim population of East Bengal are mostly descendants of low-class Hindu converts to Islam is a myth and fiction created purposely to lower the Muslims of East Bengal in the eye of the world It is a historical fact that there was a great upheaval in Central Asia in the beginning of the thirteenth century About this time the most cruel Chengiz Khan was devastating the Muslim cities in Turkistan and Central Asia and the Muslims of those regions, who were highly cultured and prosperous, had to migrate to India as far as the then Bengal. The historic victory of Muhammad Ghori in the battlefield of Thaneswar in 1192 A C. opened the flood gate of rapid Muslim expansion eastward up to Bengal and a very large number of migrating Muslims from Mongolia, Khorasan, Seistan, Afghanistan and other places of Central Asia penetrated into the Ganges Valley. Many Muslim adventurers came to India seeking homes, one of them was Muhammad Bakhtiyar who won for himself an estate in Mirzapur (U P) where a very large group of migrating Turks, Khiljis gathered under his banner with a view to find a home for themselves

Muhammad Bakhtiyar with these vast wandering bands invaded the fertile lands of the Tista Valley By a bold invasion he defeated the Sen kings of Bengal in 1201 C E. and by 1202 C E his colonies were well established in the evergreen lands of Bengal among rivers The vast numbers of the wandering migrants settled themselves in the fertile valleys of Bengal Muhammad Bakhtiyar was so successful in his enterprise and so strongly established himself that he successfully invaded Tibet and founded three cities including Rangpur and frontier posts, mosques, madrassas, colleges in the new colony. In his expedition to Tibet, Muhammad Bakhtiyar had ten thousand horsemen and forty thousand infantrymen under his command In the frontier posts and cities established by Bakhtiyar, more than a lakh of Muslim refugees from Central Asia and other places settled themselves. There were agriculturists, traders and craftsmen among them This number of immigrants swelled during the period after the death of Bakhtiyar, when one of the aspirants for the Bengal Sultanate was able to get the appointment of Governor of Bengal by the Emperor of Delhi in 1210 C E He recruited a large number of hardy Turks from among the immigrants at Lahore to defeat his rival in Bengal and returned to Bengal with a large number of Turkish migrants. So a considerable portion of the immigrants, who were in northern India seeking new homes, thus came to be settled in the new Bengal Sultanate. Earlier, simultaneously with this mighty wave of migration of Muslims from northern India, the Arab merchants came in their ships from Baghdad, Basrah and other parts of the Persian Gulf and settled in large numbers around Chittagong and in the country east of the Meghna river. This settlement of large

number of merchants and their dependants arrived at Chittagong and in Bengal has been described in detail in *Razawan*—a contemporary account of the Arakan kings. Also about this time the blood-thirsty Chengiz Khan was devastating the Muslim cities in Turkistan causing mass migrations which reached as far as Bengal. These migrations, movements though, to some extent, of military character, were actually motivated and inspired by the extreme desire to settle in the fertile lands which were now open for Muslim civilisation in Bengal. At that time Bengal was most sparsely populated and was full of vast tracts of jungles and forests The primitive method of cultivation by the Koch and the tendencies of the Dravidians to live by fishing left much land available for the settlers.

As a result of these migrations of Muslims, the number of Muslim settlers in Bengal was more or less twenty to thirty lakhs by 1211 C E At that time, there were two Sultanates, one at Delhi and another at Lakshnavati in Bengal. The two Sultanates were seldom at peace The eastern Muslim principalities extended their kingdom to include Lakshnavati (north Bengal), Satgaon (West Bengal) Chatgaon, Sonargaon (Dacca), and Dacca became the capital of the Bengal Sultanate.

In 1526 the Pathan Sultan of Delhi was defeated by the Moghul invader at Panipat and though Sher Shah, for a time being, reoccupied the Delhi throne, yet the Pathans were again defeated in 1574 and lastly in 1593

A large number of defeated Afghans from Orissah and Northern India took shelter in Sylhet, Mymensingh and the northern part of Tipperah. The Afghan fugitives from Upper India, including the descendants of the princes and ministers of Pathan emperors, migrated as evacuees to East Bengal. In East Bengal, beyond the Brahmaputra, they set up many small principalities and continued to resist the Moghul invasion. The progress of Moghul invasion in East Bengal was very slow but although ultimately in the seventeenth century the Moghuls completed their conquest of Bengal, yet Bengal still remained a stronghold of the Pathan race.

During the Moghul regime, Bengal was suffering from piracy, slave-raiding and depredation of Portuguese pirates and the Mugh seamen of Arakan. The coastal areas and the country east of Meghna river were largely depredated by such raids and depredations and the Moghuls built up defence military colonies in the southern part of East Bengal. They built a military road from Chandpur to Chittagong and colonised Mirs, Khans, Ghazis on both sides of the road There were large colonial settlements in the areas of Chandpur (Tippera), Bhulua and Jugudia (Noakhali) and Lal Chiti (Bakerganj). In 1666, pirates were checked and the sea-route was made safe and free from piracy. The whole of Moghul period was the time of interchange of population

with Delhi not only of troops and military and civil officers but also of teachers, scholars most of whom ultimately settled in Bengal. It will be evident from the above narrative of solid historical facts that millions of Muslim settlers came to Bengal and settled therein permanently during the Pathan and Moghul rules. The Muslim population of East Bengal was therefore mainly constituted by Muslim immigrants who came as colonists or as military adventurers and migrants seeking homes. It is evident that for a long time Bengal was fully colonised by these successive waves of Pathan and Moghul immigrants. At that time Bengal was full of jungles and forests The Muslims planned and carried out many great reclamation schemes to the southward of Bengal and have left a great name in East Bengal for a very well-coordinated irrigation system which has disappeared during the British rule This system was known in East Bengal as divider of the water from the land

Islam ultimately took a stronghold in lower Bengal and has developed a religious literature and a popular dialect of its own. [*To be continued.*]

TWO UZBEK AND KAZAKH EPIC POEMS IN RUSSIAN TRANSLATIONS*

E. Sarkisyanz

We publish this article without comments, as it is a factual piece of writing.

THE Uzbeks and Kazakhs are two Islamic nations, now within Soviet Central Asia. Both speak Turkish languages largely derived from the eastern Turkish Qipchak family. Both the Uzbeks and the Kazakhs moved into their present areas of Soviet Uzbekistan and Kazakhistan, respectively, out of the empire of the Golden Horde (that is, the empire of those descendants of Chengiz Khan who ruled on the Volga since 1237 and from there dominated Russia for about two centuries).

The Uzbeks migrated out of the Golden Horde Empire in the course of its dissolution in the fifteenth century. Under their famous chief Muhammad Shaybani, they conquered Samarqand from the Timurids in 1500 (As a result of their occupation of Transoxania, the great Timurid Babur *left this land of his ancestors and in 1526* established the Moghul Empire in India.) Subsequently there emerged out of the Uzbek conquests the states of Bukhara, Khiva (Khwarezm) and later Kokand (Farghana), three Islamic states that fell under Russian domination between 1868 and 1876.

The Kazakhs were formerly erroneously confused with the Kirghiz, their south-eastern neighbours. Their migration out of the Golden Horde is associated with the same fifteenth-century tribal movements that resulted in the Uzbek conquest of Transoxania. But the Kazakhs did not move as far south as did Shaybani's Uzbeks, and for a long time were involved in the history of the Chaghatai state of Chengiz Khan's descendants who held eastern Turkistan ("Moghulistan") into the late sixteenth century. Under another branch of Chengizid sultans, in the reigns of Kazym, Haqq Nazar and Tevekkel, the Kazakhs formed a powerful nomadic tribal confederation in the steppes of the present-day Kazakhistan during the course of the sixteenth century. (About that time they

* This article is indebted to the researches of Orlov, Zhirmunsku and Zarifov on Kazakh and Uzbek folk literature.

became gradually converted to Islam.) A part of the western section of the Kazakhs had accepted Russian protection already in 1730. Because of its exposed geographical position the entire Kazakh steppe came under Russian domination in the course of the eighteenth century, in spite of numerous Kazakh resistance movements against Russian control.

The Uzbek Epic "Alpamysh"

In the Kungrat tribe of the Uzbeks lived two brothers, Baiburi and Baisari. Once 'Ali himself appeared to them in the shape of a Qalandar dervish and gave them a son, Ḥakim (Alpamysh) and a daughter Barchin, respectively. Following an Uzbek custom, both were engaged since childhood. Already at the age of seven Hakim Alpamysh was a powerful warrior. A conflict between the brothers caused Baisari to move away, together with 10,000 yurts (comparable with tents), into the land of the Calmucks, where there stood the nomad stations of the Kungrat tribe There he put himself under the protection of the Calmuck Taisha Khan. But some of Taisha Khan's Calmuck fighters demanded Barchin for themselves, threatening violence. Therefore Barchin sent to Alpamysh for assistance. Alpamysh came with his legendary horse Baichibar and was joined by the Calmuck hero Karadjan (who became a Muslim). To hold off the unwelcome Calmuck suitors, Barchin had promised herself to the winner of a competition in horse racing, archery and wrestling. Alpamysh triumphed in these contests.

Barchin, Alpamysh and the majority of the Kungrats then returned to the original Kungrat habitat. But Baisari, still quarelling with his brother, remained among the Calmucks. The Calmuck chief Taisha Khan oppressed him and reduced him to the position of a shepherd. Therefore Alpamysh with forty djigits (braves) returns to his assistance. But the Calmuck with Surkhail entertains them with girls and intoxicating drinks which render them helpless As a result, all of them are killed by the Calmucks except the unvulnerable Alpamysh who is captured and put into a Calmuck prison. Yet he manages to send (on the wing of a wild goose) a message to his tribe written in his blood. Then the Calmuck princess visits Alpamysh in prison and falls in love with him. As a result she releases him secretly from his confinement and gives him back his horse Baichibar. Once freed, Alpamysh overthrows the Calmuck ruler and appoints in his place the shepherd Kaiqubad who had been assisting him during his captivity.

Meanwhile, during his absence, his younger brother Ultan Taz (a shepherd and the son of a slave) seized power over the Kungrat tribe. Under him "the beks (elders) became slaves and the slaves beks." He forced Alpamysh's bride Barchin to marry him. But the returning Alpamysh learns about this, and—in the disguise of a slave—he attends the wedding (where he witnesses the oppression of his relatives by Ultan Taz,

who obliges Alpamysh's sister to take care of a camel-herd) In that disguise Alpamysh takes part in the singing of wedding songs, exchanging insults with the usurpers and messages with his wife Barchin. Like Odysseus, he finally proclaims his return, and brutally destroys Ultan and his followers Baisari and the remainder of the Kungrat tribe now return from the Calmuck pastures.

The Alpamysh epic is the tribal saga of the Kungrats (one of the four Uzbek tribes of Khwarezm, where the Kungrats supplied the last ruling dynasty of Khiva 1804-1920). But, in addition to the Uzbek version summarised above (the longest form of which has 14,000 verses), there exists also a Kazakh version and one of the Kara Kalpaks (a tribe mainly located near the Aral Lake, whose territory constitutes a formally autonomous unit of Uzbekistan). Not yet analysed is another Alpamysh tradition, that of the "Oiratian" Altai Turks who have not been converted to Islam The closeness of the Uzbek, Kazakh and Kara Kalpak versions indicates that the Alpamysh saga goes back into a period prior to the division of these Turkish tribes of Central Asia

The earliest layers of this epic must go back into the period of the Oghuz (that is the Oghuz family of Turkish tribes comprising the Seljuqs, Ottomans and Turkomans, tribal groups associated with the area east of the Caspian before they broke in successive waves into the history of Islam). Similar folkloric motifs are found in the Oghuz "Book of Korkuk" (Bamsi Beireke), preserved from the Seljuq period of Asia Minor in a sixteenth-century Ottoman version. The Oghuz "Bamsi Beireke" already contains the motifs of birth through prayer of previously childless parents, engagement in the craddle, the athletic contest to win the bride of the hero, his captivity and return to the forced wedding of his wife. But it is not the direct ancestor of the Kungrat Uzbek Alpamysh version of the sixteenth century More probably, it is only a version parallel to the Alpamysh, both of them going back to a still older common source. The oldest, no longer surviving, Kungrat version of the Alpamysh, the "Pre-Alpamysh," originated somewhere in the immediate vicinity of the Oghuzes in the Transcaspian steppes. From there the Kungrat Uzbeks carried it into Uzbekistan at the time of Shaybani.

Because of the localities associated in the Uzbek version with the Kungrat tribe, it can be dated into the sixteenth century, that is, into the period following the Uzbek conquests and relocations under Shaybani All the three versions, Uzbek, Kazakh and Kara Kalpak, call Alpamysh an "Uzbek" The term "Uzbek" came to have an ethnical connotation of political affiliation since the time of Shaybani (killed 1510).

This chronology of the historical background of the Alpamysh poem is confirmed by its references to the struggle of Central Asian Islam against the Calmucks (meaning Oirat, western Mongols, that branch of the Mongols who came to be converted to Lamaism

rather than Islam as a result of their association with those Chengizids who had conquered China and not those who conquered Russia or Iran. These Oirats (later known as Dzungars), the Calmucks of the Islamic sources, were located on the Ili river and Kashgaria as well as the Altai region. During the sixteenth century they expanded westward, and in 1603 first raided Khwarezm, once a centre of Central Asian Islam. Calmuck attacks against Khwarezm (Khiva) continued in the reign of Abu al-Ghazi of Khiva (1643-1663) and extended into the territory of Uzbek Bukhara in the early eighteenth century.

The Kazakh Epic Poem "Koblandy Batyr"

This epic deals with the struggle of the Kazakhs against the Calmucks, the campaigns of the Kazakh hero Koblandy, his capture and escape from Calmuck captivity with the assistance of the Calmuck princess Karlyga.

Koblandy asked the advice of his Qipchak wife Kortka about campaigning, and received from her the heroic horse Buryla. In a siege Koblandy killed the Calmuck Khan (who is in a legendary way identified with the ruler of Kazan), routing the Calmucks in a seventeen-day battle. However, both Koblandy and his ally Karaman were surprised in their sleep and captured by the Calmucks. But (just as in the case of Alpamysh) the Calmuck princess Karlyga, a secret Muslim, freed the prisoners

The three of them, Karlyga, Koblandy and Karaman, escaped together on the captured Calmuck horses. When the Calmuck ruler pursued them, Karlyga told Koblandy that her father's armour had a loose spot. This permitted him to shoot the Calmuck Khan.

But Koblandy hears from a dervish in a dream that his tribe and family have been meanwhile enslaved by Calmuck raiders. (Before being led away into captivity, his wife Kortka buried some oats for Koblandy's horse, who therefore recognised upon arrival the location of its mistress and led Koblandy to her.) As a result, Koblandy met Kortka —now a Calmuck slave in the steppe, and she pretended to have been made pregnant by her captors. But the chivalrous Koblandy does not object His other beloved, the Calmuck Karlyga, has been meanwhile appropriated by his former ally Karaman. But by giving Karaman two captive girls as substitutes for herself, Karlyga purchases her freedom and joins Koblandy.

Touchingly human is the nobility of the two heroines, Kortka and Karlyga. (In general, the women of this epic are represented in a more human and less stylised fashio than those of other Central Asian epics.) Like Almambet in the famous Kirghiz epic "Manas" and Karadjan in the Uzbek Alpamysh epic, Karlyga puts her allegiance to her

voluntary chosen faith of Islam above the allegiance to her native ethnic group, a heroic expression of the outlook of a universalistic era that preceded the clannishness of modern nationalism.

In the "Koblandy Batyr" the Kazakhs *are still identified* as "Qipchaks" This points to a period when they had not yet migrated out of the dependencies of the Golden Horde (which is called "Qipchak" in Islamic sources, after the name of an eastern Turkish tribal group inhabiting the steppes in question before the Mongol conquest) The Koblandy epic also exists in a Kara Kalpak and in a Volga Tatar version Its historic background of the defensive struggle of the Kazakhs against the Calmucks (meaning the Lamaist Dzungars) points to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the setting of the epic. (Among the most devastating Dzungar raids on the Kazakh pasture grounds were the attacks of 1643 on the Kazakhs of eastern Turkistan ("Moghulistan") and 1681-1684 on southern Kazakhistan. In 1710-1712 the Kazakhs under Khan Tauke counter-attacked the Dzungar territory in what is now Sinkiang. (The Dzungar menace had contributed to the initial Kazakh submission to Russia in 1730)

IMAM ABU YUSUF'S ADMONITION TO HARUN AR-RASHID

Dr S. A Q. Husaini

This is the famous advice administered by Imam Abu Yusuf to Harun While it shows the high moral spirit of Muslim religious leaders and teaches us that the God-consciousness of the individuals is vitally important for social happiness, it also brings us the salutary lesson that society cannot depend for its welfare on the goodness of individuals It is the system that matters Harun may have been a good ruler inspired by the ideals presented by Imam Yusuf, but he was really the representative of an evil system of autocracy The result was that other rulers undid all the good that he might have done to the Muslims

O COMMANDER of the Faithful, Allah, Who is worthy of all praises, has conferred on you a mighty rulership the merit of which is most bounteous and the punishment for which is most severe He has bestowed on you the rulership of this people to shepherd and guard them day and night He is testing you by placing the command over them in your hands A building based on impiety cannot endure. Even if it is constructed, it will come down on those who erect it and on those who help in its erection. Do not postpone today's work till tomorrow If you do so, you will miss much, for death may not be long in coming Be too quick for death, for there is no action after death.

The subjects are responsible to the Lord just as the ruler is responsible to Him. Do the right thing in the office which God has bestowed on you although its duration may be of only one hour In the Day of Judgment, if the subjects declared their ruler good, he will get the blessing of God, and if the ruler declared the subjects good, they will have His blessing.

Do not deviate lest your subjects should deviate from the right path. Do not follow your whim nor act in anger If you see two courses, one good for the next world and the other good for this one, prefer that which is good for the next world, for the other world will last and this one perish. Be always trembling with the fear of God Treat all men as equal before you, those who are close to you as well as those who are removed from you. In doing what is commanded by God, do not fear the criticism of the critics. Fear God with the heart and not with the tongue Be pious, for piety is protection. He who is pious will be protected by God.

Act, having the inevitable death in view, along the trodden path and in the appointed way Take the protected course, to the desired destination. This inevitable destination is a halting place at which stout hearts collapse and firm resolves give way out of the fear of the Mighty and Powerful King, before Whom will stand the whole of mankind in awe-stricken silence awaiting His verdict and fearing His punishment as though it is imminent On that day, he who knew but did not do good will suffer ample torture by way of regret and shame On that day men's feet shall slip and their colours change. The period of standing shall be long and the account taking severe.

God the Exalted and High says in His Book, "A day with your Lord is equal to one thousand years of your calculation" (The Qur'an, xxii. 49). "It is an appointed day in which We shall assemble you and the ancients" (lxxvii 38). "Verily the day of distinction is the assembling occasion for all" (xliv. 40) He further says, "They shall see that day that what they have been promised would not last more than an hour" (xliv. 34, 35). Again He says, "They shall see that the supreme hour does not last more than an evening or a morning" (lxxix. 46). Alas! regrets shall not win pardon, and repentance shall not avail This alternation of night and day wear out every new thing and bring near every far off thing. It ushers in every promised event. God shall reward every soul according to its actions, and God is quick in reckoning. Allah is Allah. Verily our period of life is short and the matter very serious. The world is perishable and its inhabitants are mortals The next world is eternal. Do not meet God as one who followed the path of transgressors, for the Supreme Judge, on the Day of Judgment, will recompense His slaves according to their actions. He will not judge them according to their positions

God has threatened you, hence fear him, for you were not created in vain and you shall not be left free. Verily Allah will question you concerning what you are engaged in and as to what you do Look as to what will be the answer. Know that the feet of the creature cannot move from the Presence of God except after the questioning is over. The Prophet (may peace be on him) has said, "The feet of the creature will not move on the Day of Resurrection until four things have been questioned about—his knowledge, as to how he applied it to his actions, his life, as to how much of it he wasted, his wealth, as to how he earned and spent it, his body, as to how he utilised it." Prepare, O Commander of the Faithful, the answers for these questions, for whatever you do will be recorded and it will be read tomorrow against you. Remember what explanation you will render unto God when you meet Him on the Day when the testimonies will be collected.

I advise you, O Commander of tha Faithful, to guard that which God has appointed you to guard and mind those things which God expects you to mind.

You should look towards God and act for His cause. If you do not do so, the path of guidance will become uneven for you, blindness will settle down on your eyes. The signs on the path will be obliterated and the broad road will become narrow for you. You will hate desirable things and choose the undesirable ones. Hence fight against your self as one who wants its (real) success and not otherwise. The shepherd is responsible for his flock and has to keep it away, with God's help, from places of danger and lead it to places of safety and salvation. If you neglect it, it will be destroyed and if you engage yourself away from it, its destruction will set in sooner and hence it will be more harmful. If the shepherd does well, he will be much better in the next world than he is here, and God will recompense him several times more than what he renders unto God. Beware of ruining your subjects for God will take their full due from you and He will ruin you for your having destroyed your charge. A building must be propped up before it collapses. It is in your interest to act well in respect of the office which Allah has bestowed on you. It will be against you if you allow the great opportunity to be lost. Do not forget your duty to those over whom Allah has appointed you as the ruler. He commands you that you should not forget or neglect them Nothing which is good for them should escape your attention. Your good fortune in this world should not divert you, in this world, from remembering Allah day and night within your self in the form of *tasbih*, *tahlil*, *tahmid* and *salat* or His Messenger, the Prophet of Mercy and the Imam of Guidance. Verily, Allah, by His Generosity, Mercy and Pardon, has made His officers His Vicegerents on the earth and given them a light which shines for the benefit of the subjects to detect the wrongs done to them, wrongs done between them and to detect dubious claims against them Keeping that torch of insight alight by the officers depends on the enforcement of the *hudud*, restoration of (usurped) rights to the people by judgment and executive orders. The revival of the traditions followed by pious people is the most important task, for the revival of good traditions is (real) life without death The tyranny of the shepherd will cause the destruction of the flock and his seeking help from men other than the reliable and the good result in the ruin of the common people.

Make complete, O Commander of the Faithful, what God has given you of the blessing, by utilising it in a good way and seek more of it by being grateful for it; for Allah the Exalted and Elevated says in His revered book, ' If you are grateful, I shall give you more, but if you become ungrateful, My punishment will be severe" (xiv. 7). There is nothing more pleasing to God than establishing peace, and nothing detestable to Him than creating disorder. Acting in disobedience is being ungrateful to the Benefactor. Tell me which of the nations ever became ungrateful to the Benefactor and failed in hastening to repent, whose honour was not stripped off and God did not

place their enemies over them? I beseach you, O Commander of the Faithful, in the name of God Who has bestowed on you, out of His insight, the office of a ruler, not to incline towards your self in any matter concerning your office. If God were to love you as He loved His saints and His beloved, He will befriend your rule, and it will be liked by Him.

I have written for you, as commanded by you, and have classified and explained things in detail Think over what I have written and read it repeatedly until you get it by heart; for verily I have spent much effort over it. I am sending this to you and the Muslims for the sake of God hoping recompense from Him and in fear of His punishment. I hope that you will act according to what is contained in this book of exposition and that God will augment your revenues without causing ill-treatment to the Muslim and tyranny towards the tributary, and I also hope that your subjects will behave well with you, for their good depends on the proper enforcement of the *hudud*, removal of their grievances and avoiding dubious claims against them. I have gathered good traditions which contain inducements for you on questions which you have asked me. I hope, God willing, you will act upon my suggestions May God guide you to do things which will please Him and which He wants get done by you and for your good!

A MUSLIM VISITS COMMUNIST CHINA

Asa Bafagih

The writer of these impressions of the China of today is editor of "Duta Masharadat," a Djakarta daily newspaper A keen observer of all that was going on around him during his visit as a member of an Indonesian delegation led by Professor Bahdar Johan, Mr Bafagih, in a newspaper interview on his return to Djakarta, said that he found there was no time for humour in the life of the people They had to work very hard for the sole benefit of the Communist State There was little variety in life The people were not working for themselves but had in fact become slaves of the State There was an atmosphere of suspicion, a feeling of fear Communism was doing its utmost to stamp out religion as witness the campaign of "annihilation" against the Muslim minority in the country

WE SPENT one month and three days in the People's Republic of China and covered several thousand miles by train from south to north, including visits to Canton, Hankow, Hanchow, Shanghai, Tientsin, Peking and Mukden.

The Indonesian delegation, of which I was a member, consisted of people with different views and different ideologies We took advantage of every opportunity to exchange opinions and to compare notes on what we had seen and heard it can be said in fairness that, broadly speaking, the views of the majority of the members of the delegation were similar.

Our visit to China was at the celebration by the People's Republic of the fifth anniversary of its founding and the opportunity was taken, on October 1, 1954, to hold the People's Congress and ratify the Constitution of the Republic It was apparent that the authorities had set themselves out to organise everything on a gigantic scale More than 2,000 guests from fifty countries had been invited to witness the great occasion The invitation was not confined to Communists and fellow-travellers but embraced peoples of various shades of political opinion There were Right and Left-wing Socialists and Liberals from Japan, Mus-Members of the Indian Parliament.

The Chinese Communist Government had invited official foreign guests representing countries in Europe such as East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Albania, but many more guests had been invited by various organisations including

the Foreign Affairs Board, the Journalists' Organisation, the Federation of Workers, the Red Cross, the Women's Federation, and so on.

We had accepted an invitation to visit Communist China with the object of seeing for ourselves the condition of the Muslims and religious life in a Communist country. The Chinese Ambassador in Djakarta had given us an assurance that we would be given every facility. Our purpose was partly fulfilled. We met the Prime Minister, Chou En-lai He showed a sympathetic attitude, and told the organisers of the Board of Foreign Affairs to show the good and the bad side of things. And he must have used rather strong words to drive home his wish when we saw that the responsible officials had become red in the face.

In our tour of China, we were under two disadvantages—we do not talk Chinese, and we have never visited China before All conversation was through interpreters Officials and leaders gave the impression that they knew no other language but Chinese Some of the Muslim leaders at first were glad to talk with us in Arabic but later they became reluctant, especially before high-ranking officials. Because we had never visited China before, it was difficult for us to make a comparison between the new China under the Communist regime and the old China under the Nationalists

Compared to the old China, it has to be admitted that the China of today has made notable progress, but it would be false to regard China as a paradise. At a glance people may easily get the impression that everything is as it should be in China. However, on a closer scrutiny of the administration and society, things turn out to be different. At the present stage of development China is faced with many deficiencies, in the needs of everyday life and the needs of construction and development. All these shortcomings and deficiencies do not make the new China a paradise

It must not be forgotten that China for the last thousand years has been under feudalism, while internal wars have left their marks on society and cannot be wiped out in the short space of five years. The work of healing China of its wounds and reconstructing it on new foundations is an effort which takes time, which needs knowledge and resources and money. Though China does not lack human resources so far as technical knowledge, equipment and money are concerned, she is faced with a great problem. Soviet influence and participation in Chinese affairs are obvious in many ways, but, however much China may get Soviet help in the work of construction, in the end things are to be paid for.

In the five years since the new regime came into power it has been able to change the social order of the country and it has launched all sorts of work which is regarded with pride by the rulers and the people. In spite of an atmosphere of peace and order

in the country, at every railway bridge we passed over during our travels there were to be seen soldiers on guard This was the case everywhere, in South, Central and North China

In order to obtain food, everyone has to work hard What food there is amounts to no great quantity. When there was great monetary inflation, the question of getting food was a headache for every family. We observed that construction work was in full swing only in North China, in Central China work had just begun and in the South very little work had been done In view of this, anyone who sees things only in the South will not get a clear impression of the overall picture

On the other hand, a brief visit to North China would give a favourable impression It is necessary that people who visit China should see things all over the country Progress must be viewed only in terms of conditions in China and not in terms of conditions in Europe and America

The People's Congress has a membership of 1,200, claimed to represent various parties and mass organisations and spheres of life. We had no opportunity to find out how the members were elected. However, it is claimed that they represent the Chinese people from all walks of life, even the overseas Chinese are said to have their representatives.

The Standing Committee of the Congress is composed of members from all organisations and ranks of the people Madame Sun Yat Sen, for example, is supposed to represent the Revolutionary Kuomintang, Saifuddin the Muslim community, and the Dalai Lama, the Tibetans

We were permitted to attend the Congress in session It did not appear to be too easy to get into the People's Congress One must possess a card of admission and pass through several strictly guarded doors The ordinary man would find it difficult to reach the session hall Even to stand some distance away from the entrance gate to the building was not permitted

We were unable to follow the discussion, but we noted that every time a member stood up he was received with applause, and the member too in his turn clapped his hands There was more clapping of hands after he had finished his speech There was nothing unusual in this since it has become a custom. It happened too that sometimes the speaker began clapping his hands before the others.

We had the impression that everything had been arranged in advance. The speeches made in the Congress had been prepared in writing, translated into the various local languages, stencilled and distributed

We gathered that the speeches in the Congress were generally in praise of the leadership of the Communist Party and its leader Mao Tse-tung, reports on progress made in the various districts, and suggestions on how to increase effort and expand production, and what economies could be effected.

For people accustomed to parliamentary methods of meeting and discussion, the atmosphere in the People's National Congress had a most boring effect. There was no debate, no criticism, and no opposition

It is worthy of note that it is customary for the leaders of the People's Republic to receive and entertain guests in places other than their own homes It would appear that the homes of leaders such as Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai and others are kept a secret It is therefore difficult to know where they stay and just what their homes are like.

It is not an easy thing to meet the leaders and the high-ranking officials. There is too much red-tape to be gone through. A journalist from a country with a different system of government and who hopes to obtain as much information as possible feels his task nothing less than hopeless. This is the more so in regard to responsible leaders such as Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. Even to see them the ordinary man would have to stand some distance away. In view of all this the two-hour meeting between Prime Minister, Chou En-lai, and the Indonesian delegation was really "big news." Usually Chou En-lai does not give more than a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes to guests.

The official reception at the Peking Hotel on the eve of October 1 was probably the first of its kind to have left so great an impression. Firstly, there were present no less than 2,000 guests from forty countries who had been invited to visit the Republic. Although Prime Minister Chou En-lai was the host he was late by about an hour because he had to receive the Soviet delegation who were guests of the State. He apparently succeeded in pleasing every delegation and with each he drank a toast, with the result that altogether he drank forty glasses of wine The wine was not a light drink and obviously began to have an effect on the Prime Minister.

Secondly, quite unexpectedly, Mao Tse-tung appeared, accompanied by Chu Teh, Liu Shao-chi and Madame Sun Yat Sen. It was a memorable event for the leaders of the People's Republic for they were surrounded by so many guests from foreign countries. The happiest of people appeared to be the interpreters who accompanied us because, according to them, they had never before been so near the god they worshipped. In a country such as the People's Republic of China it is difficult for the people to meet the leaders. To be able to see at close quarters the leaders who had played an important

role in the revolution and in the establishment of the new China was something memorable.

Mao was only five minutes at the reception. Though there had been reports that his health was bad he appeared to be perfectly healthy. He is a big-bodied man, modest in dress and carriage, and always there is the slight smile.

Chu Teh, the general of the People's Army, second after Mao, was fresh and smiling Liu Shao-chi, the architect of the People's Constitution, is a man with a lot of grey hair, but is not old. With Mao and Chou En-lai he plans the direction of Chinese political affairs

Madame Sun Yat Sen is quite charming. She is now a recognised leader of the Revolutionary Kuomintang who are cooperating with the Communist Party

The military parade on October 1 began at 10 a.m. It can be said that it was not a spectacle for the people All along the route the spectators were leaders, high officials of the People's Republic, special guests and school children. Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and other leaders of the People's Republic stood on a high dais.

While guns, tanks and armoured cars rolled along, units of the air force flew past. These machines, whether on the ground or in the air, were manufactured in the Soviet Union Even the movements of the troops followed the Soviet pattern For half an hour the military forces moved along, then followed men from workers' organisations, farmers, officials and students from the colleges and universities.

There was one vast sea of people carrying posters and banners of the Communist leaders, of factories, industries, ministries, districts, with graphs and figures showing work and production. School children carried thousands of balloons and the cultural groups demonstrated various dances as they moved along. University and college students and athletic organisations in smart uniforms moved in an orderly manner while exhibiting their various skills. The parade ended at 2 p.m.

It was a tiring business For the benefit of the guests places for resting had been prepared below the platform, and drinks were provided. Even Mao Tse-tung did not stand continuously for four hours. Sometimes he left the platform and his place was taken by Chu Teh.

The people who seem to enjoy all the advantages and benefits in the People's Republic are not the workers and farmers but the children.

The workers and the farmers, who are in fact the backbone of the regime, have to work hard to increase production. The workers and the farmers never know anything about strikes, much less do they think of demanding higher wages, social security and so on. They have even forgotten their own well-being and health.

The children are in a privileged position They are well provided for. In every city we visited we found children's gardens, houses for the care of children, and places of entertainment for children. At almost every factory there are houses for children while their mothers are at work.

Certain hours are set aside for the mothers to visit their children. All expenses, except for a contribution from parents, are borne by the factories and the State Some children are left in these houses during the day, some are kept there six days a week, some are brought home by their parents once every three or six months There are houses specially for the children of the State

All these places are provided with specially trained teachers, and with pictures of the Communist leaders such as Mao Tse-tung

There are special houses for boys and girls from 8 to 14 years of age For these children "Pioneer" organisations have been formed to guide them They wear red neck-ties as distinguishing marks Once a week they gather in buildings called "youth palaces" In Shanghai we paid a visit to one of the biggest of these "palaces" We found dance rooms, a library of 45,000 books, study rooms, technical workshops, domestic science classes, handicraft classes, classes for draughtsmanship and geophysics The "Pioneer" boys and girls are given an opportunity to meet prominent people

The regime pays much attention to the moulding and education of their children and young men and women

In our tour of China we visited two universities, one in Peking and the other in Tientsin Peking University has 13 colleges Before the liberation Peking University had 1,000 under graduates, the number of students now total 5,200, and of this number 23 per cent are women, with 700 professors and lecturers The technical university in Tientsin consists of eight colleges with 5,100 students, 3,000 of whom are women The university is staffed by 600 professors, 15 assistant professors, and 700 officials

A large proportion of the university staff are Chinese, but there are also foreign professors from the Soviet Union, Germany, India and Korea It is difficult to judge the quality and status of the professors, but it should be noted that the Republic has taken bold measures in producing teachers, in the same way as they have manufactured doctors out of dressers who have had more than three years of experience, to serve as doctors in the rural areas

The universities have a duty to train leaders for national construction and they have to be produced as quickly as possible. Besides the normal universities, there are also what are called "Clans Academies." The aim of this type of academy is to train leaders for the 46 clans in the Republic, they are to serve Communist rulers. On the outskirts

of Peking there is one of these "Clans Academies," newly built with 1,200 pupils and 400 teachers. There is no religious instruction for this is forbidden in the schools. The arts and culture are encouraged with a view to developing and enriching the culture of China.

After having studied and observed all this we came to the conclusion that the Chinese are thinking and planning ahead The present order is a mixture, and, however drastic the measures taken by Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party to bring into reality the society of their dreams, they cannot effect the transformation in the brief space of five years. As can be seen in the wording of the Chinese Constitution, the desired changes in the social order cannot be brought about all at once

The young of China are being moulded and educated in such a way that they will grow up to be people who will no longer pay any regard to themselves, their families and their parents, but will devote their lives and minds to the service of the State and of the people, having a passionate love for their country and Mao Tse-tung, who is supreme in all things. This is the prediction we make on the basis of our observations of the children and young people, in the homes for the care of children, in the "youth palaces," in the schools and in the universities

Such a society will represent a more united people with a strong sense of discipline This is the society that must be taken into account now by all peoples everywhere

One of the things noticed under the Communist regime is the absence, on the surface at any rate, of prostitution

This is not because the people of the Chinese People's Republic have all become pious, nor because the morality of the people has reached a new height of purity, nor because the social and economic arrangements have reached such a state of perfection that society has become wholly free from social diseases.

The cause is to be found in the system, and the measures to back that system which have been adopted under Communism. The system has made it impossible for prostitution to be practised at least obviously and openly.

Let us hear what the Bureaus of Civil Affairs in Peking and Shanghai say in regard to the measures adopted to abolish prostitution, as examples of the measures taken in all the towns and cities throughout the People's Republic.

Questions connected with prostitution are within the competency of the Bureau of Civil Affairs.

When the Communist regime took over Peking on February 1, 1949, it was decided to urge the authorities to close all brothels, to arrest those who ran the prostitution business and to collect all the prostitutes and give them medical treatment. Those with

families were returned to their families, those who could marry were married, and others were given work and training so that they could become useful members of society. All the 224 brothels in Peking were immediately closed and their owners arrested, and 1,313 prostitutes were detained. After medical examination it was found that 96·6 per cent of the prostitutes were diseased. Of the owners of brothels two were sentenced to death and 10 were sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

In Shanghai in 1949 there were 308 brothels containing 4,000 prostitutes who had been licensed. The abolition of prostitution in Shanghai took longer. By the middle of 1951 there were left in Shanghai 72 brothels and 500 prostitutes. In November 1951 the Government issued a proclamation which forbade prostitution, and immediately after all brothels were closed and the owners arrested. According to the Bureau of Civil Affairs in Shanghai, by the end of September some 3,500 prostitutes had been collected and of this number 1,900 had beed released. Medical examination showed that 90 per cent of them were diseased. The prostitutes were given penicillin treatment and 60 per cent were cured. Despite these measures, prostitution is still carried on, in secret.

In these systematic campaigns somebody is made responsible. For every ten families there is a head who is responsible to the authorities. Neighbours must watch one another in the interests of the State.

Once a week or every ten days the heads of families meet and there they report what has taken place during the period. Anything important must be made known for general information. For example, a visitor calls at someone's house. At the meeting a report must be made on the visitor, his purpose in making the visit, and what he talked about. If an attempt is made to conceal the facts (the neighbour next door invariably knows of what has been going on), the person concerned will be told of his duty and responsibility. The system is so effective that it is very difficult for prostitution to be practised This system of everyone watching everybody else is so enforced that everyone has always to be on his guard.

Strong drink is included in the list of things forbidden in China today. But our impression is that the leaders and high officials are strong drinkers. By comparison, the leaders and people of India are much more pious. This penchant for strong drink is not confined to the Chinese Prime Minister but to almost all leaders and officials.

Every time guests are invited to join in the drinking, and every time one's glass has to be emptied There were officials who understood why some of us, as Muslims, did not wish to participate, but other officials did not appear to understand at all until we were forced to explain the position.

It was admitted that there was corruption among officials. Bribery was practised n various forms, by means of pretty girls, by offering money or desired goods such as pens and wrist-watches. The regime did not hesitate to impose the most severe punishment on corrupt cadres, including the death sentence.

We must say that the answers given to our questions regarding measures against bureaucracy were unsatisfactory. In a country which calls itself anti-bureaucratic we found that bureaucracy was an outstanding feature of life. According to a colleague who spent some time in Moscow, this state of affairs is not confined to China.

We found it difficult to discuss matters with high State officials In line with Communist methods, not every official could discuss matters, much less make decisions on his own account If this was the case with us who were regarded as special guests, how difficult it must be for ordinary citizens to meet and discuss things with their leaders.

The only way for the common people to air their grievances is through the letter boxes which are to be found in factories and offices.

We visited a prison, said to be a typical prison in Peking. We cannot say it was a large prison, and it was far from modern. There were some 2,000 inmates.

There was no distinction between a political prisoner and a criminal—all were given the same treatment. According to the Communist idea, both types had committed offences against the State.

We could not gain much information about the prisoners. We were told that the prisoners were treated equally.

We explored the prison but we were not permitted to ask questions in front of the prisoners. Those of us who had visited other prisons noticed the shortcomings, especially in regard to the space allotted to prisoners and the sanitary conditions

There was one procedure which had attracted our attention in our visit to factories in the Republic. In every case before we had seen the factories scheduled to be visited by us, we were given general information on the conditions of the factories. Figures were given showing the progress made in industrial production We were then asked to give our opinions and criticisms.

We visited a textile factory in Peking, a paper factory in Tientsin, and in Shanghai, silk, weaving machine and electric bulb factories. In Anshan and Mukden we visited steel works Most of these factories were using old equipment. Only a few were equipped with up-to-date machinery. Using up-to-date machinery were steel plate, pipe and rail, textile and sack (bag) factories. Our impression was a sketchy one since we had visited only a small section of the industries.

We were informed that there were 3,200 factories in Mukden, of which only 200 had been taken over by the State. We visited several of these and gained the impression that though there were factories with modern equipment many were still using old machinery.

In our opinion the reason why the authorities allowed foreigners to visit Mukden was that they wanted to try and show the outside world that Chinese industry was devoted to peaceful purposes and not to the purposes of war. All the factories shown us were engaged in national reconstruction. However, if somebody were to ask me whether all the Chinese industries were devoted to such work it would be difficult to give a satisfactory answer

It is difficult to say what is the extent of China's industrial achievements for we could not gain a clear idea from our talks with the various directors and heads of factories Our impression was that these directors did not know much more than the workers As a matter of fact, the directors occupy a position no different from that of the workers The directors are expected to exert their efforts to reach the production targets which have been fixed Should they fail, they would know what to expect, if they achieved more than the targets, they would be praised.

Everybody in industry was engaged in a competition to exceed the production targets so that their factory could become a model factory and the workers become model workers In view of this system of competition, it was not surprising that production always exceeded targets

In our visits to factories and industrial districts our hosts had not forgotten to show us the homes for workers It would be a mistake to suppose that the workers in China are now living in a paradise Though the workers and farmers are the backbone of the government, and at a glance they appeared to be the favoured class, their conditions are still not as good as the conditions of workers in advanced West European countries and the United States The workers' homes in Mukden, Peking, Shanghai and Hanchow are new. When we were there some of the homes were still under construction The biggest and best equipped housing estates are in Shanghai These estates are equipped with markets, clinics, restaurants, public baths, libraries, theatres and playgrounds The markets are cooperative undertakings run by the workers themselves.

Generally, a worker and his family has sufficient space to sleep. There is a kitchen but no sitting-rooms and bath-rooms. Though water is brought by pipe, bathing has to be done at the public baths, which for some workers are some distance away

Wages paid to workers sound very large, the minimum being JMP$ 300,000 a month. Workers receiving JMP$ 1 million are in the high-pay category, those receiving more than JMP$ 1 million are in the professional class and include engineers and doctors.

These large sums of money must be viewed in relation to the cost of living and the daily needs of the workers. Expenses for food alone for one day amount to JMP$ 10,000. Therefore a minimum wage of JMP$ 300,000 a month is enough only to buy food and nothing more. However, most workers get between JMP$ 450,000 and JMP$ 900,000. What could be bought out of the extra money? It would buy at the most a pair of rubber shoes, and one or two seats at the theatre.

For the purpose of helping the housewife and the worker generally in regard to necessities, State stores have been set up in the big cities where goods can be bought a little cheaper than elsewhere.

But the Chinese workers have to work hard. In fact our impression was that they worked too hard and forgot or ignored their state of health The women work equally as hard as the men for the proclamation of equal rights and duties has opened the door for women to participate in all sorts of activities We felt rather sad to see women doing work more than they were able to do. At the same time we wondered how long men could continue to work in such a fashion For them to demand higher wages is unthinkable, much less to go on strike Their thoughts and energies are wholly concentrated on the problem of how to increase production—weekly, monthly, and yearly. They work night and day; there is no such thing as a Sunday Shops remain open on Sundays. One of my colleagues made the remark that what was happening in the Republic of China could be regarded as a biological experiment to find out how much the human body could stand. It was a question of whether in a few years these workers would not be physical wrecks.

There are a lot of trishaws in Communist China They serve as the common mode of transport for the workers. The trishaws are old and decrepit. The Communist leaders admit that they are still unable to solve the problem of the trishaw rider. In Peking the authorities have found it necessary to allot areas of operation so that the trishaw riders can earn a living without too much competition and without conflict. The business of living presses heavily on the trishaw rider The most that he can earn in a day is JMP$ 10,000.

Then there is the problem of the boat dwellers—the people who live as separate communities on the water. In Canton we were much struck with the way of life of these boat dwellers, particularly when we saw women rowing boats while carrying young babies on their backs. The life of the farmer is no easier Being the backbone of the State, he has to work as hard as the industrial worker to increase production. Like the industrial worker, the farmers get a great deal of attention from the authorities

So far State amenities are available only for the working class. Homes for workers are under construction. But no homes have been built for the people in general.

Farmers have been given land; the produce is bought by the State at prices fixed by the State.

In the using of tractors in a cooperative way, our farmers in Kalimantan (in Indonesia) may be said to be more advanced than the farmers in the People's Republic. In other aspects of agricultural work, one of our own agriculturists gave the view that the condition of farmers in Indonesia was far better, though it was still not what it should be.

The People's Republic are now putting into force a five-year plan in an attempt to stabilise conditions. In this work all resources have been mobilised. Up to 1957 this means that the people have to tighten their belts, work harder and tackle even heavier work. It is hoped that after 1957 conditions will be easier and the people will be able to breath a little more easily.

The authorities do not concern themselves with instilling discipline in the people alone but also by keeping a careful watch on prices At any time the books of traders are liable to be inspected The system of watching one another in China has helped in the orderly enforcement of all government measures. No one dares to do otherwise, much less to violate what has been laid down by the authorities.

To give some idea of the prices of goods in relation to the value of the JMP$, I give some examples below ·

		JMP $
A kati of third-grade rice	...	1,370
A kati of sugar		8,000
A kati of tea	..	3,000 to 9,000
A kati of imported coffee	.	56,000
A kati of local coffee	..	11,200
A tin of condensed milk	...	25,000
A kilo of butter	.	80,000
A kati of cheese	.	32,000
A kati of mutton	.	7,000
A kati of pork	..	7,800
A kati of fish	...	9,000
A kati of potatoes	...	2,000
A kati of bananas	...	4,000
Woollen overcoats	...	750,000 to 2 millions
Ready-made warm clothing	...	750,000 to 1,750,000

		JMP $
Ready-made thin clothing	...	500,000 to 1,300,000
Ready-made clothing (summer)	...	140,000 to 1,000,000
Woollen trousers	...	300,000 to 600,000
Woollen sweaters	.	350,000 to 700,000
Cotton shirts	...	37,000 to 75,000
Cotton pyjamas	...	40,000 to 120,000
Cotton handkerchiefs		4,000 to 15,000
Socks	..	6,000 to 35,000
Ready-made woollen clothes (women)	..	300,000 to 900,000
Ready-made clothes (children)		300,000 to 800,000
Sweaters (children)	...	200,000 to 500,000
Rubber shoes	..	20,000
Bus fares (one section or fare stage)	...	400
Train fares (one kilometre)	..	450
Pay of a waitress (one month)	...	300,000 to 600,000
Pay of a waiter (one month)	..	400,000 to 600,000
Imported razor blades		4,000 to 7,200
Imported tooth-paste	...	4,000 to 7,200
Locally made tooth-paste	..	3,400 to 6,000
Imported tooth-brushes	..	90,000 to 120,000
Locally made tooth-brushes	..	4,700 to 47,000
Cinema prices	...	2,000 to 3,000
One small packet of cigarettes	...	1,200 to 5,200
One large tin of cigarettes	...	100,000
One radio set	..	1,000,000

The value of the JMP$ according to the rates ruling in October 1954 was as follows:

One U.S. Dollar	...	= JMP$ 20,040
One Pound Sterling	...	= JMP$ 62,350
One Straits Dollar	...	= JMP$ 7,330
One Indian (and Pakistan) Rupee	...	= JMP$ 4,700
One Hongkong Dollar	..	= JMP$ 3,800
One Indonesian Rupiah	...	= JMP$ 1,900

Ten days after we had arrived in Peking we were each given pocket-money amounting to JMP$ 500,000. Each of us felt that we had been transformed into near-millionaires. Professor Prijono (one of our party), who was recently awarded a Stalin Prize,

made the remark that he had never before possessed so much money. However, we soon began to realise the true value of this half-million. We immediately began to write post cards to be sent by air to Indonesia. We were really shocked on learning that the cost of sending these post cards was JMP$ 67,000.

During the last stage of our tour of the Republic when we arrived in Hanchow we were again given half a million JMP$. And because Hanchow is famous for its fans and umbrellas we were keen on buying some of them. The cheapest of the fans cost JMP$-1,000 and the good ones JMP$ 20,000 This type of thing is usually sold in the New Market in Djakarta for 16 rupiahs. The best of the fans cost from JMP$ 3,200 to JMP$ 45,000 The cost of an umbrella was JMP$ 32,000.

In conformity with the Constitution of the People's Republic, accepted by the Chinese People's National Congress at the end of September 1954, the people of China are being gradually moulded for a Communist society. This means that any capitalists still to be found in the Republic will have to surrender their property to the State The owner of a cement factory in Shanghai tried his best to convince us that the system now in operation in China was the best system and that the capitalists could work well and with enthusiasm because production was increasing But it must be remembered that all factories are working to the orders of the authorities in trying to double or treble the output At the same time they must suppress all feelings of dissatisfaction and pretend to be enthusiastic, though they know full well that one day their property will become the State's.

MUSLIMS and THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

A. M. A. Azeez

In this article Principal Azeez deals with the language problem of the Muslims of Ceylon He says that most of the Islamic literature is in Tamil, and it will not be possible for the Muslims to develop their literature in Sinhalese. But since the latter has become now the official language of Ceylon, the Muslims should work hard to transfer their best literature in the Sinhalese

IT IS not difficult to understand the very large place which the language problem is occupying in the minds of the people of Ceylon today It has been the subject of long and sustained controversy, unfortunately marred at times by rancour and acrimony.

To the Muslims, this problem is invested with a special importance and significance, which it is not easy to exaggerate or even to over-emphasise On the wise handling of this question depends not only the future progress of the Muslim community, but its harmonius integration into the general life of the country.

By the School Grants (Revised Conditions) Regulations, 1945, Sinhalese or Tamil was made the compulsory medium of instruction in the primary classes for all pupils whose parents were both either Sinhalese or Tamil, but the Muslims were given the option of using either Sinhalese or Tamil or English as the medium of instruction for their children Practically every Muslim parent opted for English wherever such facilities were available and the wisdom of this decision very few questioned.

About that time the Muslims were still trying "to catch up" the other communities who had stolen a march over them, primarily as a result of the Sinhalese and the Tamil leaders having devoted themselves heart and soul to the cause of English education during the preceding four or five decades. The Muslims were therefore becoming more enthusiastic in the cause of English education which they naturally felt would bring them "to a position of intellectual elevation, social efficiency and political power." The neglect of English had indeed imposed a grievous handicap on the Muslims, and if the conditions that obtained at the time the option of English was first extended to them remained unchanged today, it would not be urgently necessary to review the option.

But conditions have changed, and the change in many respects has been a radical one. It is in the context of this change that the Muslim community has to view the language question today. But there are not a few, not only in the ranks of the Muslims but of the other communities as well, who tend to forget that with the attainment of independence there has been a fundamental break with the past and that the Donoughmore era has receded into history. A decision which may have been thoroughly admirable a decade or two ago or may have had some justification is not necessarily admirable or justifiable today ; it may even be wholly incompatible with present-day realities.

The gospel of English, more English and better English is a case in point. However fervently we may believe in the importance of English for one's intellectual and cultural development, it would be completely unrealistic to adhere blindly to that gospel today and altogether ignore the new factors that have now come into existence.

The country is now unequivocally and irrevocably committed to the policy of Swabasha in primary education and to a large extent in post-primary education as well as in a wide field of administration. Whatever change may occur in the composition or in the complexion of the Government, there is not the remotest likelihood of English replacing Swabasha in these spheres. This is one fact which every one of us in Ceylon has to accept, however much it may go against one's grain to do so. It is plain then that the Muslims, unless they wish to become insignificant pockets of isolationism, cannot continue to pay allegiance to old maxims and refuse to conform to the new pattern of things. It will be merely presumptuous for the Muslims to believe that they can evade the inescapable law of survival—" Adapt or die. "

It should be remembered that even before the attainment of independence the ground was being sedulously explored for the transition from English to Sinhalese and Tamil with the object of making these two languages the official languages of the country. A Select Committee of the State Council made certain recommendations in a Report published in 1946. The tempo of the proposed transition received, as was to be expected, a tremendous impetus with the attainment of independence. Not much time was allowed to pass before an Official Languages Commission started to function. In its very first Interim Report issued in September 1951, this Commission, commenting on the inadequacy of the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1941, made the significant remarks that the Select Committee Report had been issued at a time when the Government of Ceylon was still a Colonial Administration and that the background against which it had been prepared had undergone a definite change since Ceylon's attainment of independence. The conclusions to be drawn from these remarks are self-evident.

The subsequent Interim Reports of the Official Languages Commission, the many pronouncements made by members of the Government and of the Opposition and, most

important of all, the temper of the country leave no room for any doubt whatsoever as to the real earnestness and seriousness with which the transition is being regarded. It seems only a question of time—and not a long time as that—when a good deal of the business of the Administration, that is now being transacted in English, will be done in Swabasha. It is only to be expected that the general life of the whole country will be profoundly affected by this transition

One has therefore only to envisage the conditions in the country fifteen or twenty years hence to realise the unwisdom on the part of a comparatively small community such as the Muslims to continue to exercise their option in favour of English when the English medium has been abandoned by both the Sinhalese and the Tamils who form more than 92% of the population. The Musilms once made the blunder of ignoring English, when the other communities were insistently clamouring for and obtaining more and better English. Now when English is losing its pride of place by the impact of events, the Muslims will blunder again if they look upon the English medium as their panacea. The Muslims constitute a minority in the island and for them to get out of step with the other communities in the all-important matter of language will only lead to their being unceremoniously side-tracked in all the worthwhile affairs of the country The counsel of wisdom as well as safety is for the Muslims to have complete identity of interests with the other communities in the matter of language. The Muslims must therefore adapt themselves to this transition; the alternative involves a swift and sure penalty—isolation and consequent denial of their rightful place in the country

For the Muslims to look upon English as their *mother-tongue*, merely because they have been given the option of having their children taught in English, is just a fiction, if not a myth. This myth is effectively exploded when we study the linguistic background of the Muslims of Ceylon As far as I am aware, there is not a single Muslim family in Ceylon, where the home language is English Several Muslim homes are of course bilingual but, even among them, the language of ordinary intercourse is not English. Thus there is neither logic nor realism in the attitude of the Muslims, if they are determined to continue to exercise their option in favour of English.

It is now long past the stage of experimentation and has assumed the character of an axiom that the education of a child should be in its home language "Language is not a mere means of expression. Language is an instrument of thinking It is more than that. it is an instrument of feeling." "A man's native speech is almost like his shadow, inseparable from his personality." These are the observations of recognised and experienced educational psychologists. The Muslims cannot ignore these truths, especially in the present context of things, without seriously jeopardising their whole future progress.

A dispassionate view of the existing facts makes it apparent that the Muslims, in their own interests, will have to wean themselves from English as their medium of instruction. They are then left with the choice of Sinhalese or Tamil as their medium. This immediately presents them with a dilemma which is certainly not easy of solution. If their choice falls on Tamil, which is the home language of the preponderant majority among them, will it not impose a grave handicap on those very many Muslims who belong to the western and southern portions of Ceylon? Sinhalese is not the home language of most of them, but it is quite certain that they will be prevented from playing an effective role in those parts of the country, unless they acquire a very good knowledge of the Sinhalese language I shall venture to suggest a solution to the dilemma in another article.

Below is an extract from the letter written by Mr. A. M. A. Azeez to the Honorary Secretary, the Central Ceylon Muslim Educational Society, Ltd., Gampola, dated 11th April, 1953 :

"The Muslim community of Ceylon is very small in numbers with its political power centred more or less on the purely Tamil-speaking areas of the Eastern Province, Mannar and Puttalam districts, and the abandonment of Tamil by the Muslims of South and Central Ceylon would almost certainly cut them off from the Muslim of East and North Ceylon.

"There is moreover no Muslim literature in Sinhalese and it should be remembered that literature cannot be produced to order even if the money were to be found. South India has been and is producing a wealth of Muslim Tamil literature and by the abandonment of Tamil, the Muslims of Ceylon concerned will deny themselves the benefits of this literature.

"I cannot envisage Muslim theological institutions functioning efficiently in Sinhalese because such institutions will naturally become isolated, confined as they will be to only a portion of Ceylon and deprived thereby of satisfactory contacts with South India.

"Today Tamil is used in our Friday sermons throughout the island. That would not be the position if Tamil were to be abandoned by some of the Muslims in Ceylon. Linguistic divisions in these circumstances would naturally be detrimental to our interests because of our small numbers.

"And yet Sinhalese cannot be neglected in the present context of affairs in Ceylon. This problem has received my attention in reference to Zahira College, Colombo, and the solution arrived at is to make Sinhalese compulsory from Standard 6 upwards, so that a boy who leaves Zahira College, Colombo, will have a knowledge of English and Tamil as

well as Sinhalese. This seems to be the best solution of our problems. It is fairly easy for a boy to learn Sinhalese from Standard 6 onwards because of the similarity of characters and of grammar between the Sinhalese and the Tamil languages and because of the amount of spoken Sinhalese that a boy of Central or South Ceylon has acquired by the time he reaches Standard 6.

"Therefore I would urge strongly that Tamil be not abandoned and that Sinhalese be started from Standard 6. In this letter it is not possible to elaborate or supplement the arguments. It is my sincere conviction that the abandonment of Tamil would definitely destroy the solidarity of the community, considerably weaken its political power and greatly undermine the influence of Muslim culture in its midst"

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The journal attempts to. (1) reflect, in a worthy manner, Islam's ambition to reconquer its lost field of cultural glory; (2) present the new interpretation of Islam that would fit in with the changed condition of the world; (3) analyse boldly and critically the present situation, unearthing the hidden treasures of Islam's *actual* past, ignorance of which has made Muslims feel so doubtful of their future, (4) be a forum for scattered sections of the Muslim world to exchange views with one another in order to feel the reality of Islam's worldwide spiritual brotherhood, etc., etc.

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WRITE TO THE SPONSOR

The Islamic Literature

[A MONTHLY JOURNAL]

SEPTEMBER 1956

— ADDRESS —
KASHMIRI BAZAR, LAHORE (Pakistan)

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The Islamic Literature

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Editorial . . .

LAW IN ISLAM

IT IS maintained in some quarters that the degeneration of the Muslims has been caused by the Islamic Law, and that if Islam were divested of its legal aspects and became a purely ethical religion, it will enable the Muslims to regain their lost moral and intellectual vigour Those who take this view, point to the European Renaissance and Reformation, which swept away all the canon laws of the Church and the religious and clerical restrictions which impeded the growth of knowledge and free personality. There is no denying the fact that the West began to make progress only when it shook itself free of all artificial, traditional and anachronistic social customs, laws and institutions built during the Middle Ages, because these had fettered and cramped the soul and mind of the Western peoples and specially their intelligentsia. Nor do we deny that the Muslim world needs a similar, though not identical, shake-up which will free us of the cramping restrictions created by our theologians and jurists But, in copying the West, it is essential to note certain vital differences between the development of Islamic Law and institutions and parallel developments in the West, and also take into consideration the twentieth-century situation in the Muslim countries, which in some respects is diametrically opposite to the parallel situation existing at the time of the European Renaissance and Reformation It is also a matter of serious consideration whether the West has not been a loser to some extent in turning its back on religious tradition and diverging too sharply from its religious moorings, whether advantages gained by the European Reformation have not been one-sided and attended by perils which only now have made themselves seriously felt. It should not be forgotten that the problem is not one so easy of solution as some of our Westernists imagine.

The most important point in this controversy about the Islamic Law which needs be recalled is that Islam developed no idea of the supernatural, in contrast with Christianity, which from the early beginnings had a strong mystical and supernatural element in it. The birth, crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ were all supernatural out of the run of normal events. But there was nothing miraculous or mystical in the life of Muhammad (Peace be on him!) or his death The only supernatural event in the life of the Prophet, according to the orthodox view, is the ascension of the Prophet to the heavens, the *Mi'raj*. But no less a person than 'Ayesha, the Prophet's wife, rejects the theory of bodily ascension and a strong minority of learned Muslims which has always followed her, believes that it was a *ruya'* or dream, in which the soul of the Prophet was taken to the heavens.

Early in its history, Christianity had to tone down its emphasis on the supernatural. Saint Paul, confronted by a well-organised state with its peace, order and system of laws, not merely recognised the state, as permitted by God, but prized it as an institution which cared for justice and order The stoic conception of natural law was fused with the Christian moral law This had the effect of lessening the antagonism between the supernatural and the natural In the first place, some laws of the state were recognised as springing from the Divine Law, secondly, the Divine Law was not conceived necessarily as supernatural But the natural was still bifurcated into what was relatively natural and what was absolutely so Thus the gap between the supernatural and the natural was not completely filled

During the Middle Ages, however, and particularly with the development of papal organisation, a new conception of Natural Law came to be formulated In the words of Troletseh, the supernatural now developed as an independent, logical, religious and ethical principle Natural ethics and religion were the knowledge of God and obedience to the Law of God But supernatural religion and supernatural law meant the vision of God through Grace. This was a pure gift of grace transcending all barriers of Nature. The mediation here necessary was no longer, as in early Church, a mediation between two kinds, respectively absolute and relative, of one Natural Law, but between Natural Law and Supernature in general. All ethics and social philosophy were concerned with the mediation between nature, perfect and imperfect, and supernature

In contrast with this, there was no motion of a supernature in Islam or of the natural law of the stoics As far as the Qur'an and the Holy Prophet are concerned, both point to history and Nature as marks and evidences of the supernatural, meaning that the supernatural is revealed only in the natural In later ages, while the Mu'tazila and the Asha'ira discuss the nature of *Kalam* or Word of God under Christian and Greek influences, there is no controversy in regard to natural and supernatural laws. The whole medieval Muslim scholastic philosophy seems to be utterly ignorant of the stoic conception of Natural and is unconscious of any opposition between nature and supernature This must have had its effect on the development of Muslim Law Because Islam started with the Law and the State; it had no need of reconciling itself to laws which issued from a foreign source

[To be continued]

ETERNAL REVOLUTION

PROPHET MUHAMMAD (MAY THE PEACE OF ALLAH BE ON HIM) AND ETERNAL REVOLUTION

M. Azraf

This is the final instalment of Prof Azraf's article entitled "The Right Perspective" published in the March and April (1956) issues of *The Islamic Literature*

Mr Azraf discusses the reasons why revolutions take place and how divergent means can be adopted for the achievement of the same revolutionary object He also discusses the various kinds of revolution, some economic, some political, etc. Finally, he shows that Islam was a total revolution.

Mr. M. N. Ray and Islamic Revolution

THE famous political thinker the late M N. Ray, in his brochure *The Historical Role of Islam*, has remarked "The phenomenal success of Islam was primarily due to its revolutionary significance and its ability to lead the masses out of the helpless situation created by the decay of the antique civilizations not only of Greece and Rome but of Persia and China and India."

Before pronouncing any judgment on his remark, we should analyse the definition of revolution and then examine the truth of his statement Only then can we see whether Islam has a value as a particular contribution in history or has it a promise for the future welfare of humanity as well.

The Characteristics of Revolution

Ray had evidently political revolutions before his eyes when he pronounced this judgment. We should therefore follow his steps and see how political revolutions actually occur in life. To pass away from a lower stage of life to a higher one very swiftly is called revolution. By "revolution" is generally meant both the process as well as the product. And by "higher" is meant that form of life which can have a better scope of development. Every revolution has got a definite goal. A revolution without an objective is a nonsensical genocide and nothing more. Any and every general massacre in the pages of history is certainly not an event worth any mention and certainly it is very far from revolution.

In history only that event can be termed a revolution which will prove to the satisfaction of all that its occurrence has accelerated the progress of a particular country and thereby has improved the condition of the world at large

The judgment on revolution is therefore conditional It depends on the progress of human civilisations. A sudden and wonderful change which brings with it human happiness is really a revolution.

Cause of Revolution

There are two factors of political revolution For its growth, there should be a dissatisfaction amongst the masses against the existing order When the authorities concerned are either callous or oppressive, when the people do not get an opportunity to develop, there is an unrest in them of which they are not fully conscious They unconsciously revolt against it. But, as a matter of fact, they can neither themselves find out the root-cause of such maladjustment nor can they find out the remedy. In such an atmosphere a group of thinkers come forward with their clear analysis and directives and lead the masses towards their salvation M N Ray has elsewhere[1] truly remarked, "One particular section of society, which feels the urge more strongly than the rest, expresses what is generally felt and ultimately becomes the standard-bearer of the revolution because its particular interest is identical with the interest and welfare of the society as a whole."

But Ray has failed to point out that, in that particular class, one particular person generally takes the lead. Because, to him alone, the real cause of the helplessness of the masses becomes manifest and the goal to be achieved is more clear and distinct than in others.

It is therefore evident that unless and until the unrest of the masses is supplemented by the thought of a class in general and the guidance of a great man in particular, no political revolution can be successful in history The leaders of revolution, as a matter of fact, do not desire a sudden change all at once They are thinkers of the highest rank and they plan beforehand the method to be adopted and the goal to be achieved in a revolution.

Revolution in Practice

We have seen that revolution is the result of two factors. the unrest of the masses and the leadership of a section of people who are far superior to the average man in the street both in knowledge and experience as well as in the capacity of leading others. Of

1. M. N. Ray · *Scientific Politics*, p. 195.

these groups one person should be top-ranking. His voice is the voice of the nation and he commands the respect of all. But below him there are other lieutenants who also command the respect of people in a lesser degree but whose help is also absolutely necessary for the success of the revolution. But though it may sound strange, they differ considerably from each other as to the goal to be achieved and the method to be adopted. Though at a superficial sight they stand to be united, looked at scrutinisingly they are found to have different views of and distinct outlook on life. This point might be made clear from instances of history During the period of the Russian Revolution, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and others were all united for the common cause of the overthrow of Tsardom and the common object of establishing a Socialistic State. But soon after the period of strife was over, there was a considerable difference of opinion And though reverence for the personality of Lenin cemented the differences during his lifetime, after his death, there was a rift amongst the leaders as to the interpretation of Marxism and also with regard to the objective before them As is natural, there was the Leninite and the Trotskite interpretation of the Marxist creed which ultimately led to a purgation of the party and most disastrously led to the fall of Trostsky—once a right-hand man of Lenin Similarly in all revolutions, whether political, cultural or religious, we find a difference of opinion as to the future goal to be achieved and the means to be adopted.

Even in religious revolutions, we find a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of a particular philosophy of life Soon after the death of Gautama Buddha, his disciples divided themselves into two camps named Mahajan and Hinajan, claiming each, for itself, the best interpretation of the teaching of their master, the Buddha.

The root-cause of this division might be found in the fact that in every revolution there is a negative aspect as well as a positive one. Each revolution is in a sense an antithesis against the pre-existing order which it tries to demolish. In this attitude, all the leaders are unanimous But as to the ideal of the revolution there is always a divergence of opinion. This is really the positive aspect of revolution. To one it might be of this shape, to another it might be altogether different And herein lies the main cause of dissension. After the fall of the pre-existing order when there is a need for constructive work, the different ideals of the different leaders clash with each other. Lucky are the people who have a leader like Napoleon or Lenin whose command can never be disrespected. But they cannot live for ever. Sooner or later they give way to leaders of inferior capacity whose weak personalities are responsible for all the dissensions and factions that spring up soon after the revolution is over. This principle might be put in the form of a formula. Let revolution be represented by R, and let the goal be represented by x. Let A stand for the activities of objective of the best leader and b, c, d, e stand the

activities of the leaders of inferior grade. Let the overthrow of the former order be represented by L, then the revolution in practice might be put in the following formula

$$R = \begin{cases} A \text{ directed for } L, \text{ by the method of } g, h, i \text{ which leads towards } x \\ b \quad ,, \quad ,, \quad j, k, l \quad ,, \quad ,, \\ c \quad ,, \quad ,, \quad m, n, o \quad ,, \quad ,, \\ d \quad ,, \quad ,, \quad p, q, r \quad ,, \quad ,, \\ e \quad ,, \quad ,, \quad s, t, v \quad ,, \quad , \end{cases}$$

$$R \text{ therefore} = A+b+c+d+e = L(g+h+i+j+k+l+m+n+o+p+q+r+s+t+v)$$
which leads to x.

As L is the common coefficient in this formula, evidently all the activities of the highest leader as well as the sub-leaders are directed towards it But g, h, etc , being different, there is a divergence of opinion. Soon after the overthrow is accomplished This had been the case with the American Revolution and this is the case with Russian Revolution It might be pointed out, g, h, i, j, etc., might be homogeneous as well as heterogeneous By "homogeneous" is meant the affinity which they have The ideals might be progressive with a slight difference in them. Or they might contradict each other, in which case, there is possibility of a counter-revolution In Russian Revolution, the ideals of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin were homogeneous, therefore, though Stalin differed from Trotsky to a considerable degree, this dissension did not further the cause of a counter-revolution But in Spanish Revolution we find a very clear and distinct case of the mixture of heterogeneous elements. After the abolition of kingship in Spain, a Communistic State was established there. But due to the influence of heterogeneous elements it had been converted into a Fascist State which is evidently the result of counter-revolution.

As to x which is the goal of the revolution, there might be clear and distinct conception about it in the minds of the best leader or it might be vaguely conceived by the sub-leaders. We are to remember that x determines g, h, i, etc , in all cases. And though during the lifetime of a great leader j, k, l, etc., might not be prominent due to the clear and distinct conception of the great leader, sooner or later they might shoot up with a disruptive tendency which might lead to a counter-revolution.

Revolution and Human Rights

The demand for the establishment of human rights is the psychological condition of revolution. Every revolutionary thinker thinks of some human rights, without which human life cannot develop to its fullest extent. When his thought reaches its culmination, he preaches it amongst the masses. They are at first taken aback. but at last they

accept these principles with great relief. When these receive the unconditional acceptance of the majority, revolution takes place instantaneously.

Human rights are not an end in themselves. They are means to an end. And the end is the fuller development of life People want the fundamental human rights of equality, fraternity and liberty Why? Because without them human life cannot progress, it becomes arrested and atrophied

A careful study of human rights reveals the fact that they have evolved through many centuries. And it further enlightens us of the fact that they have been accepted one after another. It has further been proved that the older ones do not lose their importance in later chapters of history Human rights therefore may be arranged in chronological order. As to the origin of these rights, there is a divergence of opinion To one group, production alone is responsible for the establishment of human rights in all ages The thinkers of this group maintain that a change in production topsy-turvies the entire structure of society and thereby necessitates the emergence of the demand for some new rights For example, during the Middle Ages, when all the forces of production were concentrated in the hands of a handful of feudal lords, the masses as slaves and serfs were groaning under it and were compelled to demand equality, fraternity and liberty consciously or unconsciously. Such a feeling ultimately brought into existence the French Revolution

Similarly, when during the Tsarist regime all the productive forces went into the hands of a few feudal lords, people felt suffocated There was the least chance of development for the people of Russia. Therefore, they revolted against it, threw away the yoke of the oppressors, abolished individual proprietorship and finally established the Socialistic State

When critically examined, this analysis does not stand the tests of reason. We find a great deal of difference between the French Revolution and the Russian In both these revolutions there is a revolt against the feudal system But whereas the slogan of the French was equality, fraternity and liberty, that of the Russian was—'To each according to his capacity and to each according to his need So evidently there is a difference in the outlook of these revolutions And the change in the outlook is due to the change of psychology Time has demanded a change of the outlook on life There was hardly a change in the method of production in Russia. Only an experiment in the use of machineries was introduced in Russia, during the later part of the nineteenth century. The country was feudal through and through But psychological and ideological factors have contributed towards a change in the outlook. The French Revolution of the eighteenth century had given birth to a bourgeoisie society whereas the

Russian Revolution has brought into existence a Socialistic society designed to give place to a Communistic one in near furture.

Kinds of Revolution

Revolution takes place in human life in various forms. Besides the political revolution, which is ordinarily taken to be the only form of revolution, other kinds of revolution often occur in different pages of history. In cultural and intellectual spheres, revolution often changes the entire horizon The heliocentric conception of Copernicus, the Darwinian evolution of the species have wrought wonders in the intellectual worlds of men. People were compelled by the discoveries of the aforesaid thinkers to revise their views about the respective worlds In the modern world, Freudian theories about sex have revolutionised the ideas of men on the importance of the role of sexual instincts in life. So we must be very careful in distinguishing between the various kinds of revolutions and should not all at once jump to the conclusion that revolution is identical with political revolution There might be revolutions in moral and religious spheres as well as in political worlds The religious revolution of Gautama Buddha or Martin Luther had tremendous effects on India and Germany respectively which changed the pages of history for a long period

The characteristics of all intellectual revolutions may be easily found out by the fact that all these revolutions take place without the slightest urge amongst the masses The people of a particular country in a sense are not aware of the intellectual revolution The problems do not interest them in any way They pass their lives without noticing whether the earth or the sun is the real centre of the universe They feel strong urge of sex in life But sexual problems as such have no vital importance for them Religious revolutions are of two kinds. In one there might be a vaguely conscious desire in one class of the society for a new order In the other there might not be any desire at all. In Buddhistic revolution, we find the revolt of the Kshatriya or warrior class against the domination of the Brahmins After the formation of the caste system amongst the Aryans, the Kshatriyas as a class expanded their rule. But they could not enjoy the fruits of their labour Naturally therefore they tried to do away with the handicap of caste which bound them in an inferior ladder in the system Gautama Buddha's religious revolution therefore might be traced to the dissatisfaction of that class But in the religious revolution introduced by Prophet Muhammad (may the peace of Allah be on him) we do not find any such unrest in the masses of Arabia. A cursory glance at the Arabian history will easily convince all that there was no reaction, no protest against the then existing order of things in any way All that can be gathered from the prevalent condition of Arabia is that there were several warring tribes in Arabia full of jealousies. There were poets in different tribes whose sole mission in life was to bolster up the glories of

their own at the expense of others. Infanticide of the females was prevalent, so also was polygamy, drinking and gambling. There was no feudal overlordship, but slavery was in practice. The people of the comparatively cultured centres of Mecca and Medina were engaged in trade and business, while the unfettered Bedouins were plundering wayfarers and roaming from place to place in search of pasturage The society as a whole was neither of the mercantile type nor of the pastoral stage Polytheism was the order of the day. The priests of Mecca were the custodians of the Pantheon. They exploited the pilgrims But not the slightest unrest could be detected in the masses Of course, there were voluntary changes of outlook in the persons of Waraqa ibn Nawfil, Abdullah ibn Hajis, Othman bin Haras, Zaid bin Umar ibn Nafil and Abu Dhar Ghaffari. Their's was a reaction against polytheism and idolatry and they wanted to reinstall the religion of Patriarch Abraham.

In such an atmosphere which baffles classification and definition, the unlettered standard-bearer of truth preached and practised a religion which had a comprehensive revolutionary outlook to change the entire structure of society not only of Arabia but of the entire world

Revolution and Environment

It is an undeniable fact that in many cases environment affects revolution in many ways. Whether a revolution be political, economic, social or cultural, it must have the stamp of the atmosphere in which it is born A political revolution is influenced by the environment in two ways. It inherits some traits of the environment in which it is born and then it has to adjust itself to the requirements of the time.

By "environment" is meant the economic, political and cultural factor prevalent in a country in a particular age In every revolution we find the traces of the environment In Marxism we find the influences of all the sciences and philosophies of the nineteenth century Marx had built up his theory of economic determinism on a synthesis of the earlier and contemporary therories He had taken the key of his philosophy from Hegelian Dialectics, the progress of society from Darwin's Evolution, the theory of surplus value from Richardo's Economics He had also been influenced by the Industrial Revolution in Europe, which enabled the different powers to be in an advantageous position of surplus production. The use of machineries in conquering the forces of Nature had also emboldened the spirit of the Europeans. This might be called Mechanical Revolution. Industiral Revolution, coupled with the Mechanical, entirely changed the outlook on life. Spiritual and moral values were pushed to the background and absolute secularism became the fashion of the time. All these had influenced the views of Karl Marx. In fact the

horrible exploitation of the bourgeoisie that is depicted by Marx could have been possible after the Industrial Revolution. During the mediaeval period, when feudalism was reigning supreme and production was possible only through manual labour, such an economic exploitation would have been unthinkable

Similarly, in Darwinian revolution, we find the psychology of all the European people of that century They were then equipped with higher knowledge of sciences and arts and were in search of the fields of expansion and exploitation For them the principle of the survival of the fittest was not only a key to the mysteries of the biological world, it was necessary for the conquest of the foreign countries as well. Darwinian Evolution therefore was the outcome of the European mind during the nineteenth century. Time, space and environment have therefore great power in shaping the revolutions of the world

But whereas, in political revolutions, there are two factors—the unrest of the masses and the leadership of the intellectuals—in cultural and intellectual revolution, there is only one. The problems are tackled by the intellectuals from whom they find solutions. The masses are quite unaware of it In all revolutions, therefore, environment has a contribution In intellectual and some of the religious revolutions, the environment has its effect on the minds of the revolutionaries But in all political revolutions there is a consciousness of the masses and still more there is an urge for escape. This tempo is channelised by the intellectual class generally and particularly by the leaders of the revolution The effect of environment on political revolution might be found out in another respect There is no necessity of an intellectual revolution to adjust itself to the practical needs of the time. Only it has to be revised, enlarged and modified by further researches In political revolution the need for adjustment is very great

Political revolutions, as has already been mentioned, are the results of two factors—the uneasiness of the masses and the leadership of the intellectuals The leaders are, as a rule, ahead of the time Therefore the aim and object of their revolution might be too lofty to be achieved by the masses As a matter of fact, in every political revolution we find the working of some ideals for the achievement of which revolution occurs

But soon after the revolution is over, it is found to be difficult to have a smooth working of the principles in society In the French Revolution of the eighteenth century and the Russian Revolution of the twentieth, it might be seen that the principles of these revolutions could not all at once work in the existing societies The principles had to be moderated in order to apply them in those societies. This is very much in evidence in the Russian Revolution. It was meant for complete Communism But soon after the revolution was over, the principles of Communism were found to be too lofty for the

masses to materialise. Therefore a Socialistic State had to be formed in order to adjust the Communistic principle to the Russian society. Similarly in China, though the object of the revolution was the establishment of Communism, the state established is Democratic.

Revolution and Promise

All political revolutions aim at the establishment of some human rights. They have therefore some particular slogan. As soon as these rights are established, revolutions come to an end The achievement of a particular revolution is judged by time alone If it raises humanity to a higher level, it is considered to be a blessing, otherwise a curse No revolution can determine for ever the course of history It might have a far-reaching effect. It might shape the course of history for a long period but it cannot chalk out the process for all times. As we have already seen, there are many factors which bring a revolution into existence These factors change from time to time Economic and ideological factors have a very great contribution in political revolutions. Changes in the modes of production as well as changes in the outlook on life shape the revolution in various ages As these two factors cannot be anticipated, so nobody can foresee the shape of things to come in which human rights would evolve and demand a particular revolution. Still the value of revolution might be ascertained by its promise and potency By promise we mean the capacity of the revolution to pave the way for a mightier one in which human life would get fuller expression and more healthy expansion. By promise we further mean the elasticity of the revolution. If in a particular revolution we find the tendency to workability in future, the revolution might be called promising.

The French Revolution of the eighteenth century heralded the new era. It was a revolt of the bourgeoisie against the oppression of the feudal class It was the main cause of the progress and happiness of a class of people for one century But by the middle of the nineteenth century its contradictions appeared to be appalling It was found to be out and out an advantage to the capitalists and a curse to the labourers. The slogan of the French Revolution was equality, fraternity and liberty Of these liberty for the merchants and producers was the main target. The other two were of negative value. They were meant for an equality of the aforesaid classes with the feudal lords They were not desired for all the people of France, much less for all the people of the world Therefore soon after the force of revolution was over, the newly-risen class, the bourgeoisie captured power. They exacted equal rank and position from the feudal lords and were callous to the fraternity of all people. The revolution was therefore partial and one-sided. It had no promise for the future development of humanity and it was in a sense a stumbling block to the progress of humanity at large

The Russian Revolution is considered to be the ripe fruit of the French Revolution in some quarters. It is interpreted to be the result of the contradictions inherent in the former. *We have already seen that the French Revolution is the father of the bourgeoisie* revolution and is the cause of the triumph of Capitalism. It has brought into existence the predominance of one class If the contradictions of Capitalism were the main cause of the Russian Revolution, then a Capitalistic society and state would have been absolutely necessary for its birth. But the Russian Revolution took place in a feudal order which had not even any clear growth of Capitalism So, evidently, the teachings of Karl Marx were the main factor in Russian Revolution It was the psychological make-up of the Russians, not the contradictions of Capitalism that is responsible for this revolution

As to the Russian Revolution all that might be said is that it has given birth to a Socialistic State pledged to be wiped out of existence in the long run, giving place to a Communistic and Anarchistic society. It has set up a millennium before humanity in which there would be no cause of revolution in future But the most important question relevant here is · Can humanity calculate beforehand all the factors that will emerge in time? Can all the psychological and ideological changes in humanity be foreseen all at once? To the disinterested students of history, Marxism appears to be orthodoxy over again. A brief criticism of the Marxist interpretation of history would not be out of place It is one-sided in the sense that it has not taken man to be endowed with the power of initiative. As a matter of fact, the interpretation is thoroughly mechanistic and deterministic It leaves no scope for human endeavour and enterprise. Production and distribution are counted here to be the main forces in shaping the course of history Social structure and ideational products are explained to be the results of productive forces that lie at the base. As a corollary, all other causes are supposed to be the by-products of the forces at the root

But an analysis of the interpretation would show that not only productive forces but also the psychological factors are effective in the evolution of society Any stage in the evolution of human society might be taken for illustration. Let us examine Capitalism There is nothing in Capitalism to prevent a producer to distribute his production equally among all the members of society. If he does so, there would be no contradiction arising out of his mode of production But, as a matter of fact, no capitalist does so. It is his selfishness that stands in the way So the logical conclusion would be, when Capitalistic production is coupled with selfishness or egoism, only then it will lead to the contradiction of Socialistic production and individualistic distribution. We are therefore forced to take into account the psychological factor. The root-cause of this contradiction lies in the disparity between the growth of the intellect and that of the moral nature of men. There is a very great progress in the intellectual attainments of

humanity but its moral nature is stunted. Sciences are the outcome of the intellectual growth of men. They have enriched humanity by their results Applied sciences have gone a great way in uplifting the standard of life. But these results have not been supplemented by a respect for the moral values. The contradiction lies therefore in the unequal progress of the two sides of men. The interpretation of history as given by Karl Marx therefore requires modification. It must be pointed out that not only productive forces but also the psychological tendencies are the causes of contradictions which in their turn lead to the revolutions

Moreover, to the average reader Marxism appears to be the finality in thought. It seems to be the end of all knowledge The course of history as envisaged by Marx seems to be the one and only passage through which humanity must necessarily pass. What then is the use of the studies and researches in various departments of the sciences and arts? What is the use of undergoing so many experiments in modern sciences?

Even veteran Marxists had to admit that the angle of vision must be changed. Marxism to them is not a final conclusion Its method might be adhered to but it should be reinforced and remodelled in the light of the achievements of the sciences. M N Ray has admitted the revision of Marxism in clear language " By applying the method which is the essence of Marxism, it will be perfectly legitimate for us, nay, it will be the duty of every Marxist, to elaborate, amplify and even revise Marxism in the light of the knowledge of modern science which was not available, at the time of Karl Marx, this becomes necessary Human mind, human knowledge did not stop growing since the three volumes of *The Capital* were written Since Karl Marx wrote, human knowledge has progressed, and if, by applying the principle of Marxism, we find that, in the light of knowledge, Marxist teachings have to be amplified or certain conclusions at which he arrived have to be modified, we shall be bad Marxists if we do not have the courage to do so."[1]

We may be allowed now to pronounce our judgment on the achievements of the Russian Revolution. It may be admitted without hesitation that it has freed a very large number of people from exploitation It has set up before humanity the ideal of profitless production. But it is not promising because the goal that is set up is the end of all revolutions. It leaves no scope for a change of outlook due to the discoveries of the sciences. Its main aim is the regimentalisation and mechanisation of humanity for the attainment of a millennium There is no possibility of a free growth of intellect in it and much less a possibility for further development

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1. M. N. Ray: *What is Marxism?* pp. 13-15.

II

The Distinctive Characteristics of Islamic Revolution

Islamic Revolution is a comprehensive revolution in the sense that it changes the entire outlook on life It is intellectual, moral, social and political all at the same time. It is not meant for the establishment of some specific rights To the contrary, its main aim was and still is the complete emancipation of men from all kinds of tyranny, whether intellectual, moral, economic or political.

As an intellectual revolution, it freed the human mind to have the free exercise of its faculties. In the Qur'an Allah declares, " This day I have perfected your religion " Inerpreted literally, it means that there is no need for future prophethood And it appears to be a partiality of Godhead towards Islam But as Allama Iqbal contends, " In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its abolition. This involves the keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings, that in order to achieve full consciousness man must finally be thrown back on his own resources."[1]

In the Qur'an Allah has further exhorted humanity to have the fullest exercise of its reason and experience

> " The Lord grants *Hikmat* (scientific knowledge) to whomsoever He pleases, and whoever is granted *Hikmat* receives the supreme advantage '[2]

Not only in the Qur'an, but in various utterances of the Prophet, very great stress has been laid for scientific knowledge and inductive generalisations Islam has thus paved the way for the growth of modern sciences

As a background of the political and economic revolution that Islam ushered in, it has placed charity, kindness, benevolence to the topmost ladder of human virtues, not because they are necessary for the smooth running of the society but because they have an essential value in the very constitution of the universe from which everything and being of the world springs The Qur'an exhorts people to spend in charity for the purification of their own nature :

> "Those who in charity
> Spend of their good
> By night and by day

1. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.*
2. Al-Qur'an—Sura Baqara—Chap II, Sec 36, 37, 269—Maulana Muhammad Ali's translation.

In secret or in public
Have their reward
With their Lord.[1]

And the reward is to be given not only in the after-life, but even here and now It is the reward of the fullest development of life. Because human nature requires for its growth the inculcation of the highest virtues amongst which charity is the foremost

As an economic revolution, it worked out a programme which should tend to abolish all exploitation. We should bear in mind, hoarding and accumulation of wealth is the root-cause of all exploitations Hoarded wealth is the source of capital. Islam has therefore banned all sorts of hoarding in clear language The Qur'an declares " And those who hoard up gold and silver and do not spend in the way of Allah (for the benefit of humanity) announce to them a painful chastisement "[2] Abu Huraira, a beloved companion of the Prophet, confirmed this by saying " The Prophet added that the punishment on the Day of Judgment shall be branding of side and forehead and back of those who hoarded gold and silver, not paying therefrom the dues " [3]

It is well known to the students of Islamic history that a very great revolution was accomplished by one of the best companions of the Prophet, Hazrat Abu Dhar Ghaffari, during the Khilafat of Hazrat 'Uthman, on this principle This was perhaps the severest blow to Capitalism in history As a political revolution, Islam established the sovereignty of Allah on earth, abolishing proprietorship of the kings, lords and nobles " The Qur'an has given the name *Malik-ul-Mulk* to God and has declared repeatedly that every place, i e. every millionth part of an inch of land belongs to God It says *Lahul Mulk* He is all kingdom Thus the king himself (or any other head of the state) has been deprived of the ownership of land or the country The Prophet declared, All land is of God, the creatures are the creatures of God , whoso quickens dead land is best entitled to it " (Abu Da'ud)[4] " The great traditionist Ibn Hazm, of the Zahiri school, has mentioned in his *Mahalli* that Abu Sayeed Khudri, a very good companion of the Prophet, had narrated that the Prophet had said ' Those persons who have got necessaries for power and ability beyond their needs, it is incumbent to distribute those surplus necessaries to the weak. For the one who has got food and clothing beyond his needs, it is incumbent

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1 Qur'an . Sura Baqara (II 38, 274-76).

2 Qur'an Sura Al-Baraat (V 34)

3. Shaikh Mushir Hussain Kidwai *Pan-Islamism and Bolshevism*, pp 262-266 , and Ibn Hazm : *Mahalli*, Vol II, p 158 : from *Islam Ka Iqtesadi Nizam* by Maulana Hafizur Rahman, p 43.

4. Shaikh Mushir Hussain Kidwai *Pan-Islamism and Bolshevism*, p 275.

to distribute them among the needy.'

"*Abu Sayeed Khudri had further narrated that the Prophet had expressed himself in such a way that he had been convinced of the truth of there being no right of anybody on anything*

" Hazrat 'Umar bin Khattab had expressed that had he known all these ideas before, then he would not have delayed and without hesitation had seized the property of the rich and distributed it among the poor *muhajirs* (emigrants) " 1

"A tradition of the Prophet which had been accepted by Hazrat Abu 'Ubeida and as many as three hundred companions of the Prophet tells us that on a particular occasion, when there was scarcity, the Prophet ordered the people to bring all that belonged to them. When everything was brought together, he distributed the collection equally well among stall those present "2

" Hazrat 'Ali was of opinion that Allah had made it obligatory on the rich to supply sufficient necessaries of life to the poor. If the poor starve or be naked or be in danger in search for the bare necessaries of life, you might take the rich to be irresponsible For such sins they shall have to give account in the Day of Resurrection and will be punished for their stringency "3

" Such traditions and the authority of the Qur'an had enabled Ibn Hazm to explain the relation between the rich and the poor (and the duty of an Islamic State) According to him, for the rich it is incumbent to be responsible for the livelihood of the poor If the income of the *Bait-ul-Mal* (public exchequer) be not sufficient for the supp'y of the demand of the poor, the Sultan, *Amir* (the authority) of the time might compel the rich (for a free distribution of their wealth), that is, he might seize their property and distribute it amongst the poor The bare necessaries for the livelihood of the poor mean sufficient food for the satisfaction of their hunger, sufficient clothing and a house strong enough to protect them from storm, rain, the heat of the sun and flood."4

While discussing the tradition narrated by Abu Sayeed Khudri, Ibn Hazm had come to the conclusion that the companions of the Prophet had come to the following

1 Ibn Hazm · *Mahalli*, Vol II, p 158 from *Islam Ka Iqtesadi Nizam* by Maulana Hifzur Rahman, p 43

2. Ibn Hazm *Mahalli*, Vol VI, p 158.

3. Ibid.

4 Ibid., Vol VI, p. 725

decision unanimously.[1] If anybody starves or be naked, that is, deprived of the supply of the bare necessaries of life, then the rich are bound to supply them from their surpluses In this connection, the Quranic text that Allah has created everything on earth for mankind has been very aptly explained by a veteran Indian theologian It means, Allah has created everything for mankind Everything is men's property That means, He has created everything for the satisfaction of human needs Nothing belongs to a particular person from the law of creation, but is the property of all All things are produced for the welfare of humanity, therefore all persons have equal rights of enjoyment over all things Whenever anything be in possession of a particular person, then he might be taken to be the sole proprietor of it, none else can exercise any right over it But for the possessor, it is necessary to know that he should on all account part with the unnecessary things and leave them to others for consumption For, as human beings, everybody is entitled to enjoy the fruits of creation For this reason, even after the payment of the Zakat, it is not befitting for a man to hoard wealth. Only for this reason the prophets and the religious-minded persons of the world have always abstained from accumulating wealth (Further) it has been made clear from the tradition that the companions and the Tabayeens have declared it prohibited to have things unnecessary for one's purpose On the whole, it might be undoubtedly asserted that the accumulation or use of things not necessary for living is not justified [2]

The accumulation of unnecessary things and wealth led to various contradictions of the world in the past It automatically creates capital and divides men into classes and sects which is very much antagonistic to the Quranic principles of equality and fraternity of men. When a group of people or a mighty lord violates this principle and oppresses or exploits others by claiming the sovereignty of the universe, as had been done by a Pharaoh of Egypt, Allah overthrows him by the downtrodden or the exploited We find the story of the Pharaoh very excellently narranted in the Qur'an.

> Truly Pharaoh elated himself
> In the land and broke up
> Its people into sections,
> Depressing a small group
> Among them, their sons he slew
> But he kept alive their females
> For he was indeed
> A maker of mischief [3]

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1 Ibn Hazm *Mahalli*, Vol. VI, p 158

2 Maulana Mahmudul Hasan *Ijahul Adilla*, p 268

3 Qur'an Sura Qasas (XXVIII. 1 4), Allama Yusuf Ali s Translation

But Allah willed quite otherwise. It was His intention to bring a revolution by the oppressed and thus terminate the long-standing grievance of a group of people. So He declared :

> And We wished to be
> Gracious to those who were
> Being depressed in the land,
> To make them leaders (in faith)
> And make them heirs [1]

So it is evident that Allah desires the rise of the oppressed or, to use a modern term, the proletariat, against the oppressors or exploiters We should not forget that in every religious revolution, and particularly in Islam, the mission of the Prophet was not simply directed for spiritual salvation , it was also meant for the emancipation of the oppressed from the clutches of the expropriators All the prophets of Islam were Dictators of the Proletariats in their own times

This is also an outcome of the teachings of Islam Islam is not a guide in men's spiritual affairs merely It is a comprehensive code of life to be followed for the better progress of humanity both in this world as well as in the life hereafter. Indeed, in Islam, there is no demarcation between the secular and spiritual affairs, between the duties of mind and body. Life, in Islam, is taken to be a harmonious combination of soul and body which might be viewed either from this angle or from that

The Method and Goal of Islamic Revolution

Islam has taken humanity in its entirely It does not lose sight of its different faculties and propensities Its primary object is to have a healthy development of all its inherent capabilities and to harmonise and coordinate them by one principle, so that there might not be any contradictions in human life due to an undue importance of anyone That is done by the acceptance of a postulate which is the richest in its contents.

For Islam, such a postulate is Allah He is all-knowing, all-powerful, benevolent, beneficent, creator, evolver, sustainer and sovereign of the universe He is all-knowing and so He encourages the culture of the arts and the sciences He is all-powerful, therefore we as agents might acquire power from Him He is the benevolent Lord; therefore the welfare of humanity is His main object He is the evolver of the universe. So, the world is passing from the lower to the higher stages in course of history.

1. Qur'an , Sura Qasas (XXVIII 1 . 5), Allama Yusuf Ali's Translation (p 1002),

He is the sustainer of humanity in the sense of not only the giver of food and raiment but also in the sense of the preserver of all values. He is the sovereign to whom belongs everything of the universe. There cannot be any exclusive right or any privilege of any person or any class in His Kingdom

The second postulate of Islam is the vicegerency of men, which means that, as the representatives of Allah on earth, we are to be endowed with all the highest qualities realised in Him, and try our level best to realise His Kingdom on earth.

The next important point in Islamic revolution is the recognition of the individuality in men and separating it from selfishness and egoism It is very unfortunate that modern psychology has not yet been able to distinguish between the self-assertion of the individual and his selfish tendencies It confuses these two primary tendencies and mistakes one for the other Self-assertion, in the form of establishing one's own ideals in the world, is a laudable virtue But selfishness in the sense of self-centredness is a pernicious evil Humanity as such is addressed in the Qur'an for a better and ordered life The principles of the Qur'an might be applied either to the individual or to the collective body Evidently therefore by individuals the Qur'an means the self-assertive individuals, not the selfish egos who consider themselves the chosen few in the world

In Islam the goal, both for the individual and the collective body is one and the same Men are asked to build up the Kingdom of Allah on earth. So there are no separate laws for the individuals and the society. Every human being is required to shape his life on the model of Allah on earth, and so also the society and the state are to be built on the same ideal The various institutions of Islam are meant for the sole object of preparing the individuals for a life in the society and the state Though Islam does not enjoin on the people to have a merger of the society and the state, yet there is a clear injunction for a smooth working of its principles both in the life of the individual and society

Salat (prayer), *Siyam* (Abstinence), *Hajj* and *Zakat* are really meant for the preparation of the individual lives for a smooth accommodation in the collective body. In daily prayer, we are trained to obey and work together. By fasting, we are trained to undergo hardships and be prepared for the worst in life, viz starvation. *Siyam* literally means abstinence. During the month of Ramadan, we are trained to abstain from all the luxuries of life. *Hajj* is meant for the universal congregation of all the people for the development of the spiritual fraternity. *Zakat* is a voluntary parting of the surplus for the benefit of humanity and a constant reminder of the altruistic trait of men.

Islamic revolution therefore is a complete revolution of the individual life, for the preparation of a greater revolution of society and the state So it has been rightly said, "It begins with a simple call to the obedience of God and an invitation to abandon the life of self-indulgence and accept the restraints of morality " [1]

Islamic Revolution and Environment

In Islamic revolution we find two important characteristics There is first *of all a clear impress of the environment in which* it was born and then there is an elasticity to meet the changing needs of the time From a study of the history of Arabia we find that before and during the rise of Islam on the northern side of Arabia there was the empire of the mighty Romans, and on the eastern side, there was the empire of the ease-loving Persians During that period slavery was regarded as a necessity not only in the Roman Empire but almost throughout the world The forces of production in those two countries were in the hands of a few feudal lords And women as a class were considered commodities. The Prophet was born in such an atmosphere with the mission of Islam It should be admitted that, in Islam, we find the traces of these conditions even now It might be further admitted that in the Holy Qur'an there is no clear injunction either for the abolition of slavery or for a clear declaration of the equal rights of women. But the clear indications of the future society, that would evolve from it, point to the fact that in future slavery should be totally abolished and women should be given equal rights with men

A deep study of the Qur'an convinces us that there cannot be any exploitation of men by men In many places of it, the fundamental unity of man has been announced in clear unequivocal language .

O mankind ! reverence
Your guardian Lord,
Who created you
From a single person
Created of like nature
His mate from them twain.[2]

And then again it has been declared

O mankind ! We created
You from a single (pair)
Of male and female

1. Sayyed Abul Ala Maudoodi *Process of Islamic Revolution*, p 56.
2. Qur'an · Sura Nesa (IV), Allama Yusuf Ali's Translation

And *made you into*
Nations and tribes that
Ye may know each other
Not that ye may despise
(Each other). Verily
The most honoured of you
In the sight of God
Is (he who is) the most
Right of you.[1]

Evidently therefore there cannot be any classes in man. And though the Qur'an accepted slavery as an institution prevalent at that time, there are strong exhortations for manumission in it. For example

And what will explain
To thee the path that is steep ·
It is freeing a bond man [2]

The Prophet had declared that nothing is dearer to Allah than manumission It is recommended by the Prophet as expiation of sins committed for neglect of religious duties. The expiation for a breach of promise is to set a slave free The beating of a slave has been expiated by setting him free The holy Prophet said Feed the hungry, visit the sick and set free the captives The Prophet instructed his followers to set a slave free at the time of solar and lunar eclipses and for cohabition during fasting [3] So it might be easily seen that in practical life it is impossible to keep slaves. As a being of flesh and blood, man is always prone to commit some sins and, as a means of expiation, he will have to set free a slave.

Similarly it might be shown that men were exhorted to give equal rights to women in course of time Islam had accepted the order of society existing at that time, and formulated laws which would be applicable to the then existing society very successfully but which have sufficient elasticity to expand in changing circumstances The Qur'an and the Sunna have encouraged a radical change of oulook and a review of their tenets in the light of the changes in the environment. This is done through *Ijtehad* or free exercise of judgment by individuals Many instances might be cited to prove that, during the glorious period of Islamic rule, it was done for the sole purpose of meeting new situations. It is a known fact of history that the Prophet distributed the conquered

1. Al Qur'an, *Hujurat* (XLIX 2, 13), Allama Yusuf Ali's translation
2. Al Qur'an, Balad (xc. 12 and 13), ibid.
3. Maulana Fazlul Karim. *Al-Hadis*, Book I, pp. 220-23.

lands around Medina belonging to the Jewish tribe of Banu Nadir, among the *Muhajirs* and two poor *Ansars* After the victory of Khybar, he also divided the lands among the fighters of Islam. Because during that period there was not the slightest chance of these *people being converted into landlords During the Khilafat of Hazrat 'Umar when Syria and Iraq were conquered, he refused to follow the steps of the Prophet and to distribute the lands amongst the fighters. " He knew that when the Prophet distributed the lands* of Khybar amongst his soldiers, there was no danger of Muslims falling into the evil of landlordism and abandoning the life of toil and struggle in pursuit of their high ideals But with the conquest of Syria and Iraq, this danger did not any longer remain in the region of remote possibility 'Umar saw that if he distributed the conquered lands to the Muslim army, he would be creating a class of exploiting landlords who would contribute nothing to the glory of Islam and would be content to live a life of ease and comfort out of the income derived from land "[1]

" The second Caliph also took another revolutionary step in the acquisition of lands by Muslims without looking for any religious precedents He prohibited the purchase of landed property by Muslims in the conquered dominions If he had gone by strict legal precedents, he could never have imposed this far-reaching restriction on the private property-rights of Muslims, because the Prophet has imposed no limits in his time on the acquisition of land or property by Muslims in any form Here again social conditions and the welfare of the community took precedence over legal injunctions "[2] " It was in this spirit that Hadrat 'Umar suspended the ordinary law for theft and robbery during a famine in his reign Violation of the laws of property can be treated as a crime only when there is no external compulsion to justify it and society ensures equal economic justice to every citizen " [3]

Islam therefore recognises the change in the environment and allows a deviation from the letter of the Qur'an and the Sunna according to the needs of the time To it, all the factors that evolve in a particular society, economic, ideological and political, have equal importance and they should be taken into consideration before the application of the fundamental laws of Islam, which is sovereignty of God and vicegerency of men.

The confusion as to the real nature of Islamic revolution has arisen from misinterpretation of it Islamic revolution was the result of the teachings of the Qur'an and the explanation of them by the Prophet. It was materialised by the Prophet and developed by the rightly-guided Khalifas according to the needs of the time. For an Islamic revolu-

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1. Mazharuddin Siddiq · "Socialistic Trends in Islam," *The Islamic Literature*, October 1952, p 547.
2. Ibid., p. 548.
3. Ibid., p 553

tion, the letters of the Qur'an (which have undoubtedly some trace of an Arab society before the rise of Islam) need not be followed at all times and circumstances. The real spirit is absolutely necessary. And it should take into consideration the various factors prevalent in a particular country. Islamic revolution during the lifetime of the Prophet and that of the rightly-guided Khalifas had done so and Islamic revolution of the present and the future should also take note of it.

The Causes of the Failure of Islamic Revolution

By the light of what has been already put forward, we can now find out the real causes of the failure of Islamic movement We have seen already that when a revolution is in practice it must have a top-ranking leader at whose command the sub-leaders and the masses move. And moreover there is a distinct goal before him which he tries to realise by all means His personality is a cementing factor amongst the votaries and nobody can dare oppose him. Such was the personality of Prophet Muhammad (sal'am) and that of the first two Khalifas But soon after the death of Hazrat 'Umar, during the Khilafat of Hazrat 'Uthman, the influence of the sub-leaders was predominant They differed with each other both as to the means and end The prominence of Mu'awiyah, 'Amr Ibn-ul-'As, Marwan and others in politics was the main cause of the dissension amongst the Muslims They differed considerably from the Prophet and the rightly-guided Khalifas as to the real goal of Islamic revolution It has already been pointed out that the methods adopted by the greatest leader and that of the sub-leaders might be homogeneous in the sense that they would not contradict each other. They might be heterogeneous as well That means, they might contradict each other In that case, there is a possibility of a counter-revolution. This was exactly the case with Islamic Revolution. The method adopted by the Prophet and the rightly-guided Khalifas was quite different from and diametrically opposed to that adopted by Mu awiyah and his followers The goal was also different To the Prophet and his strict followers, the rightly-guided Khalifas, Islamic Revolution meant the achievement of the freedom of humanity from all sorts of bondages—intellectual, moral, political and economic—and the means to achieve it was the moral regeneration of men. Whereas to Mu'awiyah and his followers, it meant the establishment of an empire for the rule of a dynasty, capable enough to preach, practise and rule over other people and at the same time to be powerful enough to withstand the attacks of the enemies It also meant the expansion of the Arab state far and wide with a view to dominating over the different races of the world. And, in fact, the Omayyads were able to carry out the motive of the founder in practice.

But this is altogether a counter-revolution, absolutely divergent from the one meant by the real leader,

There are other factors of the failure of Islamic Revolution which should be taken notes of But that will lead us astray from the main theme. For the time being let us confine our attention to the promise and potency of Islamic Revolution.

The Promise of Islamic Revolution

In Islamic Revolution, there is an attempt to revolutionise the complete man. That means, Islam changes the entire outlook on life The root of all the contradictions, with which life is infested in modern times, might be found in the disparity between the growth of the intellect and that of the moral nature in man Or it might be attributed to the one-sided interpretation of humanity We have a tendency to explain everything human either in terms of economics or in terms of sex or biology These one-sided interpretations lead to the adoption of one-sided ideals which are responsible for the contradictions and conflicts of life

In scientific spheres we have the fullest development of the intellect but our moral nature does not develop to a proportionate extent Our achievements in sciences are therefore misused and disused They have simultaneously brought happiness and miseries The only possible remedy for this modern ailment would be to take into account all the human traits with all their requirements and then to develop them harmoniously by a simple and single principle which has already been done by Islam The Dialectics of Capitalism and Communism may force the world to accept such a principle in very near future

But in the meantime we might ourselves realise that Islamic Revolution has the possiblity of being realised at all times and places It might have been realised in the past and it has a prospect of being realised in future For Islamic Revolution the mode of production is not absolutely necessary It might be individualistic or it might be collectivised. Islam requires that at all the stages of life there must be the largest amount of production and there should be the most equitable distribution There should be the progress in intellect as well as the progress in the moral nature of men But as that is an ideal which has not yet been achieved, there would be constant revolutions, both in the life of the individuals and the life of the nations Islam does not envisage a state where there would be a cessation of all struggles It never believes in a stage of life flowing with milk and honey—in which everything would be mechanically done without any conscious effort of men

The ideal before it is constant struggle to ward off the evil nature in man and to establish the higher values in him and thereby to realise the Kingdom of Allah on earth, The Prophet therefore had admonished people to acquire divine qualities.

So in Islam there cannot be any cessation in the struggle. Men as men will have to fight hard to establish the Kingdom of Allah on earth. To do so they will have to be the vicegerents of Allah themselves and strive on for ever in the march of time.

Prophet Muhammad (may the peace of Allah be on him) stands today as the father of eternal revolution. His mission therefore has not only an historical role; it has a role for all times

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VERY IMPORTANT

The Editor earnestly requests the learned contributors to revise their articles before despatch, especially in respect of unifarmity of proper names, quotations—where they begin and where they end—and etc. This not only saves labour here but also ensures flawless printing.

RENAISSANCE OF THE MUSLIM WORLD

M A. C. M. Saleh

In this article Mr Saleh makes a plea for the restoration of Caliphate At the same time he says that the Muslims should change their outlook in accordance with the changes in the conditions of life Now the question arises whether the concept of Caliphate itself should not undergo a change Is it possible to restore Caliphate in the same old sense or must we have an altogether new institution answering to the needs of time ? The only thing worthy of revival in the idea of Caliphate is that the Muslim countries should forge a common social, economic and foreign policy by mutual consultation and hand over a minimum of powers to a federally constituted central government and parliament Beyond this we need not revive all the older traditions

THERE is a general awakening in all countries and the consciousness of the nations has been aroused Peace seems to be the one and only aim of all those who profess to promote the welfare of the people in their respective regions. In spite of this pious profession for an all-round amity and concord among nations, big and small, and, in spite of the fair-seeming avowal, openly declared, for closer friendship and greater cordiality, leading to the ideal of a word-wide polity, to strive with mutual aid and assistance, to establish the foundation of lasting peace upon the wholesome assumption of human happiness and liberty of conscience, no one can deny how restless they are in their frantic efforts to engage themselves in war-like preparations

Suspicion, hatred and jealousy between nations underlie movements that apparently have no deep-rooted conviction other than hostility and animosity. The faith of man in the Sovereignty of God, in wisdom and truth and his social responsibility in equality and brotherhood, seems shattered to succumb to the short-lived alluring worldly temptations and has no basis upon which guidance should be sought, behaviour regulated and his ministry accomplished as an object endowed with the highest faculty to fulfil the process of evolution. No conscious attempt appears to have been made to remove the shackles of this vicious circle that engross the hearts in the interplay of material well-being as the be-all and end-all of human existence.

The conception concerning the noble mission of life seems shrouded in mystery and the intellectual equipment towards moral rectitude and spiritual enlightenment has

been relegated to the shadow in preference to the substance of success in consummation of the eternal verity that leads to the realities seen and unseen. A solution of the conflict between the two monsters of Capitalism and Communism has not been found as the battle of might can never solve it and the struggle will continue fiercer and fiercer with the rapid invention of new weapons to destroy mankind, instead of harnessing its service to glorify the phenomena of creation in its wonderous signs of Nature, comprehending the architectural designs in the planets of the universe, untouched by human ingenuity with all the vastness of the vicissitudes that portend to unfold the panorama of life in the miracle of being

In this heart-breaking trend of events, witnessed everywhere, Muslims, from their long slumber, apathy and indifference to their fatalistic mood of retreat, are beginning to reassert and revitalise themselves with the wine of wisdom, enshrined in the Holy Book of Allah, true to its dynamic force, which raised the early inheritors of the Divine Revelation to the pinnacle of glory and greatness that remains unsurpassed in the history of mankind to this day In all fields of human endeavour, this revival has re-awakened a sense of responsibility to bring the golden age of Islam once more to the forefront of a united Muslim world for it to retain the vitality of its God-given gifts to enjoy in equal measure the blessings of good-will, harmony and fellow-feeling with no barriers to provoke the wrath of man against man for self-destruction.

Since the advent of Islam, changes have taken place in different parts of the Muslim world which have profoundly affected the nature and character of the people Centuries ago, the rulers adopted the Israelite Princes as their model but today, if the Muslim rulers followed them, they would find themselves driven out bag and baggage It is true that no modern ruler can justly claim to wield the rod of Empire as freely as Hazrat Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Harun al-Rashid, Sulaiman the Magnificent and several others who maintained strict orthodoxy and observed in spirit the Shari'at of Islam in their dealings with their subjects and in the administration of the country The Prophet of Islam not only ministered to the spiritual wants of his followers but also laid the foundation of democratic institutions which helped the people to understand the fundamental rights of human beings Had it not been so, Muslim civilisation would not have reached the zenith of its plenitude, despite wanton destruction and devastation and antagonism among the nations.

An analysis of the progress and development of man clearly indicates the influence religion had in shaping and moulding the destiny of a variety of peoples upon diverse systems of government which found expression through the medium of religious leaders, who expounded great and sacred principles for the guidance of the human race. It

should be of interest to note that of all the Muslim countries which have undergone changes, Turkey had to fight longer than others not only to maintain and preserve her independence but also to uphold the dignity of the Khilafat, sanctified by the Prophet of Islam Soon after the demise of the holy Prophet, the history of the Khilafat has had a checkered career from once being in Arabia, then in Egypt and ultimately reaching Turkey.

Most important in the history of Islam is and has been the institution of Khilafat, which is the seat of the Spiritual Head with or without temporal power. In dealing with the Muslim world in retrospect, the essential point to bear in mind is the installation of the Khilafat and its subsequent fate due to Mustafa Kemal's glorious triumph of Turkish liberation For centuries together, the Sultan of Turkey was the Khalifa by virtue of his office just as the King or Queen of Great Britain is also the Defender of the Faith According to some eminent Arabic scholars, temporal power is a support to the religious head, but it is nowhere laid down that that power is essential nor has anyone proved it to be so Generally, the Khalifa happens to be one who is a ruler

This dual function has been the main feature just as despotism was of the Sultanate for centuries, although contrary to Islamic precepts Step by step outstanding men of the type of Said Halim Pasha, Kemal, Jinnah, Naguib, Iqbal and Nasser changed the order of things to suit the needs of the times in conformity with the ideals of an Islamic Commonwealth A religion which is capable of doing so should be regarded as the greatest religion, which is perfect Islam, for Islam does not tolerate loopholes or ugly gaps in its claim to be as wide as humanity itself. For example, the term "ruler" has undergone vast changes since the Israelite times and the days of the Holy Prophet Ruler in the modern and constitutional sense is a mere figurehead that sanctions for the sake of formality, while all laws are passed in the houses of parliament by the people of the country. Thus it may be seen that we are living under different conditions, influenced by the more advanced views on government and it is absolutely necessary that the standard and outlook should be varied as changes occur, notwithstanding the unbeseeming hypocrisy of the self-seekers and reactionaries hitherto tolerated to undermine the growth of a universal brotherhood under the divine dispensation of an Islamic State This sinful attitude should be condemned and the perpetrators severely chastised Any attempt at suppression constitutes a heinous crime to violate the sanctity of a social order which the sovereignty of Shari'at imposes upon the Muslims for implicit submission.

A knowledge of the history of the Khilafat enables one to understand the position of the Muslims in the past and the rise and fall of the Muslim Empire during the respective periods of the Fatimids, Omayyads and 'Abbasids, who held the sceptre of

authority of Islam and the institution of Khilafat centred round them. Although the *Khilafat* was closely associated with the Ottoman Empire, even at that distant age, Islam did not mean Turkey or Egypt alone, for Muslims all over the world, whether they were governed by Muslims or aliens, owed allegiance to the Khalifa and, in upholding the Khilafat, they were prepared to make any sacrifice worthy of the sacred cause If temporal power was desirable for the Khalifa, he should be invested with the combined strength of the Muslim world The Khalifa should be qualified to look upon Muslims as the unit of a composite whole and to broaden the outlook with the sanctity of Islam for the unification of the confraternity in keeping with the best traditions of the glorious past and to link them with the essentials of modernity within the prescribed laws of Islamic progress and advancement in obedience to the vicegerency conferred thereupon by the Holy Order of Allah

A few decades ago, Muslim countries had designations for their rulers different from what they are today Muslim rulers in each country had a name which sounded differently but the meaning was more or less the same The rulers were known at one time as Sultan of Turkey, Khedive of Egypt, Amir of Afghanistan, Shah of Persia and Nawab or Nizam of undivided India. The authentic designation preferred in the Islamic way is to call such rulers as Amir-ul-Mu'mineen—Commander of the Faithful At a certain stage, Islam was in its decadence owing to loss of political power by some of the independent Muslim States and at this time, the ecclesiastical section in Muslim lands made several attempts to retrieve the position from its downward tendency in Central Asia and North Africa. Worship of money due to political intrigues and petty jealousy to oust one another submerged the rising tide of Islam and its intrinsic value changed face with the glittering gold of God-forsaken satanic allurements.

Muslim unity was based upon certain fundamental principles and so long as the Muslims held tenaciously to them, they succeeded in holding aloft the banner of Islam and, when they ignored them, they suffered defeat and brought disgrace upon themselves. Without the least qualification for leadership divisions and sub-divisions on flimsy and fatal grounds arose merely to instal a place-hunter or a self-centred nincompoop or a political parvenu as the head of a racial group, clan or tribe only to drop bombs of greed and selfishness which burst to burn the Mosque of Allah in flames, to shatter it to pieces with no hope of assembling them back to earn in union His pleasure through communion with Him in fulfilment of our promise made five times daily that our prayer, our service, our life and our death are all for His sake. Until and unless we realise the truth of this utterance to make it holy and sublime in our actions and transactions, our sacred bond of security cannot rise to the highest level of humanity with all our verbal association of His Holy Presence.

The idea of alliance, collaboration and cooperation with each other did not take a firm root in the soil of the Muslim territories until the beginning of this century.

What sacrileges there had been and how the scales of fortune turned against each other in the conflict between the Turks and the Arabs, with gold weighing heavily from foreign sources on one side and on the other blood of their co-religionists besmeared to profane the sacred precincts of the Holy Ka'aba, venerated by millions of Musalmans through centuries of succession in Prophethood, dating back to the venerable Abraham—the Patriarch The regime of the Kulafa-i-Rashideen has been hailed as the greatest achievement in the history of Islam in administration to demonstrate how justice and equal treatment offered to all alike with a charitable disposition that stands to the lasting glory of human understanding and fellowship of faith in the benevolence of Allah Subsequently, when the Muslims found themselves harassed and hampered from all directions so as to eclipse them from the face of the earth completely, then only the reality of union and united front was realised to revert to the Islamic method of unity, preached and practised by the Prophet of Islam, to raise mankind to heavenly bliss in the Kingdom of God on earth

As Islam does not mean Turkey or Egypt nor is it confined to one nation nor one country, though Turkey had put forward a magnificent front in all wars that threatened not only her existence as a nation but also the extermination of a large portion of Muslims, the strength of Islam should be determined from the total number of those who stand honourably by the faith of Islam The fact that Turkey was single-handed and at one time she had to fight her own kith and kin, the Arab co-religionists, made her weak and she succumbed to the overwhelming powers of her enemies The future of Islam depends largely upon the restoration of the Khilafat and, therefore, let all Muslim countries in future, backed up by the millions of Muslims the world over, have a voice in the selection of a Khalifa Such a Khalifa may not be a ruler of a State His temopral power would be the united Muslim strength The enemies of Islam would think twice before trifling with such a Khalifa. One other than the political head of a particular country would better suit the purpose , then there would be no misunderstanding and also there would be the necessary time, qualification and freedom to study the needs of the Muslim world and control it with a sober head, free from the worries and dangers peculiar to one state or other.

Hitherto Muslims agitated for the restoration of the institution of the Khilafat but did not support the candidature of any particular Khalifa During the time Turkey was embroiled in a series of wars, starting with the conquest of Tripoli by Italy, the Balkan War and the Grecian campaign which Kemal won at the famous Battle of Smyrna, Muslims were then more interested to secure the independence of Turkey for the Khilafat to remain there unmolested. Because Turkey was recognised to be a strong Muslim power capable of shielding the Khilafat from any foreign menace, the Muslims

wholeheartedly wanted the Khilafat to continue to function there, which was undoubtedly the greatest source of strength and moral courage Turkey could have had Whatever might have been done during the regime of Kemal in Turkey, it must be said to his credit that he, as a soldier, statesman and administrator, was solely instrumental in bringing about drastic changes which, in the light of modern standards, have removed the age-long stigma that Turkey was " the sick man of Europe "

Islam, in spite of its decline and fluctuation, is steadily emerging to retain its vital force and moral strength Those who understand the text of the Holy Qur'an, in its true light as revealed to the Prophet of Islam, will stand upright against the introduction of innovations, independent of and in contradiction to the plainest and clearest teachings of the faith and zealously guard against any deviation from the Quranic principles, which alone will ensure the assimilation of Muslim ideals and the establishment of Islamic brotherhood for the attainment of perfect freedom, tranquillity and lasting peace in this world and in the hereafter Although irresponsible efforts are being made to instil racial and religious prejudices of sectarian complexity and complications into the minds of the lay Muslims, it is desirable that Muslims should draw inspiration from all sources of enlightenment to keep abreast of the times and claim to be worthy of being the most highly qualified dwellers on earth to lead in fulfilment of the prophecy in the Holy Injunctions Those who decry the system underlying the divine truth and teaching of Islam are only exposing themselves to a narrowness of knowledge and outlook, incapable of understanding that the Holy Book of Allah covers an all-comprehensive social order for the good government of the world which Islam alone has the ingredients to succeed on the face of all the conflicting ideologies that force the hands of nations to wage war in their superficial belief of superiority over one against the other

All over the Muslim world which comprises Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Afghanistan, Arabia, Pakistan, Indonesia, Persia, etc , there seems to be political upheaval and dissension on the one hand and a fair degree of moral consciousness and religious revival on the other Islam expects every Muslim in prayer to take his direction towards the Holy Ka'aba and in equal measure Muslims are in need of periodical revision of their religious standing This necessitates the acknowledgment of a Khalifa as the centre of attraction for the necessary reforms and interpretation of Muslim ideology in keeping with the majestic simplicity of Islam which postulates the desideratum of the institution of the Khilafat to conform to the rules of elasticity and catholicity. Let all eyes of the Muslim world focus the installing of a Khalifa who should be saintly in character and suitable to lead the Muslims aright to a glorious triumph in truth and righteousness.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

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SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
KASHMIRI BAZAR - - LAHORE

THE SULTANATE OF RUM

De Lacy O'Leary

In this article Prof O'Leary gives us a brief sketch of the Ghazi movement in Asia Minor following the establishment of the Seljuq Sultanate of Qunıya He shows that the Ghazis had been considerably influenced by Isma'ili doctrines brought from Khurasan and also shows that the early Turkish literature took Persian as its model, so that the Turks of Asia Minor developed a civilisation considerably enriched by Iranian influences The title of this article is somewhat inappropriate, as it says very little about the Sultanate of Rum

NOMINALLY Asia Minor, now known as the Kingdom of Rum, became a province of the khalifate, but it was a border province with an unsettled frontier and so part of the "land of war" in which Muslim law did not prevail but merely undefined military law. There was frequent unchecked raiding across the frontier and these unsettled conditions attracted many adventurers who were inclined to a brigand life and looked on procuring booty as the basis of their economic prosperity, men who had no land of their own, in many cases men who had left their homes because they had incurred disapproval as criminals or as heretics, a very mixed and unsettled community. Such men joined together in bands under a chosen leader and were generally known as *ghazi* Often these men claimed to be warriors of the faith; they might be classed as knights-errant, but were more often regarded as robber bands.

The organisation of these free-lance warriors seems to have first taken place in Khurasan and Transoxania where certainly it owed much to the activities of the Kharijites and kindred heretics who saw in it a revival of the early life of Islam when the Muslims were first lanced against unbelievers The Ghazi guilds, each with its own discipline and bond of brotherhood, was typical of Asiatic society. At the same time it must be noted that the Greeks on the other side of the frontier were equally given to raiding and irregular fighting. It had a close parallel in the privateers engaged in maritime war.

These irregular forces on either side were extremely unpopular with the settled inhabitants who lived near the frontier, as may well be believed The public enemy attacked in time of war, but the Ghazi bands were always at hand, unscrupulous and arrogant towards those whom they were supposed to protect. As a rule, there was more friendly feeling between the Ghazi and his opposite number across the frontier, they were both warriors with something like the same standard of life and conduct. Deserters

passed over from one side to another and became rivals rather than enemies, prisoners were taken and often became friends of their captors, whilst women prisoners were married by their conquerors and so ties of blood were established between the two communities

Men of the Ghazi class were ready for war, the only way open to them for making a fortune, and were easily induced to leave the frontier and serve as mercenaries under Muslim princes ready to hire them. The hiring of such men involved a risk They had no ties with their employer beyond their pay, they were likely to mutiny if their pay was in arrear, they had no home, or family, or land on whom their employer could lay hand to retaliate, and there always was the risk that they might be tempted away from their service by another prince. Knowing their power, they were inclined to revolt and frequently did so. As early as 406/821 a Ghazi leader raised a revolt in Khurasan. The Saffarid dynasty, which displaced the Tahirids and took Persia from them, began with a revolt led by three Ghazi brothers in Sijistan, a revolt which was put down in 263/876 but left Khurasan in disorder

The battle of Malaz Kard in August 474/1071 was one of the decisive battles of the world In it the Seljuq Turk Alp Arslan defeated the Greek (Byzantine) Emperor Romanus Diogenes and put an end to Greek rule in Asia The Seljuq Turks had invaded the territory of the Khalifate and were endeavouring to restore the Khalif's supremacy over what had been the 'Abbasid heritage but had been in part lost to the Isma'ili ruler of Egypt, and in part scattered amongst several independent princes. It was not Alp Arslan's aim at that time to extend the sphere of Islam, but to restore what had been lost; extension could wait until this had been secured. In this endeavour he had penetrated Phyrgia and annexed Armania where the Greeks considered that they had some claims which they sent an army to secure Their intervention was unexpected and they succeeded in driving the Turks back to the Euphrates On hearing this, Alp Arslan hastily assembled a force and led it to Malaz Kard, a fortress between the modern cities of Argeroum and Van, and there totally defeated the Greeks and took their Emperor prisoner with many of his followers

Alp Arslan did not allow this to divert him from his main purpose and was inclined to make friendly terms with the Greeks so as to secure their non-interference with his plans When the Greek Emperor was brought before him as a captive, he grasped his hand in friendship and assured him that his life and dignity would be respected. Then he conducted the captive monarch to a tent prepared for him, treated him with every consideration and granted him freedom for a substantial ransom and the deliverance of all Muslim captives in the hands of the Greeks. These plans were, however, defeated by the news that the Emperor on his return was deposed by his indignant subjects, imprisoned and put to death.

Alp Arslan was no longer bound by the undertaking he had made with Romanus Diogenes but was unwilling to be diverted from his main project. He did not invade Greek territory but permitted some of his irregular troops to raid the country and they spread through it as far as it extended until they reached the western coast and occupied Nicaea within easy reach of Constantinople. He gave a certain recognition to this acquisition of Asia Minor by sending his cousin Sulayman as provincial governor at Nicaea and claiming Asia Minor as the province of Rum, that is of the Romans. This Sulayman had already been in revolt and his going to Nicaea was more a banishment than an appointment, but the dynasty established by Sulayman held its own at Nicaea until it was dispossessed by the First Crusade and then withdrew to Quniyah (Iconium) which was conquered in 477/1084. Sulayman himself was very dissatisfied with Nicaea and endeavoured to raise troops to lead back into Syria where he hoped to secure a kingdom, but in trying to do this lost his life. His son Qilij continued this attempt, but was drowned whilst crossing the Euphrates near Aleppo After that his successors contented themselves with possessing a local authority until about the middle of the sixth century A H when they began to claim supremacy over all Asia Minor as Sultans of Rum.

It can easily be understood that the Sultanate of Rum, Asia Minor or Anatolia, was by no means a model province under the rule of the Seljuq Sultans. Its first ruler, the Emir first appointed to Nicaea, and his successor gave it scant attention Their whole interest was in the east, the main land of Islam, where their kinsmen had obtained important kingdoms, and they never lost the hope that they might do the same They spent their time and resources in raising troops to lead eastwards and in those efforts lost their lives Scattered through Asia Minor were several important strongholds and prosperous cities, but these were neglected and the Sultan of Rum at Quniya declined to a minor prince of secondary importance No effort was made to extend his authority over the other Emirs and he became no more than a local authority, one amongst a number of princelets, each with a fortified castle

Until the sixth century real power lay chiefly in the hands of the Ghazi community, the irregular troops which did not acknowledge any fealty to the Sultan at Quniya but lived their own lives, often very disorderly ones in so far that they not only tolerated but even welcomed those who did not conform to the recognised ordinances of Islam

This semi-independent community had its own organisation and recognised its own leaders The head was believed to be the heir of Malik Danish originally of Malatiya (Melitene) on the frontier. Malik Danish did not claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad, nor was he even an Arab. It was claimed that he was descended from the ancient Arsacid kings of Persia, but had embraced Islam and invaded Anatolia with Alp Arslan and there established a "kingdom"

at Siwas (Sebaste). He was almost a legendary character, but was supposed to have died about 490/1154, or two years later, or perhaps earlier (477/1084 ?). He became the patron saint of the Ghazi community and was surnamed al-Battal "the champion." He was revered as Sayyid Ghazi al-Battal At a later date the great Byzantine monastery near Qaysariya (Caesarea Mazaka) in Cappadocia was recognised as his sanctuary His son and successor Malik Ghazi (Amir Ghazi on his coins) perhaps was the warrior chief who attacked the Crusaders led by Godfrey de Bouillon, and it was he who took Boemund prisoner at Antioch in 494/1100 His son and successor was Muhammad (circ. 520/1126) who lost Hastamoni and Gangra (Kanqri) to the Greeks but held Niksar (Neo-Caesarea) against them, he called himself "Lord of all Anatolia and Rum" on his coins He was followed by his brother Nizam ad-Din Yaghibasem who died in 562/1156, and then this Danishmend dynasty was deprived of much of its great possessions and independence

As long as the Danishmend dynasty flourished, there were two rival social communities in Asia Minor, each with its own culture, that represented by the Sultan of Quniya which was strictly orthodox under the guidance of Muslim jurists and theologians in touch with current thought in the Muslim world, and that other of the Ghazi Danishmend type, not conforming to the recognised law and discipline of Islam and tolerating not only sectarian and heretical peculiarities brought by fugitives from the orthodox world, but also Christian usages prevalent amongst the populace from pre-Islamic times, and survivals from older Turkish life.

The Seljuq Turks were Muslims who had learned their religion and culture in Sughd and Khurasan to whom the influence of Bukhara meant more than that of Baghdad or Mecca. Their culture was Bukharan Persian and that left its mark on later Turkish literature The religious life of the Ghazi community shows the influence of Shi'ite sheikhs who were honoured as saints and enjoyed in religion a personal leadership parallel to that of the chieftains in secular affairs Their religion was of a mystic Sufi and emotional character which differed a good deal from that of the official 'Ulema

The rural population of Anatolia centred its religious life in the *tekke* or dervish monastery and followed the guidance of the various dervish orders, some of which had heretical tendencies In many cases the *tekke* was associated with a saint's tomb and the religious festivals and rites were connected with the cult of the saint, sometimes a Christian saint taken over from pre-Muslim times and identified with some prophet or sainted Muslim sheikh. Often the same shrine was visited and honoured by Muslims and Christians, each assuming that the relics in the tomb were those of a holy man of their own faith In Asia Minor and North Africa such saint-worship shows features which support its attribution to a Christian source. One of these is that the saint after death becomes more important than he was in life. In early Coptic,

Syriac and even Greek lives of saints, more attention is given to the record of miracles wrought by their relics after death than to anything they did or said in life; indeed their saintly character depends mostly on the miracle-working efficiency of their relics after death than anything else. Many Coptic lives give no more than bare standardised outlines of the saints' biographies, but lavish detail on describing wonders wrought at their tombs In Islam there is no official canonisation of saints, their saintship depends entirely on the reputed efficiency of their post-mortem working of miracles The development of saint-worship in Asia Minor has been very carefully studied by the late F. W Hasluck (*Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford, 1929)

In the days of Timur-i-Lang a certain Fadl-Allah Hurufi of Asterabad in Jurjan set up as a prophet, declaring himself an incarnation of the deity and announcing the speedy coming of the day of judgment Followers gathered round him and he formed a Cabbalistic religion in which numbers had mystic meaning by which many secrets were supposed to be revealed. S Guyard has identified those ideas with the esoteric teaching of certain Isma'ilis, so the Hurufi sect probably was an off-shoot of the Isma'iliya (S. Guyard, *Fragments relatifs a la doctrine des Ismaelis*, 108 sqq frag ii) Hurufi's teaching was derided when he went to Tabriz and he had to leave the city. When his doings came to the ears of Timur-i-Lang he was arrested, tried, condemned and beheaded, his body cast to the dogs, his head into the river This sentence was carried out by Miran Shah, Timur-i-Lang's son, at Angana. Nothing more is known about him, but he had a disciple 'Ali al-A'la who fled to Asia Minor and found a refuge in a *tekke* or monastery near Kirshehr in Qaraman which claimed an otherwise unknown Hajji Bektash as its founder and patron saint Al-A'la or his companion fugitives made that monastery a centre of Hurufi influence, it was claimed that Hajji Bektash had held Hurufi opinions and a number of apocryphal legends were put into circulation identifying him with the sect and exalting his importance When the strictly orthodox dervish order of Naqshbandiya, which originated in the vicinity of Bukhara, where it became a great reforming power, spread to Asia Minor, it was given charge of the Hajji Bektash *tekke* as well as of other monasteries suspected of heresy and these were restored to orthodoxy by Naqshbandiya agency This illustrates how in Ghazi days Asia Minor offered a refuge for fugitives from authority and there they were able to defy control. It also shows that, when authority was restored, this was due to influence from Bukhara rather than elsewhere.

This Bukharan Persian influence is further illustrated by the fact that the earliest specimens of Turkish literature are translations from the Persian, and the next earliest are imitations of Persian poetry Throughout its earlier history, Turkish literature was the child of a Persian parent, though there was a native folklore which was later adapted in a Persianised form by literary historians.

ETHICS OF IQBAL

I. H. Enver

In this article Dr Enver discusses the ethical ideas of Iqbal According to the writer, Iqbal's view of ethics is pragmatic In other words the function of ethics is to promote life He also contrasts the differing views of Kant and Iqbal in regard to the meaning of freedom According to Kant, freedom means acting according to reason With Iqbal, life-activity is best revealed not in reason, but in will Both concepts are, however, one-sided There is no pure reason and no pure will Reason is infused with will and will with reason If will were something standing apart from reason, it would lack direction and have no vision of its good Similarly if reason were completly divested of will, it would not move and would be unable to arrive at any decision in intellectual matters We agree however with Iqbal, who, as Dr Enver points out, held that value is not exhausted by the biological value of survival Man wants to survive, not for the sake of survival, but because survival is the essential condition for all further activity

ETHICS for Iqbal, like every art or science or system of philosophy, is a means to an end and not an end in itself Value, whether religious or aesthetical or moral, is pragmatic and not static as conceived by the old idealistic schools of thought. So ethics, in the very first instance, is not a code of static and petrified moral laws, but a search after vital principles which of necessity, due to their inherent vitality, promote the best interests of life and existence as such, and may eventually, after trial and error process, be regarded as uniform and universal principles in so far as they admit of a uniform potentiality of furthering life as a whole

All life, however, aims at absolute freedom as such, attainable through power and incessant struggle As the ideal of absolute freedom which, to Iqbal, is the corner-stone of the ideal of human perfection is only approximately realisable, the necessary yearnings and the attending effort to realise it completely should, therefore, be never extinguished and it is this alone which is a thing of beauty in our life Life, when divested of enthusiasm to seek absolute realisation in absolute freedom, is synonymous with death and dreadful oblivion of nonentity It is the will to freedom that counts and this supersedes the will to existence.

Freedom itself, for Iqbal, is synonymous with self-realisation. To be absolutely free is to be truly one's own self This, however, does not mean, as was conceived by Kant, that to be free is to act according to Reason To Iqbal, to be truly free, is, as opposed to Kant, to transcend reason and to act, as was also affirmed by Kant, according to will, which, to Iqbal, is the essential core of human personality. Reason for Iqbal is

an excrescence which hinders the progress of life and in its anxiety to emphasise general maxims, it misses the essential core of human personality which, being voluntaristic, is best revealed in will rather than in reason. It is thus the will to freedom that counts and this supersedes reason on the one hand and the will to existence on the other.

So viewed, every action is a new action and is creative to the extent it is expressive of the will to freedom which is grounded in all individuation and truly existent existence

Freedom, if realised, will reveal the dynamic centre of human self which is that of egohood It is this essential centre of existence and will that attempts through all its multiple efforts in arts, literature, science and philosophy eventually to emphasise through them its search for freedom and perfection Ethics, likewise, is an effort of the self eventually to find itself.

Thus, it does not merely maintain life understood in a purely biological sense, but aspires to do more It does, of course, imply the survival of the fittest Yet it, thereby, of necessity, demands the further vindication of its claim to help the individual to perfect himself Moral value is thus not exhausted by the biological value of mere survival. The former is the crowning value for which the latter serves as an important and, in all probability, an inevitable base It is indeed true to say, as maintained by Spencer directly, and by Nietzsche indirectly, that ethics should be a means to the promotion of life. But while for Spencer and Darwin it aims at mere survival and for Nietzsche at "will to power," for Iqbal, as for any other idealistic theory, its ideal is self-realisation and unparagoned perfection

The evolutionary ethicists are not fully justified in maintaining the Darwinian doctrine of the "Survival of the fittest" as the end-all and be-all of all codes of ethics. On the biological assumption that mere existence is the highest value, there could be made, as Iqbal emphasises, no claim on the individual to sacrifice one's own existence and life on certain occasions which, at times, in the best interests of life and existences as such, rightly demand such sacrifices [1]

Even accepting for arguments' sake that mere existence is to be treated as a moral value, it may, on the antecedents of the ethical evolutionists' thought, be pertinently asked whether the mere prolongation of existence is, at all, to be coveted as a desired end Both Iqbal and the biological ethicists of the West would answer it in the negative, but for different reasons. To the evolutionists, of the type of Spencer, life cannot be worth living if divested of the opportunities of enjoyment and pleasure for, to them,

1 Life (in its own interests) at times demands its promotion and on occasions its own sacrifice. *Bang-i-Dara*, p 292

pleasure alone supports existence. The Western evolutionists, having taken mere material existence as the final end, are, of necessity, further driven to suppose that pleasure, which can support material existence, is alone a moral value The ethical evolutionist thus eventually turns a staunch hedonist.

To Iqbal, however, life, even if absolutely divested of all opportunities or possibilities of pleasure, understood in a purely hedonistic sense, is yet worth living and worth struggling for greater life and fuller life, which end, by virtue of the ceaselessly aspirant nature of human self, recedes from us in porportion to the progress that we make towards it.

To the evolutionary ethicists of the West, as, for instance, is the case with Spencer, the moral law, to be really moral, must be the generator of pleasure which, in its turn, preserves life and helps the survival of the fittest. To Iqbal, however, moral laws to be really moral, of necessity must promote life without the intermediary of pleasure and support the emergence of the fittest, the latter being those who are so morally. The fittest, thus, are those who have a moral and not a mere biological qualification to survive The 'fittest,' when he emerges as the fittest, is not merely the man in a state of nature but a man of morals also. It is these which have helped him to survive, and, so judged, these morals are always being made and never fully made, for life problems are too complex to have a general formula for their solution. Ethics must cognise that life is changing, as are all problems allied with it.

IMPORTANT

CONTRIBUTORS are specially requested to write, preferably type double-spaced, their learned articles *only* on one side of the paper, leaving sufficient margin on the left. This facilitates flawless printing.

AN APPRAISAL OF SULTAN ABDUL HAMID II (1842-1918)

Kerim K. Key

This article attempts to discuss the role of Sultan Abdul Hamid in the Turkish affairs There is nothing new in the article about Abdul Hamid and his policies We agree, however, with the conclusion of the writer that it is useless to blame Abdul Hamid for the rapid decline of Turkey Individuals, however great, count for little in human affairs No other man in Abdul Hamid's place could have saved the Turkish Empire Greater and deeper forces were at work tending towards the dissolution of the Ottoman power Centuries of ignorance, neglect, and inability to take stock of the world situation lay behind this phenomenon

THE role of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in Turkish history is important, whether one admires or abhors his reign Abdul Hamid was born in 1842 and died in exile at Salonica on February 10, 1918. He ruled from 1876 to 1909.

There are numerous books and articles about Abdul Hamid, but a definitive biography of this important figure in Ottoman history has not appeared to date. A comprehensive history of the Hamidian period has yet to be written. Most of the books written during or soon after his reign suffer from lack of perspective. Abdul Hamid is a controversial personality. He has been criticised for his reactionary policies by both Turkish and non-Turkish writers with only a few historians giving him a sympathetic treatment.

It is believed that a re-appraisal of Sultan Hamid and his period may be useful In the past archival materials were not easily available The gradual availability of Turkish archival materials and the broader perspective that the passage of time has given us may make new evaluations and interpretations possible Among the Turkish sources to be consulted are the files of Turkish newspapers, a few difficult to obtain journals, memoirs of statesmen and some secondary materials and books [1]

A study of Ottoman history since 1839 will indicate that the Turkish leadership attempted to stop the decline of the Empire through administrative and political reforms

1 Among the sources for research on this subject one can mention a body of archival materials known as the *Yıldız Maruzat Dairesi Arşivi* These materials are divided into four main record groups classified under the reign of Sultans and in chronological order covering the period 1839 to 1918. See also *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Kılavuzu*, Istanbul 1938, 1940, 2 vols.

However, the reforms of 1839, 1856, 1876 and 1908 were not sufficient to meet the very serious problems facing the Empire The nationalist and separatist aspirations of the subject peoples were often encouraged by the Great Powers for their own interests. Thus, the efforts of the Young Turk reformers were frustrated.

It will be remembered that when Abdul Hamid was brought into power by the constitutionalists in 1876, they believed in his promise to introduce reforms The nominal acceptance of the Constitution by the new Sultan was considered a hopeful sign The first Ottoman Constitution was proclaimed on December 23, 1876 However, Sultan Hamid used the occasion of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 as a pretext to dissolve Parliament and suspend the Constitution. The Sultan's fear and suspicion of the constitutionalists resulted in the exile and death of great reformer Grand Vezir Midhat Pasha.[1]

When these sad events occurred, it was clear that the forces of modernism had lost the struggle, at least for the time being The period of absolutism lasted for thirty long years (1878-1908).

A number of books in Turkish and other languages describe this period of reaction when the Palace organisation forced all liberal and nationalist movements underground. There was strict censorship of the press Not only the separatist movements of the non-Turkish minorities were suppressed, but even the legitimate aspirations of Turkish patriots for strengthening the Empire through reforms and a firm policy against foreign interference was opposed. During this period, the Young Turks organised secret societies both in Turkey and abroad with patriotic motives and many of them devoted their lives and fortunes to the cause of liberty.

Abdul Hamid was an absolute monarch who was confronted with the same problems that Emperor Francis Joseph and Tsar Nicholas II were faced with during this period of rising nationalism and new ideals To the Sultan, any progressive reform merely meant the strengthening of separatist movements and the extension of foreign control in the Empire. His suspicion of the Young Turks had been conditioned in part by his fear that they were plotting against him. The Chiragan Plot of 1878 had confirmed his fears.[2] His suppression of all progressive and nationalist movements included the Young Turks Movement. This made him unpopular in intellectual circles However, he had the support of the reactionary and ultra-conservative elements in the Empire who were still very strong. These ultra-conservative groups had a stronger grip over the masses of

1. Ali Haydar Midhat, *The Life of Midhat Pasha*, London 1903, M. Z. Pakalin, *Mithat Pasha*, Istanbul 1940.

2 I.H. Uzuncarsili, *Ali Suavi ve Ciragan Sarayi Vakasi*, Ankara, T.T.K., 1944.

the population than the Young Turks who remained to the last a relatively small group with no real roots among the people.

Although all liberal movements were suppressed, Abdul Hamid allowed the development of the Ottoman armed forces along Western lines despite some misgivings It was some of these army officers and Turkish intellectual leaders who later organised the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.[1]

Abdul Hamid was trying to maintain the Empire through a policy of appeasing the Great Powers and suppressing all opposition at home. This policy did not satisfy the Young Turks who felt that more positive measures were necessary to save the Empire. Abdul Hamid had no concept of the importance of the new dynamic force of nationalism, and placed his reliance on a policy of Pan-Islamism Although Pan-Islamism ultimately failed, it helped to hold the Empire together for a time.[2] It has been pointed out by some writers that when the Young Turks came to power and the Committee of Union and Progress preferred a Pan-Turk policy to Pan-Islamism, this led to the loss of Arab support.[3] Other writers claim that the concept of Turkism which was born at this time would bear fruit in future years [4]

As insurrections increased in the Empire, the Young Turks came to realise that something more drastic had to be done than mere criticism of the Sultan and the writing of patriotic articles. Their agitation against the do-nothing policies of the Sultan increased The Macedonian insurrections and the fear that the three Macedonian provinces would be lost to the Empire precipitated action, and the Young Turks rose in revolt in 1908. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 revived constitutional government, but their efforts to save the Empire failed when the country was involved in the first World War.

Much of the blame for the calamities that befell the Empire has been placed on the reactionary policies of Sultan Abdul Hamid. He has been described as a weak ruler, fearful of plots, surrounded by spies and secret police playing one minority group against the other and trying to save his throne by appeasing the various Great Powers. On the other hand, he has also been described as an able and shrewd monarch who was able to play one Great Power against the other and thus prevent the domination of the

1 A B Kuran, *Inkilap Tarihimiz ve Jon Turkler*, Istanbul 1945, T Z Tunaya, *Turkiyede Siyasi Partiler*, Istanbul 1952, pp 162-471.

2. D E Lee, "Origins of Pan-Islamism" *American Historical Review*, January 1942

3 G Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, N Y 1946, pp 101-125

4. Charles W Hostler, *The Turkish World and Its Unifying Ideals*, doctoral dissertation, MS. Georgetown University, Washington 1956 (to be published under title of *Turkism and the Soviets*)

country by any one of them. It was only when the Young Turks got into power, these writers point out, that this Hamidian policy was abandoned in favour of an alliance with the Central Powers which ultimately led to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

There is no doubt that Abdul Hamid was a reactionary ruler who feared real and imagined attempts against his life However, one cannot rightly say that he was merely a tyrannical and confused despot who had no policy but one of despair. In his wily and crafty way he was smart enough to deal with matters that he understood. Unfortunately, his limited vision, narrow education and lack of understanding of modern trends and new forces made it impossible for him to keep in step with the times The Empire was in a period of decline. Bold leadership and new ideas were needed to stop the decline. Abdul Hamid was not the type of leader who could have achieved the very difficult task of introducing reforms, unifying the country and saving the Empire through an effective policy in keeping with the realities of the day There have been psychological interpretations to explain the workings of his mind, to aprove that his youth, his education, his sensitive nature and his psychopatic fear of being assassinated led him to become a tyrant and despot. Even if one accepts the fact that Abdul Hamid was an oppressor and weak person at the same time, it does not follow that the Empire reached the point of dissolution because of his policies alone It is very doubtful that anyone else could have achieved the impossible feat of saving the Empire Rather one can say that Abdul Hamid was the product of the period of decline. Empires come and go. It is seldom that one man can save an empire which is destined for extinction.

Whatever one's views of Abdul Hamid II, he was one of the important figures of Ottoman history and it is hoped that a comprehensive biography of this enigmatic Sultan will appear in the near future.[1]

1 A bibilography on Abdul Hamid is available in A H Ongunsu, "Abdulhamid II," *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, 1943, vol I, No 1, pp 76 80 See-also F McCullagh, *The Fall of Abdul Hamid*, London 1910, Sir Edwin Pears, *The Life of Abdul Hamid*, N Y 1917, G Roy, *Abdul Hamid*, Paris 1936, A S. Wittlin, *Abdul Hamid*, London 1940



ISLAM AND POLYGAMY

A. de Zayas Abbasi

In this concluding article of the series Mrs Abbasi refutes the popular view that polygamy is either enjoined or approved of by Islam She *says that, keeping all Islamic values and teachings in view, monogamy is* the only institution consistant with Islam We are generally inclined to agree with her, but we think that in certain exceptional cases and emergency conditions, polygamy should be allowed

THE physicians of early Islam agree with modern science in that over-indulgence in sexual activity is definitely harmful, as it reduces both the physical and the intellectual tone and capacity of the individual who so indulges If the physical effects are less immediately noticeable, it is because the mind is more sensitive than the body, and therefore any impairment to its efficiency is more quickly realised than is the case with the body. Thus daily sexual indulgence may not seem to affect the physical working capacity of an ordinary labourer whose environment and interests make no special intellectual demands on him But over a longer period of time, such a person will show a distinct physical inferiority as compared to a man who has at his command a greater power of self-control And self-control is not an inborn quality, but is the result of training, a quality the human being must acquire—in fact, the quality God challenges the human being to acquire—in order to be able to fulfil his/her role as a responsible person. It may be furthermore noted that so low an intellectual environment as that mentioned above is not what Islam demands for the Muslim, whether he be "a coolie or a king." Quite the contrary. A one-sided development of the human being, and especially if limited to the physical, is definitely frowned upon by Islam. A Muslim is

required by the Qur'an to strive for the development of his/her *whole* personality, through the instrument of *all* his/her faculties, not only the physical, but the intellectual, moral and spiritual as well, for only so can he/she affirm his/her essentially *human* status. Failure to do so leaves the *human* personality truncated, abortively crippled, as it were unfitted to live a *human* existence.

Those who like to compare the physiological need for sexual indulgence with the body's *daily* need for food and water in order to maintain a normal health level are making a serious scientific mistake, one for which Nature takes a stern account, not only from them but likewise from their descendants, not only from the individuals who so indulge, but also from the nation of which they are part when they are numerous enough to form the majority, or even a large minority

"It is well known," stated the late Dr. Alexis Carrel in his *Man, the Unknown*, "that sexual excesses impede intellectual activity. In order to reach its full power, intelligence seems to require both the presence of well-developed sexual glands and the temporary repression of the sexual appetite Freud has rightly emphasised the capital importance of sexual impulses in the activities of consciousness However his observations refer chiefly to sick people His conclusions should not be generalised to include normal individuals, especially those who are endowed with a strong nervous system and mastery over themselves. While the weak, the nervous, and the unbalanced become more abnormal when their sexual appetites are repressed, the strong are rendered still stronger by practising such a form of asceticism" (i e., the refraining from daily sexual indulgence).

"The early deterioration of numerous individuals," states Dr. Carrel, "is due to self-indulgence" The "weak, the nervous, and the unbalanced" to whom Dr. Carrel refers above, the innumerable cases of neurosis and psychosis that abound today in all parts of the world, are only too often the result of the sexual over-indulgence of the individuals concerned or of their immediate ascendants. There is no doubt that alcoholism, the drug-habit, over-easy as well as over-strenuous and unhealthy living conditions also take their toll as degenerative factors

"Man naturally tends towards the satisfaction of his physiological appetites and artificial needs....," declares Dr. Carrel. "*But he degenerates when he satisfies these appetites completely*. He must then accustom himself to dominate his hunger, his need of sleep, his sexual impulses, his laziness, his fondness for muscular exercise, for alcohol, etc.... The harmony of our organic and physiological functions is one of the most important qualities that we may posesss." To acquire it "*always demands a voluntary effort*. Equilibrium is obtained in a large measure *by intelligence and self-control*... It

is first by training, and later by a progressive addition of intellectual motives to the habits gained by training, that individuals possessing strong and well-balanced activities may be developed "

Now Islam does not aim at accommodating or encouraging the condition of the weak, the nervous and the unbalanced. Such persons are, according to Islamic standards, abnormal and, from the Islamic point of view, require medical care and supervision to set them right. The purpose of Islam is precisely to train its adherents to be *normal, healthy* human beings, and to develop their *human* qualities to the highest possible degree.

The word 'normal' is here used in its exact scientific sense, i.e. of the human being as Nature intends him/her to be. Of course, in a decadent or degenerate society, the Islamic concept of the *normal* human being might appear to be something of a 'Superman.' But Nature takes a very dim view of the decadent and the degenerate, whose existence is, according to the scientific, *and the Quranic,* point of view at a sub-normal level, and whom the Qur'an deems to be in urgent need of regeneration.

Thus from the Quranic, and the scientific, points of view, the argument of those who aver that at least some, if not a majority of, men are by nature polygamous and for reasons of health require more than one wife, is not substantiatable. Each functional process is meant by Nature to be regulated to a certain degree of activity particular to itself, which is its normal functional activity, and indulgence beyond which is injurious not only to its optimum functioning but likewise to both body and mind as a whole, although such indulgence may seem pleasurable and satisfying To take the classical comparison, over-indulgence in eating, or over-eating of certain types of food, is harmful, even though a person may ' love chocolate,' or may ' be unable to live without ' an abundance of sweets or of richly spiced dishes. Even to drink in excess of so apparently harmless a thing as pure water is inadvisable as detrimental to health.

To interpret natural laws as one would like to understand them is a misleading and, therefore, dangerous habit · it does not, in any way, change the working of those laws.

It is scientifically incorrect to say that some, if not a majority of, men are polygamous by nature. The human being—man and woman—is psychologically monogamous by nature. The Quranic Principle of *Responsibility*, one of the fundamental principles on which the Quranic social set-up is based,[1] requires monogamy as the marriage norm. *For only* in a monogamic setting can *all* the factors of responsibility that the Qur'an lays down as governing family life, be satisfied—the responsibilities of husband to wife, of wife

1. These fundamental Principles are Responsibility, Liberty, Equality, and Justice.

to husband, and of parents to children (even the duties of children to parents), which responsibilities are not merely material, but intellectual, moral and spiritual as well; the duty, in which both parents share equally, of creating a physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and emotionally healthy environment, a haven of normalcy, where the children they bring into the world have every opportunity of developing *normally* into *normal* adults. Such an environment can only be created in an atmosphere of mutual love and respect, where the two parents live together, in unity, an existence of fulfilment, devoted to each other, their inclinations, interests, life-aims and aspirations blended and in harmony with the Divine Law of Nature. Only in such an environment does the Quranic concept of marriage take on its full meaning, as clearly set forth in the Holy Qur'an, but which subsequent elaborations of the ' Fiqh ' seem somehow to have missed

For the Qur'an considers not only parenthood, but the very act of procreating, not as an act for the pursuit of pleasure, nor as the mere satisfying, for health reasons, of a physiological need, but as the most serious moral responsibility a human being can accept, it being an act liable to entail the bringing into the world of a thinking human being entrusted by God with the responsibility for his/her own acts and for whose training to fulfil that responsibility both parents must together answer to God and to society. Hence the definition of the principle of *Kuf'* (Equality . moral, spiritual, intellectual, as well as of temperament) as governing the choice of the marriage-partner in Islam, in order to better ensure the basic unity and cooperation so essential to a healthy home life; and the Quranic advice to those who have not found a satisfactory match to keep chaste until they do (Qur'an, iv. 26).

One of the important arguments advanced in defence of polygamy, due precisely to the failure of Muslims to understand the meaning the Qur'an ascribes to marriage, is the necessity to ' remedy ' the situation caused by a childless first marriage, or by one blessed only with daughters This emphasis on the essential need of a son, or of sons, to succeed the father, is a typical characteristic of non-Islamic and pre-Islamic peoples, introduced into Muslim society by insufficiently Islamised Muslim converts on the one hand, and, on the other, by de-Islamised Muslims, i.e Muslims strongly influenced by non-Muslim customs and ideas and whose knowledge of Quranic Islam is insufficient to overcome the un-Islamic influence of their environment.

What may be termed the " male child complex " is a fallacy born of popular ignorance and misunderstanding of the physiological functioning of procreation. What is shocking is that such a fallacy, and the ignorance and misunderstanding that gave rise to it should exist among the Muslims for whom the acquiring of knowledge and understanding are actually religious duties. It is equally shocking, but not surprising in view of the above, that Muslims should have failed to grasp the Quranic meaning of marriage

to the point of considering that its main twofold purpose is merely to legalise the satisfying of a physiological need and to have children. The Quranic text allows for no such garbled interpretation. With its fundamental emphasis on *Responsibility* as the condition of human existence, it teaches the human being that he/she is meant to be more than an animal, that the very fact that his/her human status is based on the acceptance of responsibility, ascribes to existence on the human plane, and to the human marriage relationship, a meaning different from that of the animal. While the animal lives physiologically, guided by instinct, the human being is required to unfold his/her existence on an intellectual-spiritual plane, where he/she is answerable for his/her acts which must be governed by strict justice, and which, according to whether they are or not governed by justice, are self-realising or self-destructive.

والذين آمنو وعملو الصالحات اولئک اصحاب الجنة هم فيها خالدون ـ

> "And those who believe *and do good works*, such are the rightful owners of the Garden. They will abide therein" (ii. 82).

Good, in Islam, is that which is *just*.

ونفس و ما سويها ـ فالهمها فجورها وتقويها - قد افلح من زكيها - وقدخاب من دسيها ـ

> "And a soul and (Him) who perfected it; And inspired it (with conscience of) what is wrong for it and (what is) right for it; He is indeed successful who causeth it to grow; And he is indeed a failure who stunteth it" (xci. 7 to 10).

Marriage, according to the Qur'an, is a physio-spiritual bond that grants the individual the solace of an intimate companion to share the burden of his/her responsibility of self-realisation in an atmosphere of mutual love and cooperation.

و من آياته ان خلق لكم من انفسكم ازواجاً لتسكنوا اليها وجعل بينكم مودةً ورحمةً ان في ذلک لايات لقوم يتفكرون ـ

> "And of His Signs is this He created for you helpmeets from yourselves that you (each one) may find rest in her (your wife), and He ordained between you love and mercy. Here indeed are portents for people who reflect" (xxx. 21).

Children are not the purpose of marriage, but a natural *possibility* resulting from the physiological relationship in marriage.

لله ملک السموات و الارض يخلق ما يشاء يهب لمن يشاء اناثاً و يهب لمن يشاء الذكور ـ
او يزوجهم ذكراناً و اناثاً و يجعل من يشآء عقيماً ـ انه عليم قدير ـ

"Allah's is the Sovereignty of the heavens and the earth. He createth what He wills He bestoweth female (offspring) upon whom He will, and bestoweth male (offspring) upon whom He will; Or He mingleth them, males and *females, and He maketh* barren whom He will. He is Knower (of all things), *Powerful" (xlii. 49, 50).*

In Islam, it is not a son who carries on the name of his father, but the deeds of each man and woman, good or bad, that perpetuate their name for future generations.

رب هب لی حکماً والحقنی بالصالحین ۔ و اجعل لی لسان صدق فی الاخرین ۔

"My Lord! Vouchsafe me wisdom and unite me to the righteous And give unto me a good report in later generations" (xxvi. 83, 84).

The Holy Prophet himself was told, in face of the disbelievers' jeers at his lack of sons, that:

ان شانئک هو الابتر ۔

"It is whoever insults thee (and not thou) who is cut off (from remembrance in future generations)" (cviii. 3).

Inheritance in the primogenital male line is also not recognised in Islam, where rank and position are not inherited but are gained by each individual according to personal capability and qualities, and where the structure of the Inheritance Law precisely aims to prevent the concentration of wealth in a unilateral line and ensures its widest possible distribution in equity to *all* lawful heirs. The very concept of wealth in Islam is not that of a possession, but that of *a trust.*

Love, the bond that grants spiritual sanction to the marriage relationship, is not the result of the pursuit of physical pleasure culminating in physical infatuation. True love is the psychological yearning towards each other of two souls that discover themselves in harmony with each other and find their fulfilment in each other, and the psychological satisfaction when unity between those two souls is achieved. For this reason, true love is mutually exclusive and possessive: it does not allow itself to be shared by any third person. In true love, physical satisfaction is consequent upon this psychological satisfaction, an assertion, and confirmation, as it were, of the latter. Wherever the opposite is claimed, we are not in the presence of true love, but of mere self-gratification. Thus, on the plane of true love, there is no possible room for polygamy, nor for polyandry, as for that,

Psychology and psychiatry teach us that all human tendencies and inclinations that deviate from the normal, i.e. from what is natural to the physically, mentally and morally *normal* (healthy, intelligent, and responsible, well-balanced and well-developed) human beings, are the result of the dual pressure of an unwholesome environment and a defective upbringing. They reflect *induced mental attitudes* that stem from what the Qur'an terms *false* (باطل) motivations, such as fear (of any other than God), superstition, the pursuit of pleasure, of power, etc., which are all signs of decadence in a society And these induced mental attitudes in turn directly affect both the physical functioning and the moral comportment, deflecting them from the normal

The scientifically normal human being is monogamous by nature, precisely because of his/her intense consciousness of the responsibility inherent in the marital relationship. Polygamy, as polyandry, is the result of an induced mental attitude in an atmosphere of decadence, where the sense of marital and parental responsibility has lost its hold on the human mind and the cult of self-gratification has taken its place That polygamy should seem quite acceptable, in fact necessary, and even natural, to men whose minds have been trained to the idea of it, is not surprising But the fact that a polygamous set-up inevitably puts the co-wife at a marked disadvantage in the exercise and enjoyment of her rights in every sphere, and even in the fulfilment of her responsibilities, makes it more unseeming that a woman should willingly acquiese in so abnormal[1] a situation. The majority of the world's women do not. Some do. let us examine the reasons why.

Although we find, among those who do, some who unquestioningly submit to the idea that polygamy is of the way of things, their minds completely subjected to the mental attitudes of the environment in which they have been bred, yet that proportion is very small Most of those forming the minority of women who do accept a polygamous set-up in practice, do so for personal reasons if they are a first wife, to relieve themselves of the physical overstress of excessive childbearing for, or to rid themselves of the unwelcome attentions of, a husband they do not love, and at the same time safeguard their economic position while retaining a more direct control over their own children if any, in a society that has failed to apply the principle of strict justice in the detailing of this section of its Civil Code, and whose divorce laws often leave a woman in financial difficulties. Or because they have been brought up in ignorance of their rights and responsibilities Or, if they are a subsequent wife, to gain the favour of the husband and ensure for themselves the position of the wife they have displaced. For, as a rule, and with

1 Abnormal also because, except where an exaggeratedly high, if not universal, divorce rate prevails, polygamy in practice can only exist at any time, in any place, among a small minority, if at all, for sheer lack of surplus women. And one usually finds it practised by well-to-do men as a measure of self-gratification.

rare exceptions, in polygamous marriages the first wife is set aside or, less often, steps aside, while retaining her right to maintenance by her husband and some—a very reduced—legal right on his property. In the former case, her plight, sentimentally, emotionally, socially, even economically, is a sorry one. Nor is that of her children, if any, much better They find themselves, through no fault of their own, often neglected to a lesser or greater degree sentimentally, sometimes even economically, because their father's attention is distracted from them by his interest in a woman who is not their mother, the unity of their home life is broken, they see the children of the newer wife preferred to them, inevitably they find themselves sharing at least something of their mother's now secondary and often excluded position.

Many are the cases where a marriage is broken up, a (first) wife neglected or discarded, because of the husband's self-gratifying attraction to the artful, calculated guile of another woman, aimed at flattering his egoism for her own egotistical interests The ease with which such a man will repudiate the responsibilities he had previously undertaken towards his first wife is, in such cases, due to his complete failure to understand the nature of those responsibilities and to his own mistaken conviction that they go no further than providing for the material necessities of life From the Islamic point of view, such a man is mentally and spiritually immature and, as such, incapacitated to be *a Muslim*.

If, on the other hand, a woman finds herself, as a co-wife, confronted with one or more rivals for the attentions and affection of a self centred husband whose interest is to maintain a polygamous household on a basis of material and physical justice—more than that is an absolute impossibility—the consequent psychological tension and emotional stress are hardly conducive to a happy home life.

In both cases, the stage is set for jealousy, bitterness, hatred, intrigue, and even crime. However pleasing in theory it may appear to some, polygamy in practice is by no means the undiluted heaven that its sponsors would have one believe. An objective analysis of numerous concrete examples, taken at random, constitutes a most interesting study of human, in particular feminine, reactions under emotional stress and provocation; unfortunately the limited space of the present article does not allow for their detailed account. In any case, such tragedies are common knowledge.

Still another argument is often brought forward by those who favour the institution of polygamy · the moral one One often hears the point of view that it is preferable for a man who feels it impossible to restrict himself to the limits of monogamy to be able to live in a condition of legal polygamy rather than entertain extra-marital relations with women whose reputation necessarily suffers thereby. The argument is interesting

apologetically, but it is fallacious. It is tantamount to saying that whatever inclinations and impulses a man feels he cannot, or does not want to, make the effort to control, should be legalised. This is dangerous reasoning. Leaving aside the question of justice which it totally disregards—and, if only from this point of view, it is an absolutely un-Islamic way of reasoning—and the scientific fact that sexual excess undermines the physical, mental, and moral health of the human being, such reasoning opens the door, by precedent and analogy, to the legalising, and in fact the encouraging and preserving of, all the disruptive and disintegrative forces necessary to ensure the degeneration and destruction of a nation, and of which polygamy has proved to be not the least. Except in a hedonistic society, dedicated more especially to the pursuit of carnal pleasure, the argument is inadmissible. Scientifically, it is untenable. It is all the more so in an Islamic social order, the ideal of which is precisely the cultivating of the highest type of human being, one whose ***human*** qualities are developed to the highest possible degree. And such a well-developed and well-balanced individual is, we have seen, inachievable in the presence of indulgence in excesses of whatever sort.

It is further argued that, whenever in any social group the number of women exceeds that of men, polygamy becomes essential as a safeguard for the surplus women's morals. The claim is based on a mechanical appreciation of statistical data. And we have seen how statistics involving human sentiments, feelings and emotions do not bear mechanical interpretations. We have stated as an example that given one hundred marriageable bachelors and one hundred unmarried women of marriageable age, there is no reason to be sure that these one hundred couples could be paired off, each woman willing to accept her bachelor counternumber as a husband, and vice versa. And even given that these hundred couples be forced into marrying without taking their own sentiments into consideration, there is no guarantee that the said hundred marriages would prove successful, or that the morals of the hundred couples would be thus safeguarded. In fact, unless the mentality of the persons involved be dominated by a Spartan sense of duty devoid of all sentiment, the odds are that under the pressure of a marriage-relationship lacking the basic element of happiness, or, at the minimum, of contentment, which is, if not true love, at least a mutual sympathy and attraction, their morals are liable to be in a much greater danger than if they had remained single with the hope of one day marrying, if not their ideal, at least a person of their choice.

It is not polygamy in a society where there happens to be a surplus of women—nor polyandry where there is a surplus of men—and such surpluses are always variable and temporary—that is needed to safeguard the morals of the unmarried population of marriageable age, but the developing of strong characters, healthy nerves, a normal

amount of will power, and the conviction that a high standard of morality is the right one for the human being.

Observations of the moral attitude of unmarried girls and women in any Muslim social group *unaffected by such non-Muslim ways and ideas as tend to encourage moral laxness and irresponsibility*, do not substantiate the need for polygamy to safeguard their morals, should the Muslim population reveal a surplus of women Young Muslim girls are naturally not averse to the idea of marrying. But it is not that they are ready or willing to marry anyone for the mere sake of being married. Like all normal girls, each dreams of marrying her ideal And like all things of this world, the ideal is not always so readily at hand. In such social groups where, under the influence of non-Muslim habits and customs, girls are inhibited from expressing their own minds on the matter and submit to a choice that is not theirs, their wedding-day is not seldom far from being the happiest day of their life Among girls whose upbringing, more in keeping with Quranic dictates, has trained them to abide by the Quranic condition of responsible free choice, many are those who reject one or more consecutive offers of marriage, until what to their mind is a suitable match is proposed to them , and not a few will prefer spinsterhood to an unsuitable marriage.

It is a fact that the Muslim, man or woman, trained to the *Quranic* standard of morality and moral responsibility, not only finds no special hardship, but *actually discovers a sense of adequacy in abiding* by the Quranic injunction ·

وليستعفف الذين لا يجدون نكاحاً حتى يغنيهم الله من فضله ـ

"And let those who cannot find a match keep chaste till Allah provide for them of His Bounty .. " (xxiv. 33)

and in response to his/her well-developed sense of responsibility, actually prefers to refrain rather than enter into a mesalliance (which verse 24 of Surah iv. allows him/her in an extreme case) or indulge in fornication (which the Qur'an condemns, together with adultery, murder and treason, as the most reprehensible social crime).

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that among such social groups where, due to non-Muslim influences, the sense of moral responsibility attaching to marriage and to parenthood is weakened, while moral conventions remain strong, it is not the morals of the unmarried girls and women but indeed those of the married women which, in imitation of those of their menfolk, are at times defective.

It is only where moral convictions and the sense of responsibility have become non-existent, where moral conventions—the barrier with which a decadent society protects itself—have broken down, where moral training is so seriously deficient as to no longer

carry any weight whatsoever, that we find immorality prevailing among unmarried girls and women. And the sole remedy for such a state of affairs is the one which the Qur'an preconises: not polygamy, but a stern moral training in a healthy moral environment.

It is also said that polygamy can help to preserve the morals of Muslim girls driven by poverty to prostitution. This argument may have some validity among non-Muslims. But in an Islamic set-up, not only for such girls but also for older unmarried women and for men whom adverse circumstances have reduced to poverty and economic distress, the organised institution of Zakat is there to protect them and rehabilitate them. Here again polygamy is not the solution.

Nor is the verdict of history favourable to the institution of polygamy. The historical examples before us all corroborate the conclusions drawn from the numerous contemporary examples referred to above, and add their weight to the ominous warning contained in the following verses of the Holy Qur'an:

واتبع الذين ظلموا ما اترفوا فيه -

"... And those who were unjust followed that by which they were made sapless... " (xi. 117).

فقتل كيف قدر -

"Self-destroyed were they; how they planned (unknowingly against themselves)" (lxxiv. 19).

As most of the historical examples which have come down to us refer to the ruling classes, and it is on the calibre of the ruling class that the destinies of a nation depend, it is not amiss to consider what are the requisites of leadership.

One of the foremost conditions for successful leadership is the ensuring of unity at the helm of affairs · unity of aims and purposes and of direction. In order to adequately perform the functions their office demands of them, leaders of nations require alert, clear-thinking, highly trained minds. Their intellect must be acute, geared to guide and direct to the right course, to meet all eventualities and all emergencies, and to solve all the problems that confront them, in the best interests of the peoples whose destinies are entrusted to them. And once trained, it is they, each individual him/herself, alone who can maintain themselves on the level of competence essential to the satisfactory fulfilment of their responsibilities. That the unceasing effort required of them is no easy thing, that conscientiously to avoid all things that adversely affect their mental acumen, demands a fair degree of self-control and will-power, is evident. But that is exactly what

Islam wants of the human being. For the Muslim, life is a test. And the test is precisely to develop one's personality under the aegis of '*Taqwa*,' the wilful abiding by God's Law, in self-restraint. History shows us how far the human being has been successful up to now in the test.

The particular role that polygamy has played in history, in deviating from their natural course and undoing the destinies of nations, is such that well may it be termed one of the cornerstones of national decadence. To take an example at random from pre-Islamic history, it was one of the main contributory factors that weakened the fibre of Sassanian leadership and unity, thus helping to bring about the victory of the Muslim forces over Sassanian Iran.

Drawing further examples from Muslim history, with which we are more particularly concerned, we note that not only the calibre of leadership invariably weakens parallelly to the leaders' self-indulgence, but the majority of palace intrigues, jealousies, and rivalries that eat at the heart of unity behind the scenes, stem from the nefarious consequences of the kings' and leaders' polygamous habits The fratricidal strife that has so often been the undoing of kingdoms and dynasties, even changing the course of national existence, often for the worse, has in most cases no other cause.

Whether we consider the Umayyads in Damascus or in Spain, the Abbasids, the Fatimids, the Mughals, the Ottomans, to mention but some of the foremost among the Muslim historical dynasties, the same story repeats itself time and again. The psychological harm done to the unity of the Muslim nation by the struggle between Amin and Ma'mun marks in reality the turning point of the fortunes of the Abbasid rule. The self-indulgence of the early Mughal emperors, and especially their polygamous habits effectively prepared the collapse of Mughal imperial power at the death of Emperor Aurangzeb Besides destroying unity at the helm of affairs, polygamy and concubinage were responsible, through favouritism, for appointing unfit persons to high posts, resulting in corruption, misgovernment, and the gradual disorganisation of the basically efficient Ottoman administrative system. The turbulent history of the Afghan people reflects the fratricidal jealousies and rivalries of the numerous sons of polygamously inclined leaders. To go back no further than the first two decades of the present century, we have in Afghanistan a patent example of the destructive effects the practice of polygamy among its leaders can have for a nation. Well founded in wisdom was the Biblical injunction to the Hebrew people that 'the king shall not multiply wives unto himself.'

Dispassionately considered, polygamy falls under the famous condemnation of Abu Hanifa . كل شئ نضر حرام (Whatever is harmful, is forbidden). The very fact of its acceptance by Muslims, basing themselves on a serious misinterpretation of the Quranic

text, is a clear indication of what is wrong with the Muslims their imperfect understanding of what Islam really is, of the Quranic aims and purposes, of the Quranic philosophy of existence. *And this imperfect understanding is the* outcome of a 'second-hand knowledge' *of the Quranic meaning,* a knowledge derived from interpretations instead of from an objective and conscientious analytical study of the Quranic text itself.

Polygamy, like all the other alien customs and usages that have been grafted on to the Islamic social body to its detriment, will only disappear when the mass of the Muslims, and especially the Muslim women, will have, through a truly Islamic education, acquired a solid grasp of Quranic values and learnt to apply these in the course of their everyday existence.

فخلف من بعدهم خلف ورثوا الكتاب ياخذون عرض هذا الادنى ويقولون سيغفر لنا و ان ياتهم عرض مثله ياخذوه الم يؤخذ عليهم ميثاق الكتاب ان لا يقولوا على الله الا الحق و درسوا ما فيه و الدار الاخره خير للذين يتقون افلا تعقلون ـ

"And a generation has succeeded (those who were destroyed aforetime), who inherited the Scriptures They grasp the ease of this low life, and say · 'It will be forgiven us ' And if there came unto them (again) the offer of the like, they would accept it (and sin again) Has not the Covenant of the Scripture been taken on their behalf that they should not speak aught concerning Allah save the truth? And they have studied that which is therein And the Abode of the Hereafter is better for those who abide (by their Lord's Commands) in piety and self-restraint. Do you then not understand?" (vii 168).

ولا تقولوا لما تصف السنتكم الكذب هذا حلال وهذا حرام لتفتروا على الله الكذب ان الذين يفترون على الله الكذب لا يفلحون ـ

"And speak not, concerning that which your own tongues qualify, the falsehood 'This is lawful, and this is forbidden,' thus inventing a lie against Allah. Those who invent a lie against Allah will not succeed" (xvi. 117)

افلا يتدبرون القرآن ـ

"Will they then not meditate on (the meaning of) the Qur'an?" (xlvii 24).

ثم جعلناك على شريعه من الامر فاتبعها ولا تتبع اهوآء الذين لا يعلمون ـ

"Now We have set thee on a clear road (the Law) of (Our) Command, so follow it, and follow not the desires of those who know not" (xlv. 17)

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Editorial . . .

LAW IN ISLAM—II

HOW far Islam went in the direction of denying the supernatural is shown by the fact that even revelation was natural in its view. The Holy Qur'an never speaks of revelation as something out of the run of natural events. On the other hand, it specifically connects the prophetic revelation with the revelation vouchsafed to all living beings The word '*Wahy*' in the Qur'an has been used for the instincts of the bees, for the influx of new and fruitful ideas in the minds of the individuals, other than the prophets For example, it is said, "And thy Lord revealed to the bee that it build its cells among the hills' (xvi. 68) Again, " We sent the inspiration to the mother of Moses, Suckle thy child, but when thou has fears about him cast him into the river" (xxviii 7). Now, the mother of Moses was not a prophetess, and yet the Qur'an speaks of her being inspired by God. This establishes the fact that according to the Holy Qur'an inspiration and revelation exist at all levels of organic and even inorganic life. (For, in one place the Qur'an speaks of the heavens being inspired by God, xli. 12, 13, 14). Nowhere in the Holy Qur'an is revelation contrasted with natural reason. Where the Qur'an does make a contrast, it is not between reason and revelation, but between desire and inspiration " Nor does he say (aught) of (his own) desire. It is no less than inspiration (*Wahy*) sent down to him" (liii. 3) Now the implication of this verse is clear, namely, that it is not human reason or intellect which stands in the way of the clear perception of truth, but man's lower desires If reason could shake itself free of sordid desires, its perception of truth would be as clear as that given by the inspiration of God.

The fact is that the Qur'an, for the first time in the history of mankind, invested the human faculty of reasoning with a religious importance and value. Before Islam no religion had upheld the claims of human reason. But Islam inaugurated a fundamental

departure in this field as in others. The very first revelation of the Holy Prophet was 'Read' and the same chapter goes on to press the importance of writing 'He who taught (man) by the pen" (xcvi. 4). Had any religion before Islam stressed the religious and spiritual character of reading and writing? And what is reading and writing but a preliminary to the exercise of the reasoning faculty. There is no wonder, then, if the Qur'an, unlike other Sacred Books, invites arguments and insists that nothing should be accepted for which there is no clear argument "Those are their fancies Say, Produce your proof (*Burhan*) if ye are truthful" (ii 111). "If anyone invokes, besides God, any other god, he has no argument (*Burhan*) therefor" (xxiii. 117) If the Qur'an took its stand on the supernatural character of Divine revelation, what was the meaning of its insistence on rational proof and intellectual argument The fact is, therefore, undeniable that with Islam religion underwent a total reorientation. Before Islam, the wall between the secular and the religious was completely demolished Religion had ceased to be something supernatural Whatever was not natural now ceased to be religious It was a total revolution in man's way of thinking Even today the world has not grasped its full significance and still attempts to make a foolish distinction between the religious and the secular But Islam had already secularised religion and spiritualised the secular.

Such being the basic stand of Islam with regard to the nature of divine revelation, it was obvious that it could not admit the contrast and opposition between a law which had its source in supernatural authority and one which was based on natural reason, because there is no difference between natural reason (that is, reason which is genuinely natural and not a reflection of unnatural desires) and supernatural revelation This is not just a theoretical claim we are making. It is substantiated by Islamic history. When the Holy Prophet sent Ma'adh bin Jabal to Yemen, he enquired of Ma'adh as to how he would decide matters arising out of day-to-day administrative and political needs. Ma'adh replied, "I shall refer the matter to the Book of God" "But if the Book contained no specific guidance on the matter, what would you do?" the holy Prophet asked "I shall look to your decisions and judgments," was the reply of Ma'adh "But what if this source too fails you?" asked the Holy Prophet again "I shall apply my own reason and judgment," came the reply and the Holy Prophet's face was aglow with joy The Prophet never put the question to Ma'adh, "What would you do if your reason conflicts with the Divine and the prophetic reason?" For he knew, that between natural reason and Divine revelation, there is no possibility of conflict If there is some at all, the Prophet has expressly told us that errors of judgment (*Ijtihad*) will be forgiven, for the Prophet knew, unlike our 'ulema, that human judgment can never be made totally immune from error and there is no way in which legislation can be totally freed of error, even if it is based ultimately on Divine revelation and prophetic guidance and tradition. For even in the interpretation and application of the Qur'an and the Sunna, errors of judgment are likely to creep in So there is no use attempting to establish a system of legal reasoning which is proof against all weaknesses and errors of judgment This is what the exponents of the Qur'an and the Sunna forget in our days. The application of the Qur'an and the Sunna in legal affairs will certainly minimise the chances of error, but it can never eliminate them completely. To a certain extent, legislation will proceed on the basis of practical experimentation. In this respect, Islamic legislation does not differ much from modern secular legislation, except in so far as it cannot disregard Islamic values. The difference arises from other causes which we shall discuss later.

FUNDAMENTAL VALUES OF ISLAM AND THEIR USE IN MODERN LIFE

M. Raihan Sharif

In this article the writer contrasts the two types of society, the democratic and the authoritarian and the different manner in which they pursue their values He shows that Islamic society is essentially a democratic society, with this difference that Islam does not leave human values as vague conceptions but clearly defines them and also tells us of the means for their pursuit From this it should be clear that Islam is interested in the concrete It is not a theology only, but a social order with definite contours based on that theology

For the pursuit of Islamic values, the writer urges that Muslim youth should be given compulsory education in the Qur'an and the Sunna While we agree with him, we will point out that the Qur'an and the Sunna as taught by our present-day Maulvis will only keep away the youth from the real teachings of Islam. For the teaching of the Qur'an and the Sunna, our religious people emphasise the minor details of law and never open the eyes of the students to the philosophy of Islam, its view of history, its idea of economic and political life

Necessity of Fundamental Values in Life :

LIFE has passed through various stages of evolution since the fall of Adam and Eve from Eden Modern civilisation is the product of stresses and strains, conflicts and tensions, efforts and pursuits of the whole gamut of human pupulation preceding the modern period of history It is this history that called for a gradual development of an ethical and subjective perspective becoming of the human life of the highest order. As a result, social institutions and social and individual behaviour have evolved with ends in view. Man has philosophised and exercised his mind about the goal of life; and philosophies have resulted and ways of life have been indicated accordingly. Apart from one way of life or another, speculative constructive thinking has shaped concepts of ultimate values to be aimed by human behaviour. Philosophers, beginning from Plato and Aristotle down to Kant and Hegel have dreamt of rationalising human life with the pursuit of fundamental values. Even modern writers agree that human will is constituted of two elements : individual will and real will. The real-will concept has in its turn given rise to two broad opposite streams of thought · (a) formula-

tion of the idealistic theory of state which has been wrongfully taken advantage of by some social groups in the deification of human conduct and fantastic exploitation of the common people, (*b*) exposition of the general-will theory in the hands of Rousseau laying the foundations of popular democracy and popular sovereignty The necessity and importance of fundamental values of life will be the greatest in a democratic framework of society, for, the latter provides the widest scope of liberty and exercise of will for individuals We shall therefore treat the subject within such a democratic framework which inter alia eminently suits the Islamic concept of life.

In a democratic society individuals enjoy liberty since they are provided with an atmosphere in which it is possible for them to attain the fullest development of their selves. Life is not iron-clad and regimented and hence pursuits of some fundamental values become a necessity for an indirect direction of the development of the individual selves so that maximum social good may be produced in society. In an authoritarian society, not only values are predetermined, but the procedures of aiming such values are dictated and deviations are not tolerated, and as such guidance of values becomes imposition of values and values lose their connotation in the labyrinth of mechanical procedures In such an atmosphere, an individual is left with no choice and adjustment of his tastes and activities to the pursuit of values becomes impossible One of the fundamental postulates of Islamic concept of life is · individual enterprise and responsibility within the framework of limited free will of man, and this has laid the foundation of an Islamic democratic society—a society in which the excesses of individual licence (as opposed to liberty) are precluded. That is why not merely fullest development but most perfect development of individual selves will be presumed in an Islamic democracy. Pursuit of ultimate values in this society is thus attuned to this overall objective

Conception of Fundamental Values:

Philosophers have conceived of four fundamental values, viz. happiness, truth, beauty and moral virtue Any modern mind will accept these values as ideals to be pursued in human endeavour. Happiness, truth and beauty are ideals which make life worth living, but these are hardly achievable without the over-riding control of moral virtue Poets and artists have often sung of beauty and love and have even identified beauty with truth and truth with beauty, but they have often felt unhappy There are certainly conflicts in these three ideals and these conflicts are removed only when compatibility is enforced under the code of moral discipline. In a society where moral virtue is a part and parcel of life, the concepts of happiness, truth and beauty will shape themselves in an atmosphere of compatibility. In some societies, all the four values including moral virtue are prescribed as ideals with-

out properly setting the order of importance of each and without providing an environment of conceptual discipline, as a result, values compete with one another and one gains at the expense of the other, sometimes at the expense of the indispensable element of truth or moral virtue That has been the trend in some Western countries and has been acclaimed as Secularism. As opposed to this, in an Islamic society, truth and moral virtue are regarded as the indispensables and happiness and beauty as values are only attuned to them That is why in Islamic philosophy, values have been appropriately harmonised so that their guidance may lead to the optimum development of individual selves and perfect social equilibrium may follow The key to balanced development of individual and social life, therefore, rests in prerequisite training in the values of truth and moral virtue

Key Value and its Components :

Muslims have to acquire this key in course of their initiation to life through family environment and primary and secondary education which is to be provided with that definite end in view Whether you call it religious education or otherwise, the Islamic concept of truth and moral virtue has to be indoctrinated in human beings, if they have to confine themselves to an Islamic way of life The fundamental teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah are thus required to be inculcated in Muslim children as a groundwork of proceeding on to grasp more of human life and its problems as an unrestricted venture. The vital part to be played by education in a Muslim society is to enable everybody to form an attitude to life consistent with the fundamental principles of the Qur'an and Sunnah which are to be regarded as universal law willed by a universal will Subject to the formation of this attitude, there must not be any bar to seeking knowledge in any branch of science or art, in higher stages of education

The key value referred to above should precede the understanding and pursuit of other values It is itself composite in nature Fundamental components of this key are the following.

1. Acceptance of the unity of a supreme will and its sovereignty over matters social and individual Faith in oneness and indivisibility of the Supreme Being is the first plank of human thinking and human endeavour in the Islamic outlook. Divinity has to be understood, but Muslims have to avoid the pitfalls into which men and nations fell at various times of history in course of understanding the nature of Divinity. The nature of God is that (*i*) He is a unique incomparable Personality Who cares for His Creation, (*ii*) He is One and the Only One to Whom worship is due from human beings, and (*iii*) He is eternal and unbound by time, space or circumstance. The nature and qualities of God given in the Qur'an as contradistinguished from the Biblical distortions

will have to be grasped by a Muslim before he really submits to the Supreme Reality, and that is what is Islam in a literal sense Once the nature and qualities of God are grasped, it is not difficult to accept the sovereignty of the Supreme Will of God in matters of human behaviour, social, institutional and individual. That is to say, human endeavour and human will should be supposed to be circumscribed by the Supreme Will. This thus provides the basis of understanding the Islamic concept of limited free will of man.

2 Prayer and mental response to the Supreme Will as a source of strength arising out of expression of gratitude. It is not mechanical prostration and muttering the verses of the Qur'an in the manner of "a frigid mummery of words" In fact, prayer is the medium of mental union between real self of man with Supreme Reality. This spiritual union gives an unbreakable strength of will to the human mind which protects it from the invasions of evil forces. This in short provides the key to disciplined but bold behaviour.

3. Payment of Zakat in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'an is another fundamental principle giving both subjective and objective support to the composite key value Contribution out of possessions compulsorily sets in motion the process of transfer of wealth from the *haves* to *haves-not*, making pursuit of values of life worth while for the latter who otherwise could not have expected to discharge those responsibilities. The details of the rules of Zakat apart, the principle lays the foundation of socialistic democracy in which realisation of the best development of individual selves is ensured by removing the handicap of material wealth of the *haves-not*. Understanding and applying this principle will prepare a man for social sacrifice and a right kind of perspective for assuming social responsibilities Direction for unlimited voluntary charity in the way of God (i e. in the way of social good) has, on the other hand, very powerfully supplemented the process of formation of perspective towards social problems and their actual solution.

4. The principle of fasting during day time for the month of Ramadan provides an instrument of discipline for the physical self, for, it must not be forgotten in course of the usual living for one year that the physical self is to be subordinated to the spiritual self echoing the coordination between the two in the interest of the best results of human endeavours. This provides a process of purification of the self which is, after all, the spring of motive power for effort in every direction.

5. The principle of visiting Mecca on Haj pilgrimage is a conditional requirement; it is dependent on what is known as the means test. Provided one can make adequate provision for the subsistence of one's dependence for the period of leave and can finance

his way to and back, one has to visit the Herem Sharif to see with one's own eyes the centres of Islamic history as associated with the strivings of the Prophet as a source of inspiration for devotion to truth and development of a world outlook in the association of a cross-section of human souls gathered from all corners of the globe This is not just an emphasis on the formalities of pilgrimage but the subjective training through an inspired intermingling of Muslim souls and reawakening of the teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah that has to be accepted as the objective of pilgrimage.

Additional Fundamental Principles as Components

Starting with these five fundamental principles (out of which practically three will have real significance in shaping the attitude of children and two principles, viz payment of Zakat and visiting Mecca, will have only academic interest for them), in fact nine guiding principles are to be applied in Muslim society for balanced behaviour, private and public The additional principles whose implications are to be driven home to young learners at the secondary stage of education are those of forgiveness, knowledge, morality, mutual consultation and self-preservation [1] Whether or not such principles are embodied in prevalent law in a country, Muslims will be expected to move out on the voyage of active life with the compass of the key value sustained by nine guiding principles. Once the spirit of these guiding principles is ingrained in the personality of an individual, pursuit of other values, viz truth, beauty and happiness, becomes easy and healthy, and coordinated and balanced development of individuality and social life follows. The reason is that adherence to these principles (which are but disciplining instruments) produces the spirit of moral virtue providing the real will to an individual and it is this real will that forms the basis of the spontaneous functioning of universal law. Kant whose ethical philosophy is the pride of modern knowledge has commanded. "Act only according to that maxim which you can at the same time *will* it to be a universal law."[2] That would be the desirable behaviour for each individual but, without the key value as analysed above, it is hardly possible to assume that human behaviour will behave in the suggested pattern.

Use of the Key Value in Life :

The reason why pursuit of other values is rendered easy and harmonious under the influence of the key value consists in the fact that contents of these other values are conceptual and relative to circumstances. What constitutes truth or beauty or happiness will be a matter of interpretation taking into account the aspect of relativity to the

1 Vide Qur'an, xlii 36-43, along with the commentaries by Allama Yusuf Ali. Also see this writer's book. *Islamic Social Framework*, pp 114-118

2 C.E.M Joad · *Ethics and Politics*, p 208

requirements of social good at a particular stage of development of a society. The key value being supposed to have already shaped the right kind of attitude for conception and interpretation, individuals may endeavour to achieve the objects of truth, beauty and happiness to a maximum degree. For instance, the Qur'an says

> Say. The things that my Lord
> Hath indeed forbidden are:
> Shameful deeds, whether open
> Or secret, sins and trespasses
> Against truth or reason, assigning
> Of partners to God for which
> He hath given no authority;
> And saying things about God
> Of which ye have no knowledge (vii. 33)

Evidently, the general principles embodied in these words are undoubtedly of universal appeal and above any scepticism, if any ethical foundation of society has to be accepted But even here, controversies are almost inevitable when the question of determining the concrete nature of these principles will be considered. What deeds are to be treated as shameful deeds and which concrete modes of behaviour can be called "sins and trespasses against truth and reason"? The first guidance in this helpless controversy will be the light focussed from the key value so that certain alternatives may be sorted out for interpreting shamefulness and transgression of truth and reason What is left to be done next is to approach all problems in a rational manner Rationalism will then settle the disputes about the concrete details of behaviour. There are things of beauty that are a source of not only joy but inspiration for righteous conduct for which the poet will cry "Beauty is truth, Truth beauty!" and "A thing of beauty, joy for ever!" But if the right attitude has not been formed, lurid and depraved tastes may replace sense of beauty; and this will be reflected in the manner of speech, movement, dress, habits and conduct What is Mona Lisa or Venus to an artist, a symbol of beauty and inspiration, will be suggestive of nudity and immorality to a depraved—a mind that does not know its own limitations and hence does not know what is shameful Ethical principles alone can give a perspective of right or wrong in human comprehension of things and ideas and hence in the shaping of human behaviour This background then fits in well with the conceptions of social institutions that are in the process of evolution and have to be devised by man for maximum social good (not exclusive of its link with the life after death) Other principles that rest on the ..nctioning of the principle of

morality are of universal acceptance, viz. forgiveness, knowledge, consultation and self-preservation. As a matter of fact, these four principles provide the four walls of modern democracy. In many parts of the globe these principles have been applied in different proportions and democratic life has accordingly varied *in these regions, but the end of* maximum social good has suffered in all regions in a relationship of inverse variation with the degree of applicability of the morality principle alongside

It is only in an Islamic society that the principle of morality has been intended to play an initial role in providing an atmosphere of healthy functioning of other character-building and nation-building principles Modern theorists of political science have expounded the concept of democracy and have suggested that universal education should precede universal franchise Something more is to be found in the Quranic injunction that it is compulsory for every man and woman to seek knowledge (which is more than elementary primary education or just acquaintance with the three R's) This injunction combined with that of consultation (i e through direct assembly or election of representatives) gives the foundation of true democracy This, however, savours of the ideal concept of the philosopher citizen of Plato's *Republic* but much more broadbased and practical There are writers who believe that if knowledge and specialisation can be combined with democratic government, there can hardly be any other alternative social organisation that will be thought of by people to meet their requirements of political and social life The Islamic philosophy (if a combination of principles be permitted to be called philosophy) has already combined the two in the right manner to lay the foundation of ideal society. The principles of forgiveness and self-preservation will then guide the functioning of that society through peace or war

Sanction of Real Will Required:

Thus we find that the key value of moral virtue is a product of the real will of man which is transformed into real social will in the case of social life This real will is the key to conceptualism The values of beauty, truth and happiness may be attained as ends. A judicious exercise of choice is required between different means that lead to one particular end This means a process of enquiry or research. But the inquiring mind analyses subjectively as also objectively while proceeding in that enquiry. All the alternative roads to the goal are tested by that mind which has already been equipped with the key value for the testing and grading of these. One individual has to apply the test to find out the right alternative of behaviour pattern for himself in aiming truth, beauty and happiness This is not regimented behaviour, for there may be a variety of alternatives standing the test and hence there will be scope for richness of life flowing from regulated variety. Provided harmful consequences, individual and

social, are avoided by a right choice, conceptualism will still provide a wide scope of variation in an Islamic society. This is evident even in the interpretation of the concept of heaven which is, in reality, a state of bliss depending upon the aptitude and propensity of an individual for happiness of a specific character in accordance with his preference. As licence is not liberty, behavourial anarchism is not healthy human behaviour. The sanction of real will gives behaviour the right to enter ideal democratic society. Similarly, social will gives the sanction to social behaviour in pursuit of social happiness, truth and beauty which is, in one word, social good. Wings of imagination or conception have no bounds, and there is a saying that there is nothing good or bad—only thinking makes it so. Hence is the necessity for the sanction of real will to thinking

In this ideal democratic society where real will is assumed to guide behaviour, some other principles have been prescribed as instruments of social good These, when applied, are purported to set in motion forces of social good throughout the warp and woof of the social organic life. These forces are mainly social equality (or absence of racial discrimination), enterprise and individual responsibility, right of enjoyment of earnings by man and woman, distribution of excess material possessions among fellow-men and women (or social security), dignity of self, regard for neighbours, regard for the dignity of fellow-beings, regard for minorities, regard for widows and orphans, responsibility for better living of fellow-men and women, faith on Hereafter and acceptance of earthly existence as probationary life to prove one's worth for the permanent ideal existence in the Hereafter, etc These emerge from the thoughts and teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah to shape what is known as the Islamic way of life.

Islamic Social Organisation and Modern Societies :

Out of the above analysis will appear a concrete picture of one social organisation which bears comparison to a collection of the best elements conceived by social thinkers till today. Is there any part in this structure that may be treated as obsolete by moderners ? Does not modern society aim richness and fullness of life to be achieved through socially healthy means ? It is quality and not quantity that should count in the determination of richness and fullness of life and social good. Modern life is considered as complicated due to the stage of civilisation reached and the complexity of means used for achieving ends It is in this context that there is need for greater care for right exercise of choice through the X-rays of the key value of moral virtue envisaged in an Islamic society. Moderners may not call it Islamic but they will, of necessity, feel the role of this key in individual and social life. Sane thinkers feel the void in modern democratic life in the Western world because of absence of the balancing key; while Muslim countries have indifferently deviated from it in varying proportions. Unfor-

tunately, even in Muslim countries, we are now passing through a period of philosophical fog in which the right approach is submerged in the conflict between the so-called modern scientific approach and the Mulla-ridden conservative religious approach.

Process of Adjustment and Lines of Action :

It has to be deeply meditated by all schools of thought whether the framework suggested above is likely to be more permanent and productive in terms of social good than the fleeting shows of various types of society grown and buried under the debris of distorted life and behaviour. If the answer is in the affirmative, there need not be any despondency about the adjustment and compatibility of that framework to modern conditions. That will again be a social process of transition but such a process requires deliberate action at the hands of social thinkers, reformers and policy-makers. Worries about adjustment may be significant only when all details of application of Islamic principles in the past are statically assumed for application to a dynamic society. A beginning in the direction of gravitating to that social norm should be made in countries where Islamic fundamental values are still in high value. The following lines of action may be indicated for that healthy beginning

(*i*) Creation of a necessary environment through balanced education. The fundamentals producing the key value concept should be provided in the curricula of primary and secondary education in proper proportions Syllabi and text-books will have to be suited to this end, without sacrificing the objects of general education. Higher education should, however, be with a world outlook

(*ii*) Intensive research on Islamic social principles and applications in modern conditions A programme of research may be adopted at colleges and universities for investigating the possibilities of application of Islamic principles and the concrete forms thereof. It is out of such intensive researches that institutional changes will follow and adjustment may proceed without conflicts, although it might mean leaving aside certain old forms of application and amending some others to suit present conditions.

(*iii*) Popular interpretation of Islamic ideology. Interpretation should not take the archaic form usually associated with conservative circles without modern knowledge. The ideology has to be expounded in clear terms, with particular emphasis on subjective and objective values. The ideology must be held before the public eye in all its attractions in contrast to other ideologies, viz. Capitalism and Communism. State publicity has to play an important role in this task.

(*iv*) *Objective of material progress with a view to raising living standards. Due importance has to be given to the material sector of progress ; for, this has been danger-*

ously neglected under the cloak of one-sided interpretation of Islamic ideology in the past few centuries. Material and human resources of each country have to be harnessed to optimum development with the help of modern equipment and technical skill so that living standards may rise gradually. Unless a reasonable standard of living can be ensured, hardly can there be any endeavour for the preservation of human and social values. Ethical preachings and glow of idealism will all be stifled in very low standards of living promoting only subhuman existence

(*v*) Social justice and equality through legislation and elightened public opinion. Public opinion is a potent force for shaping things, setting codes of behaviour and focussing attention on social problems. Legislation may come to the aid of public opinion to remove difficulties, if otherwise insurmountable, standing in the way of social justice and equality. The proud injunctions about them have to be translated into reality and should be practised rather than talked of

(*vi*) Stressing spiritual values of prayer, fasting and pilgrimage In the exuberance of enthusiasm for adjustment with modern life, the spiritual values of prayer, fasting and pilgrimage must not be discounted The significance of these institutions should be stressed at every level of society. Unless prayer and fasting are installed in life along with modern advancement, there can hardly be anything original in the new way of life arising out of adjustment

(*vii*) Incorporating Zakat in the tax system Public finance on modern lines has been taking care of the subtleties of state revenues and expenditure. But since Zakat has both spiritual and public finance values, it should be given a specific place in the tax system of a country evolving the Islamic way of life The detailed rules prescribed for Zakat collection and expenditure should, however, be treated as relative to the economic life obtaining in the early centuries of Islamic history These are liable to adjustment and amendment in order to suit existing conditions and also the relationship with other taxes and imposts. This subject itself points to the necessity of research as mentioned earlier.

(*viii*) Creation of facilities and social institutions for pursuing values in a healthy manner. Concrete institutions must be provided to people for pursuing beauty, truth and happiness in the desired spirit.

RESHAPING OF EDUCATIONAL IDEALS IN PAKISTAN

'Ainuddin 'Alavi

This is an eloquent plea for the reorientation of educational ideals in Pakistan But with the condition of politics in this country being what they are and with the entire absence of a rightly guided political party based on Islamic ideology, it is difficult to expect any reforms. However, the solidarity and stability of Pakistan depends on its educational ideals But the people are being made to forget the very ideals for which Pakistan came into existence The success of Pakistan will come only when those who believe in the Islamic ideology come out of their shells and assert themselves, facing all risks and dangers No mere pious aspiration or passive preaching can give us the real Pakistan of our dreams

WE HAVE already had enough of the education which has been producing men without independent thinking, without responsibility, without industry, without national consciousness, without pride, without love of system—in short, men without conscience and character, men who, stepping out of the universities and getting jobs, have been taking bribes, attaining selfish ends by foul means, and ruthlessly sacrificing national interests to the nincompoops who happen to be their relations or friends

We have had enough of the education which has failed to produce innovators and inventors. Let us see why it was such a terrible failure

If at all we gave some thought to our educational muddle, we did nothing more than putting forward suggestions to have more trained teachers, to make education compulsory and free, to improve our methods of teaching, and reform our system of examinations, to see that the teachers are better off, to remould the curriculum so as to provide better for individual needs, to introduce psychological aptitude tests, etc., to concentrate on technical or vocational education (which, by the way, is the ignorant Philistine point of view), and a dozen other hackneyed suggestions of this sort I do not at all mean to undervalue their usefulness . but THESE REMEDIES ARE ONLY SKIN-DEEP. They only touch minor aspects of the BIG PROBLEM They are as ineffective in getting to the root of the evil as the mere repainting of a decrepit automobile which needs a new engine.

Such suggestions towards educational reform can never lead us anywhere. We have, first of all, to attack the MAIN CAUSE of our social degeneration as a nation, which has perceptibly set in. What is that cancer eating into our social structure and nullifying the few well-intentioned efforts towards economic and political betterment? Absence of an ideal for which we could work, live and die!

In our case, any amount of streamlined methods of teaching, all the latest audio-visual devices that educational science has laid at our disposal, would only mean putting *the cart before the horse* All talk of educational reform is sheer waste of energy if it is *not strongly anchored to practicable ideals* and national aspirations. *You will surely agree with me that mere exact knowledge of facts* and mere training *in skills has just NO VALUE, unless it is harnessed to some inspiring purpose* An engineer, a technician, or even a 'stark' scientist is a blind creature who can be an instrument in the hands of foul and filthy forces, unless he has imbibed a sound ideal.

Our educational problem, thus, ultimately reduces itself to one all-important question: WHAT DO WE LIVE FOR, FIGHT FOR? ON WHAT SHOULD WE SHOWER ALL OUR LOVE AND DEVOTION?

All nations in the world have some inspiring idea which binds them into a homogeneous group, organises all their efforts into a harmonious process and gives meaning to it. Roughly speaking, with almost all nations except the Soviet Republic, it is the idea of "Love for the Country." It has been found to be a very effective incentive to progress Still, with all its advantages, all sensible thinkers—ancient and modern—are unanimous in rejecting it as an ideal worthy of 'real' men. Reasons are obvious It restricts our sympathies and our outlook It is the smoothest short-cut to parochialism and racial hatred It throws into insignificance the higher human values of truth, fair-dealing, equality, brotherhood, tolerance, courage, straightforwardness, and firmness in morals, faith in the good (or Faith in God). At its best it makes us "expedient" men, not Good men!

Our heart intuitively tells us that it is the latter that are worthy ideals for the "most superior of the animals," and not the tribalistic idea of love for your geographical boundaries and the peculiar specimen of humans (superior or inferior) that happen to be born within those boundaries. Patriotism, no doubt, is based on a very strong instinct; but all progress is, as we know, a process of getting rid of the harmful tendencies which are our animal heritage, or turning them to account by channelisation and sublimation. Patriotism has become an idol at whose altar incalculable human blood has been shed during the two great wars. It is high time peoples of the world got rid of this relic of

Primitive Society. It is high time now we raised our mental pattern to the level of the higher human values to which I have just referred.

Iqbal, the protagonist of the idea of Pakistan, has exquisitely expressed in his poems and other writings how we, Muslims, as a nation are basically different from all other peoples They are, almost all of them, based on the Race idea, or the Country idea, while we, Muslims, get our distinct entity from a belief in a particular system of thought and conduct—a belief in the higher human values (to use the secular terminology), discarding all differences of race or colour, climate or country, and inviting all mankind towards the high ideal of a moral order where superiority or inferiority is judged only from acting up to or falling short of that moral ideal

With the terrors of the world wars still haunting us, nobody with a spark of fairness in him can deny that mankind today needs such a reorganisation of ideology, and not a grouping according to geographical boundaries or ancestories This is, actually, a revolutionary idea in human history laid down first of all by Islam in definite terms. If our entity as Pakistanis—as a separate nation—is recognised, it should be justified on ideological grounds and not on the basis of Race or Geography or Hostility of neighbour states. What these sickly ideas have led us to achieve within the last eight years of our life as an independent people, needs no restatement.

I do not mean to say that love of country is something alien to Islamic view of life By no means It is part of our faith (vide the Holy Prophet's words . حب الوطن من الایمان) We cannot help loving our fatherland—so long as our love keeps within legitimate bounds, and does not clash with our loyalty to the higher values of TRUTH and UNIVERSAL JUSTICE

I must also point out here that we, Pakistanis, are a heterogeneous group made up of widely different ancestories, belonging to varied soils, which have little cultural affinities in common to bind them together into a fraternity, except the ideology they profess to believe in. As the only major basis of their unity is their religion, it is the strengthening of this basis that claims our first attention if we aspire to be a strong nation. This is not a crazy call from a "reactionary." Let us listen to what the Founder of Pakistan himself said in his speech in March 1944:

"PAKISTAN NOT ONLY MEANS FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE BUT *THE MUSLIM IDEOLOGY WHICH HAS TO BE PRESERVED . . . OUR BEDROCK* AND SHEET-ANCHOR IS ISLAM. WE ARE ONE AND WE MUST MOVE AS ONE NATION. THEN ALONE SHALL WE BE ABLE TO RETAIN PAKISTAN."

Educational ideals of a people are nothing but social and cultural aspirations which they sets up before themselves. What our nation wants should in fact determine all our educa-

tional effort, because—excuse me for the platitude—it is education that makes a nation *what it is The question now shapes itself like this: What are the ideals of Pakistanis as a nation—distinguishing them from others—for the pursuit of which we so persistently* demanded a separate homeland for us and a separate government?

A counterpart to this question is What is the social order we are out to establish? What do we aspire to do as architects of a nation? What sort of persons our education should be directed towards producing? . . .

These are the key questions The rest is the problem of finding out better means of producing them. We have been making the mistake of emphasising means and methods, without considering how vague and poor we are about the end or the ideal!

Let us proceed now to review what constitutes Pakistani or Islamic culture, and what should be our cultural ideals.

Everyone knows that we are the only nation whose religion concentrates all its energies on the organisation of a sound social framework. Everyone knows that our religion enjoins مساوات which means free equal opportunity to every individual in this social framework.

Another distinction of Islamic culture is that it gave us an aim of COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY in place of INDIVIDUAL SALVATION. It viewed history as a process which showed that NATIONS ARE REWARDED OR PUNISHED IN THIS VERY WORLD, AS INDIVIDUALS ARE IN THE NEXT WORLD. The Holy Qur'an draws our attention repeatedly to a survey of Nature and of history of nations The Holy Qur'an has given us a dynamic view of life.

Another distinction of our culture is again based on the Quranic conception of superiority of Man over the forces of Nature (Qur'an: سخر لکم ما فی السموات و الارض : He has made all things in heavens and earth subservient to you.)

Another of our distinctions is that ours is the only religion which was a friend and supporter of rational research, experimental science and independent thinking. This is really a great thing of which we should be rightfully proud

To top everything, we should always be conscious of the lofty status the Almighty has given to the Muslims as a nation (of course, when they are worth the name). According to the Holy Book, we are a society sent here to guide and control humanity (شہداء علی الناس are the words of the Qur'an), to enjoin people to do the Good and to prevent them from

doing the undesirable. Is this not the greatest honour and the greatest responsibility that can be conferred on human beings,—and shouldn't we always be proud of it? This will always remind us of our great social mission.

I am afraid, I am violating the old tradition of being always vague and abstract when talking of educational ideals and aims. But personally I prefer to be positive and definite on such vital questions rather than be stupidly cautious in statements and cling to a shallow, pedantic generality in ideas.

I come now to the question of the type of individuals we are going to produce. I prefer to be clear and definite here too

Our Pakistani conception of goodness is positive, while goodness in other religions has always smelt of the negative. Self-denial and unqualified non-violence have been their basis of goodness Islam is a religion (to use Nietzsche's terminology) saying Yea to life. Islam wants its men to have full expression of all sides of their personality. Islam provides for progress, exploration, adventure, struggle, and an unquenchable thirst for knowledge. A good Pakistani should therefore be a powerful person, first of all, with plenty of initiative and ambition and with a conqueror's outlook on life. These have been the main historical virtues of the early Muslims.

Secondly, a good Pakistani is firm in his loyalties and firm in his struggles, while tender and sympathetic to the distressed, the weak and the unfortunate He is always ready to wield force against social injustice, against all nonsense, and against deliberate mischief.

Thirdly, a Pakistani must have a glowing enthusiasm and passion for the Right and the Good And he inspires with it all those who come in contact with him.

His character should be fashioned after the Divine virtues, viz. that he has a broad outlook, is tolerant, forgiving, dominating, powerful, self-sufficient and independent, free from love of praise and love of property This is the Islamic conception of character, as the Holy Prophet's words · تخلقوا باخلاق الله (Mould yourself according to the attributes of Allah) proclaim.

Then, a Muslim should be a man with full grasp of THIS world and its problems. He is ahead of others in the race for material advancement as well. He should therefore be out to use the latest scientific aids for industrialisation and economic well-being But at the same time he is always superior to his material conquests, having ever in view something higher—superb—the great Divine, Unseen world, of which we are a fragment.

A Pakistani should be sportsmanlike, and have physical prowess. For he is a soldier in this world,—always prepared !

I can't help quoting here the beautiful verses from Iqbal in which he sums up a Muslim's character ·

هاتھ ہے اللہ کا بندۂ مومن کا هاتھ   غالب و کار آفریں، کار کشا، کارساز
خاکی و نوری نهاد، بندۂ مولا صفات   هر دو جہاں سے غنی، اسکا دل بے نیاز
نرم دم گفتگو، گرم دم جستجو   رزم هو یا بزم هو، پاک دل و پاکباز
اسکی امیدیں قلیل، اسکے مقاصد جلیل   اسکی ادا دلفریب، اسکی نگہ دل نواز

We have to inculcate (to whatever extent it is possible) this highest possible pattern of human character in our coming generations. And we should be proud of it. The term " Education for Citizenship " is soulless and meaningless unless it is inspired by cultural and national ideals like this. We all know how help of the Bible is sought for an education in citizenship even in countries governed by a so-called secular political system.

To come back to the topic, Goodness among pupils in the schools would not come of empty persuasions. The first requisite is the providing of proper atmosphere favourable to the growth and fostering of these virtues. It can only be fostered through living examples, through home influences, through a constant hark-back to our achievements in the past, through an unconscious infusion of the teacher's enthusiasm. We shall have to get rid of mushroom schools and mercenary teachers who have taken up the profession because they have failed everywhere else WE MUST HAVE TEACHERS WHO ARE PROUD OF THEIR NOBLE PROFESSION ; THEY ALONE CAN INCULCATE PROUD IDEALS Otherwise, all talk of ideals is useless Enthusiasm in the teacher begets enthusiasm among pupils Our schools, in short, have an enormous task to accomplish in this respect. It may again be noted that the required virtues will never come through the hackneyed methods of traditional religious instruction, or cramming of the lessons of Fiqh and Hadith (فقه و حدیث) in the Theology period. We have to build up in schools an environment which would, without verbal exhortations, foster a disgust for all conduct which is below our lofty moral standards, and create a desire to act up to the norm of our moral Good.

But, of course, we are not going to cast each Pakistani child in one uniform mould as Nazis *in the Hitlerite regime did, or as the Soviet Republic is doing today.* No, we are not going to sin against the individuality God has given every child. Islam requires us to let every individual grow fully according to his own genius. Our aim would be that

each individual pursues his own ideals (of course, subservient to our ultimate ideals of social justice).

Allow me here to look back for a moment to the educational policy during the days of the British We all remember, it was a policy of deliberate suppression, aiming at the safeguard of the ruler's interests This is why it was giving a soulless education which, at its best, denationalised us and sapped our character.

The British had a very plausible excuse with them for being unable to provide the essential ideals to enliven our education there were practical difficulties in basing the syllabus on national and cultural foundations, for the country was inhabited by two nations strongly distinct and different in their outlook. What keeps us NOW from providing our education with what is most essential for it? I mean the spirit and the ideals which should be its motive power Freedom and Initiative should be the keynotes of our education now instead of the old ghost of Suppression which had long haunted it. We must re-assert our national existence and restore our dissipated energies now. We have to produce self-respecting, economically independent individuals, with all sides of their personality developing harmoniously, who should be efficient members of society, good workers, men with enthusiasm for life They need not be libraries stored with information, but should have the capacity to acquire information throughout life. Men who should fight disease, poverty, and evil customs Men who should restore the Right against might.

Our educational machinery, syllabuses, organisation, modes of thinking, ways of reacting to environment, even our dress and language, in short, all values, all material brought to use as means of education, should be sifted and remoulded according to our national and cultural needs Everything that may be calculated to keep us bound to the old, slavish habits, awe-ridden outlook, dependence, and conviction of superiority of our former "masters" and our inferiority in comparison, should be discarded forthwith. It is these things that have been the bane of our national existence I should not be taken to mean that we should adopt a narrow and local viewpoint, restricted to things of our own taste and devoid of fresh air from outside, that we should confine ourselves to things which are NOT Western. That would be entirely antagonistic to the spirit of our culture Ours has been the only culture distinguished for an open, scientific, rationalist spirit looking at things in a perfectly detached, impartial way,—the spirit which has been the mother of experimental science. Muslim scientists have been earnest seekers of truth, and no religious taboos ever stopped them while they were out to work at research or experiment. But this again does not mean that Islamic culture teaches us to have no independent ways of living which are our own, No, we have been well known for our strong individuality of culture. We are, so to say, a Hegelian synthesis of conflicting

world culture. Our culture was strong and irresistible in its influence wherever it went — from France and Spain to the far-flung archipelagoes of the Pacific.

Good things of our Islamic culture must be preserved at all costs. It is this preservation that should form the true basis for the "educational process" Iqbal is again worth a quotation here on the value of conservation of cultural traditions :

قوم روشن ار سواد سر گزشت — خود شناس آمد رياد سرگزشت
سرگزشت او گر ار يادس رود — باز اندر نيستی گم می شود
حيست تاريخ ؟ اے رحود بيگانۂ — داستانے ، قصۂ ، افسانۂ ؟
روح را سرمايۂ تاب است اين — جسم ملت را چو اعصاب است اين
ضبط کن تاريخ را ، پائنده سو — از نفس هائے رميده رلده شو
رشتۂ ايام را آور بدست — ورنه گردی روز کور و شب پرست
سر زند ار ماضی تو ، حال تو — خيرد ار حال تو ، استقبال تو
مشکن ، از خواهی حيات لا زوال — رشتۂ ماضی ز استقبال و حال

All progressive countries are, of course, drawing upon the same subject-matter of scientific knowledge for their education. It has become the common capital of mankind. But their moral, cultural, liberal education has been growing, and MUST grow, out of their own soil For all learning is accomplished through concrete objects existing in the particular society where the child finds himself Our own cultural envirомment must therefore form the raw material and background of our Education,—a raw material that comprises the concrete, indigenous, familiar objects and institutions like festivals, manners and customs, occupations, modes of worship, folklore, historical traditions, tales of our great men, songs and dances, poetry, art and architecture, characteristic scenery, dress and so many other things Any efforts at teaching and learning in the abstract—without such a vital and dynamic relation to the environment—is bound to fail miserably. Similarly, if we attempt teaching our subject-matter through objects and institutions which are strangers to our society, and which we do not usually come across in our concrete experience, it amounts to the same thing—to teaching in abstract, in vacua !

Education is an active process of continuous readjustment with the environment, or, to use Dewey's words, a continuous reconstruction of experience From a subjective point of view, we can also express it as a continuous progress towards the attainment of high ideals In any case, EDUCATION IS NOT A PASSIVE RECEPTION OF FACTS CONVENIENTLY PLACED AT OUR DISPOSAL IN THE FORM OF TEXT-BOOKS

BY THE MASTER-MINDS OF THE WEST—ESPECIALLY OF THE U.S AND U K. VARIETY. If we continue to educate our children in vacuum, without a strong, living *relation to OUR OWN SOIL, we should fast lose our* entity as a nation, and evaporate.

Even the problems of having our own language and our own dress (which are apparently superficial and insignificant when viewed against the cosmopolitan background of Islamic "Super-nationalism" are of a much deeper implication in the growth of an independent outlook But these are separate issues and call for a detailed exposition which I cannot, unfortunately, undertake here.

I would only repeat that nothing in our system of education should smell of unintelligent imitation—a following in other people's footsteps. The Mintutest details of our conduct should speak of a bold and independent spirit, different from others in its own individual way INDIVIDUALITY—being different from others—is the *object* of all human evolution, the symbol of all superiority and human excellence, as Iqbal has put it in his own charming way, apostrophising the wild 'Lalah'

تو شاخ سے کیوں پھوٹا، میں ساخ سے کیوں ٹوٹا ؟
اک جذبۂ پیدائی، اک لذت یکتائی !

We are nothing if not peerless—unparalleled in our culture, unsurpassed in one way or another It is high time we tap the fountains of originality and the creative energy with which the Almighty has endowed every people It is just disgraceful to be blind to one's own gifts and play second fiddle to others The foremost thing we need to learn again is SELF-RELIANCE, faith in our own strength This is the first lesson in education, not only for the younger generation, but for the older one as well Rather more urgently for the latter, because it is entrusted with the upbringing of the former. This lack of self-reliance (or KHUDI, as Iqbal would call it) has been disintegrating our collective life with frightful speed How deplorable it is that we have lost confidence in our own capacity for the task of social and economic reorganisation, independence in our political relations, pride in our cultural greatness, pride in our religious greatness, pride in our literary and scientific output, pride in our cosmopolitanism and supra-nationalism. But this course leads to inevitable destruction .

ہوئی ہے زیر فلک امتوں کی رسوائی   خودی سے جب ادب و دیں ہوئے ہیں بیگانہ

By way of conclusion, I would reiterate that we have to lay the foundation again in our schools of a social order in which we could take pride This is a supreme task. It calls for a lucid grasp of the situation, great planning ability, and tremendous

capacity for organisation. Obviously, it can only be sponsored by those among us who have a fire and a passion for remoulding of our society. It may be the government, or the people themselves.

Our piecemeal efforts at reform, and new methods of teaching would produce worthwhile results only after proper thought is given to IDEALS, and every teacher imbibes them as he does his methods of teaching

HISTORY

IQBAL'S CONCEPTION OF TIME

A. M. Md. Ibrahim

This article deals with Iqbal's concept of time According to Iqbal, time is not a physical fact but a spiritual activity, and it is the very essence of life In this connection, Iqbal seems to have been influenced by Bergson, who says that our idea of time is vitiated by the notion of space The time we measure by the clock is quantitative and spatial But real time is the flow of the spirit The proof that Bergson gives is very interesting He says that if the speed of the Universe is doubled or trebled, the mathematical relations and measurements remain unaffected But it will make a vital difference to the life of man The creation of the artist, according to Bergson, will not be the same at two different points of time For the same inspiration cannot return

IQBAL'S conception of time is an integral part of his philosophy of life, soul and God Apart from his conception of time, his philosophy of life cannot be understood "There cannot be life without time and time without life, so you should not rebuke the time," is the tradition of the holy Prophet Neither God nor soul can be conceived without life So the question of God, soul and life is vitally connected with that of time Iqbal's conception of time has been dealt with by various scholars on the basis of its relation to the Western philosophy and many of them thought it to be borrowed from the West on their finding out some points of agreement with Bergson, Einstine and Nietzsche This article aims at finding out the relation of Iqbalian time with Islamic thought and principle Iqbal repeatedly referred to the Holy Qur'an and traditions in Islamic philosophy in his treatment of this question of time He based his conception of time on Islamic thought and philosophy It can reasonably be proved from his own writings He criticised the Western views and the Muslim thought in this connection and ultimately based his conception on Islamic thought. The Holy Prophet identified time with God and the Holy Qur'an emphasised time in several places and enjoined us to think over its reality :

و هو الذی جعل اللیل و النهار خلفة لمن اراد ان یذکر او اراد شکوراً ۔

Iqbal dealt with this problem in the fifth chapter of *Asrar* in details. ' According to him, time is not to be conceived as a continuous link like a line divided by days, months and years, etc. It should not be measured with days and nights. Real Time is an everlasting reality

اصل وقت از گردش خورشید نیست　　　وقت جاوید است و خود جاوید نیست

The origin of time is not the rotation of earth round the sun nor the revolution *of the sun, because time is eternal* and the sun is temporal "*Real time originates from the soul and knows no end or beginning*" (وقت ماکو اول و آخر ندہد). Imam Shafi'i *compared time with the soul and Iqbal liked this metaphor*. So Iqbal says, "*How can* I say what is the secret of this soul? It cannot be described in words but it is a fact that time cannot be conceived without life and life without time." He then refers to the Quranic verses as mentioned above and asks his readers to think over the revolution of days and nights People misunderstood the significance of this revolution of days and nights and took time for some external reality besides our soul.

در گل حود تخم ظلمت کاشتی   وقت را مثل خطے پنداشتی

["You concieved time like a long line and divided it into past, present and future. You think yourself to be confined by the chain of time and wrongly suppose yourself to be subject to the revolution of days and nights."]

Iqbal clearly points it out that this line-like conception of time is not Islamic at all and such conception is not supported by the Qur'an and Hadith

ساختی ایں رشتہ را زنار دوش   گشتۂ مثل بتاں باطل فروش

["You have made this wrong conception of Aryans and Greeks just like a Brahmanical thread around your neck and thus you have become a worshipper of false idols"]

مسلمی ؟ آزاد ایں زنار باش   شمع بزم ملت احرار باش

["Are you a Muslim? If so, then get rid of this wrong un-Islamic idea of time and be as the light in the meeting of the independent nations"]

Iqbal holds that there is no existence of time outside our soul It is something subjective and through this subjective time we form the idea of life, because life is unthinkable without time. We fail to conceive the eternal life because we are unaware of real time.

تو کہ از اصل زماں آگہ نۂ   از حیات جاوداں آگہ نۂ

Now Iqbal refers the famous tradition of the Holy Prophet regarding time.

تا کجا در روز و شب باشی اسیر   رمز وقت از لی مع اللہ یاد گیر

["How long will you be imprisoned by days and nights? Take the lessons of time and be aware of its secret from the following tradition

لی مع اللہ وقت لا یسعنی فیہ نبی مرسل ولا ملک مقرب

'I have got for me a time with God when no prophet or angel can approach near to my position.'"]

This statement reveals the fact that time is not the name of days and nights. It is a spiritual mood of our soul which does not exist outside the self though our human intellect supposes it be, because this intellect is itself born out of it.

این و آن پیداست از رفتار وقت　　　زندگی سریست از اسرار وقت

[" The apparent existence of the external phenomenon and occurrence of various events are born out of the movement of time and life itself is one of the secrets of this time."]

Time is not born out of this or that event, nor is it the totality of moments and hours, nor is it a material object existing outside the self. Life is the name of our activity and it is the secret of time originating from the soul Time does not end with the end of our life. It is an eternity which contains lives. Eternity is a creating activity, eternal God is always creating and time is an aspect of this creator who is Eternity As such the Holy Prophet identified *Dahar* (" time ") with God and said, "Do not rebuke *Dahar* because *Dahar* is an Eternal life."

Our conception of God is so vitally connected with the conception of time that we cannot separately think of the one without the other. We conceive God as حی قیوم (always alive and always existent). Thus we ascribe eternal life to God and we cannot think of God without eternity It does not mean that our God is chained by time but it reveals the inability of our power of intellect to think of God without time So Iqbal holds time as eternal and it is not the result of the rotation of the sun Time will not come to an end when this rotation will come to an end, for time knows no end.

وقت را مثل مکان گستردهٔ　　　امتیاز دوش و فردا کردهٔ

[" The mistake you committed that you have thought your time as extended like your space and you think it to be a totality of past, present and future "]

Here Iqbal differs from the Western conception of time He opposes Neitzsche's eternal recurrence by saying, " It is only a more rigid kind of mechanism based not on an ascertained fact but only on a working hypothesis of science. Nor does Neitzsche seriously grapple with the question of time. He takes it objectively and regards it merely as an infinite series of events returning to itself over and over again. Now time regarded as perpetual circular movement makes immortality absolutely intolerable." He holds further that " Neitzsche's view is nothing more than a fatalism worse than the one summed up in the word *Qismat.* Such a doctrine, far from keeping up the human organism for the fight of life, tends to destroy its action, tendencies and relaxes the tension of Ego" (*Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*).

He opposes McTaggart's suggestion of unreality of time Mr. McTaggart could not in fact make a distinction between the serial time of the Efficient Ego and the pure duration of the Appreciative Ego and thus he failed to make justice to the subject. "If we regard past, present and future as essential to time, then we picture time as a straight line, part of which we have travelled and left behind and part lies yet untravelled before us. *This taking time is not as a living creative movement but as a static absolute*" (*Reconstruction*).

Iqbal could not also agree with the theory of Einstine He thinks that relativity denies reality to time and makes it as a fourth dimension of space The future is fixed as past. Time is as real as the space. It is material determinism According to Iqbal, serial time may be material but pure duration is not material but spiritual. It originates from the soul and cannot be thought of apart from the soul and thus it has no objective reality. It is ار حماناں صبحر ما رصد born of the soul. Life and time are two aspects of the same soul. We create time and we are not created by time So it cannot be the master of the soul. Iqbal revolted against the static view of the universe of the Greek philosophers because the Quranic view is quite opposite to it. The Qur'an holds a dynamic view of the universe کل یوم هو فی شان "He is in an ever-changing new position every day." "It is a growing universe and not already a completed product." It means the creative evolution of the Qur'an The time of the gross bodies which arises from the revolution of the heaven is divisible into past, present and future . . the time of immaterial beings is also serial in character, but its passage is such that a whole year in the time of gross bodies is not more than a day in the time of an immaterial being Rising higher and higher in the scale of the immaterial being, we reach the divine time which is also lately free from the quality of passage and consequently does not admit of divisibility, sequence and change It is above eternity. It has neither beginning nor end As the Holy Prophet says "No prophet or angel can reach me in this divine time when I reach this Divinity." This spiritual phenomenon cannot be measured in terms of intellect. In order to make this Quranic view more clear to us, the Qur'an refers to the story of *Ashab-i Kahf* or dwellers of the cave who slept more than three hundred years in the cave and when they awoke they were asked "*kum-labistum*," ["How long did you stay here?"] Some of them said, "One day" and some "Half a day" "*Allahu-a-lmu*" '[God knew "how long they stayed"] When they went out of the cave, they found to their astonishment that they were in a new world after three hundred years which seemed to be a day or a half to them. This seeming time and the actual time of their sleep is the point which the Qur'an wants to make clear to our understanding. Iqbal draws a similar metaphor to make this point clear.

علامه نے فرمایا ہے ''وقت زندگی ہے۔ اس پر اس اعتبار سے بھی غور کیجئے کہ
آپ سکته کے مرض میں مبتلا ہو گئے اور چھ ماہ تک بیہوش رہے۔ اب سوال یہ ہے
کہ کیا اس عرصه میں آپ وقت کا تصور کر سکے ؟ اور جب آپکو ہوش آیا تو
کیا آپ یہ بتا سکتے ہیں کہ کتنے دنوں تک غافل رہے ؟ آپ جب ہوش میں
آئیں گے تو آپکو یہی محسوس ہوگا کہ تھوڑی دیر گذری ہے حالانکه ایک نه دو
پورے ۱۸۲ دن کے بعد آنکھ کھلی۔ تو معلوم ہؤا کہ ۱۸۲ دن ایک لمحه کے
برابر بھی ہو سکتے ہیں۔ تو اگر ماہرین علم‌الارض کے چھ لاکھ سال خدا تعالیٰ
کے چھ دن کے برابر ہوں تو اس میں کون سی عقلی قباحت ہے ؟''

[Iqbal said, "Time is life Let us think over it from another point of view Suppose you fell victim to '*Sikta*' disease and remained unconscious for six months Can you think of time during this period? When you come to your consciousness, can you say how long you were unconscious? It seems to you for a very short period of time you were unconscious So it is clear that six months can be equal to your short period of an hour. Then what is the wrong to think that six lacs of years of this earth is equal to six days of God?" (*Sharh-i-Asrar*)

The Qur'an always draws the attention of its readers to this problem of time in its various aspects Suras *Dahar*, *Fajr*, *'Asar*, *Doha* and many other verses hit on this point of time. In these verses God swears by this time under its various names of *'Asar*, *Dahar* and *Doha*, etc, to indicate clearly that time is reality In Sura *Fajr* God says هل فی ذلک قسم لذی "For a man of wisdom that is the most dignified thing to swear by The time is not an unreal fleeting thing as people generally take it to be It is reality and wise man should think over it." The Quranic word *Fajr* itself means literally the flow in time which indicates movement and change. Regarding these words Shaikh Abdul Huq Muhaddath Dehlavi says in his commentary on the Holy Qur'an الفاظ قرآنيه میں بڑی وسعت ہے - سب کو حاوی ہیں ["These Quranic words bear a great wideness of their significance which contains many things."] The space of this article is too short to give details of comments on these words. In Sura *Dahar*, God refers to this time. Hz Muhaddath Dehlavi in connection with his commentary on these verses, refers to the famous tradition of the Holy Prophet as quoted below, p. 285, part II):

هل آتی علی الانسان حین من الدهر الخ

زندگی از دهر' دهر از زندگی　　لا تسبوا الدهر فرمان نبی

The Holy Prophet says, "Man reviles God when he reviles time (*Dahar*), because God says I am Dahar. Everything is in My hand. I change the day and night." Dehlavi says:

انجام کار یہ بھی جب اس سے دھر کی حقیقت دریافت کیجائے تو اللہ جل جلالہ کی طرف
رھتا ھے۔ لفظوں کا فرق رہ جاتا ہے۔ یہی اسکی گمراھی ھے کہ پھر بھی ھر حق
سبحانہ کا انکار کرتا ھے اور مادی اور طبعی لوگوں کا بھی اس کے قریب قریب مذھب ھے
اور وہ دھر کی جگہ مادہ کو پیٹا کرتے ھیں الخ۔

Iqbal pointed out our course of research in this line. It is in this line alone that we can find a solution of all the knotty problems. Islamic theology (علم کلام) should be rewritten from this new point of vision if it seeks the best solution of our problems. The problem of time throws abundant light on our problem of *Taqdir*, *Taslim*, *Rada*, *Qaza*, *Qadr*, *Jabr*, and *Ikhtiar*. The Holy Prophet's *Me'raj* (journey to Heavens) has been a riddle to us for centuries together His famous tradition in this respect could be hardly accepted by many modern students due to their ignorance of the Quranic view of time. The tradition goes that the Holy Prophet was asleep in the house of an Ummihani in the night of Me'raj He awoke and pushed the door open. Taking ablution he left for Jerusalem and therefrom travelled over all the heavens and came back within such short period of time that the water of ablution was still flowing and the doors were still trembling. The question is. How could the Holy Prophet travel over the vast regions of all the Heavens within a twinkling of an eye? How a human being can perform such a gigantic task within a moment's time? Iqbal in agreement with Rumi answers to these questions that Me'raj is nothing but a change in our consciousness Nearness and distance come from our consciousness. What is Me'raj? It is a revolution in consciousness out of love and attraction which attracts all high and low and all length or shortness of time equally. This material body cannot stand in the way of soul flying high and soaring up. Time and space are not two separate categories It is a single space-time continuum but it is not a mathematical deduction nor an intellectual concept. Iqbal does not agree with Einstine that time as the fourth dimension has no reality or dependent on matter. It is a free creative movement without any predetermination. The supreme moment knows no past, present or future. To an appreciative ego (*Nafse mutma'inna*) it is a pure duration having open possibilities. It is a wholeness and unity which synthesises all pluralities without any distinction. Efficient ego (*Nafse 'Ammara*) commands everything by distinctions and relations. So it knows time only in terms of divisions and relations of past, present and future or of mathematical calculation of days, months

and years. Ego creates atomic time in its movements and this movement is changed without succession which apparently looks like atomic in the works of its creation Jabria philosophy thinks that the Universe is temporary working out of a preconceived plan but "it is a growing Universe and not an already completed product which left the hands of its maker ages ago and is now lying stretched in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing" This changeless movement, this single continuum and this wholeness is eternity which is an essential element to God but it is not God nor the only reality as Mr. Bergson supposes it to be Iqbal believes with Mohiuddin Ibn-ul-Arabi in the reality of time as a *Safat* to *Zat* (quality to substratum) "It is time regarded as one organic whole that Qur'an describes as *taqdir* Destiny is time regarded as prior to the disclosure of its possibilities It is time free from causal sequence. It is time as felt and not as thought or calculated" (*Reconstruction*). Causal sequence means change but this time is itself change without succession It cannot be thought of because we cannot think of change without succession or causal sequence. It can only be felt in the deepest part of our soul One cannot be a Muslim without having the picture of this free creative movement within his heart. A true Muslim cannot be conceived of without freedom and without the power of creation

بندهٔ آزاد را آید گران زیستن اندر جهان دیگران

So Iqbal says, "It is very difficult for an independent man to live in the world of others One who has no power of creation is nothing but an infidel to us Because a Muslim is not only the name of a worshipper of truth and reality but also its realiser He feels it within his heart, he creates a new world, he derives this power from Qur'an"

هر که او را قوت تخلیق نیست نزد ما جز کافر و زندیق نیست

کهنه گردد چون جهان اندر برش می دهد قرآن جهانے دیگرش

When this world becomes old the Qur'an offers him another new world because the time and events are moulded according to his desires. *Qaza* and *Qadr* follow his command He does not count his time in terms of days and nights. He is always beyond himself with love and attraction. Past and future are always in his present. Ages are satisfied within his power. As Hz. Piran-e-Pir says :

وما منها شهور او دهور تمر و تنقضي الا اتاني

[" No months or years can pass away without my knowledge. The whole time of past, present and future lays open before my eyes "]

So Iqbal says .

نكتۂ غيب و حضور اندر دل است - رمز ايام و مرور اندر دل است

["The secret of this past, present and future lies within your self. Dive deep into yourself and catch hold of this secret flow of time."]

The problem of time has much bearing on the question of *Taqdir*. *Taqdir*, according to Iqbal, is the open possibilities in the womb of time So it has no objective existence. It is not a compulsion of any task-master from outside. It is an inward urge of the open possibilities and inward nature or *Fitrat* of a thing. What is the nature of man ? The Holy Qur'an replies

فطرت الله التی فطر الناس علیها

["Men are created on the nature of God "]

In other words, according to the Qur'an, the nature of man is the nature of God as He created man after His own image But man cannot think of his God except according to the image of his own self

We do not move in *Taqdir* but *Taqdir* moves in us because time is within us and we are not within time *Dahria* philosophers wrongly suppose that we are under the influence of *Dahar* (time) and *Taqdir* (predestination) which are outside the self Hz. Ja'far Sadiq holds that there is no *Jabr* or *Qadr* but the actual fact lies between these two You, says Mohiuddin Ibn ul-Arabi, are "*Qadr*", it is you who determine yourself So Iqbal refers to the tradition of the holy Prophet

ایں چنیں فرمودۂ آں شاہ ندرست کہ ایماں درمیاں جبر و قدرست

لا جبر و لا قدر بل الامر بین الامرین

["The Holy Prophet said that real *Iman* (Faith) lies between *Jabr* and *Qadr*" (i e between complete freedom and determinism)]

The word *Taqdir* has long been misinterpreted as *Qismat* (fate) by Muslim *Dahria* philosophers and the Western critics of Islam In fact, there is no place in Islam for such fatalism. A great confusion arises from the apparent contradictory verses of the Qur'an in this respect. As to this contradiction, Iqbal replies in his *Lectures*, "It is sufficient here to indicate that the kind of fatalism which the European critics of Islam sum up in the word *Qismat* was due partly to philosophical thought, partly to political expediency and partly to the gradually diminishing force of the life impulse which Islam originally imparted to its followers" Dr. Pickthall says, "In the Qur'an the province of free will is clearly indicated. It is but a province in the midst of Allah's Sovereignty and even in that province man cannot escape from Allah's law of consequences." To Iqbal *Taqdir* is the law of consequences. According

to the Qur'an, destiny is immutable and the law of God cannot be changed. "You will not find any change in the nature of God." But what is this nature of God? It is complete independence and free choice. Man inherits this nature from God as vicegerent on the face of earth. God does not interfere with human right of independence and free will Man is free to will. God does not compel him to will It is called *Taqdir* and there is no change of it. Man is not compelled to do right or wrong It is left up to his free choice If he chooses the right he is rewarded, and if he chooses the wrong, he is punished That is the law of consequences. This law of free choice and the law of consequences is predetermined as God says that He does not change the condition of a people unless they change their own self. "The pains and sorrows are earned by his (man's) own hand" That God is not responsible for human actions, is repeatedly declared by the Qur'an It is the law of life as changeless *Taqdir* or destiny So Iqbal says

بپائے خود مزن زنجیر تقدیر - تہہ ایں گنبد گرداں رہے ہست

[" Do not bind thyself with the charm of *Taqdir* for within this canopy of heaven there is a way out "]

Bergson is an anti-rationalist. He translates the flowing time into space relation, for duration, movement, life and evolution are illusions It mechanises them all In Bergson there is a dualism of will and thought and reality is a free creative will. Bergson's creative impulse is an unconscious purpose. Bergson is an atheist He does not believe in God To him time is reality It is a creative force which is changed There is nothing behind this change But to Iqbal "true time duration belongs to Ego alone." Ego is the ultimate reality. "The Ego's duration is concentrated within it and linked with the present and future in a uniqe manner" It is known to all that Iqbal is a great believer in God. He says, "Rising higher and higher in the scale of immaterial beings, we reach divine time—time which is absolutely free from the quality of passage and consequently does not admit of divisibility, sequence and change. It is above eternity. It has neither beginning nor end The eyes of God see all visibles and His ears hear all audibles in one indivisible act of perception. The priority of God is not due to the priority of time, on the other hand, the priority of time is due to God's priority" (*Reconstruction*, p 75)

It is purely a Quranic view of time. If Iqbal is indebted to anybody, he is indebted to the Qur'an for his conception of time and there is nothing to be surprised that he did not mention the name of Bergson though it is surprising to some critics.

It is wrong to suppose that Imam Shafi'i had no philosophy ***behind his*** **word or had** no capacity of understanding Bergson's philosophy of time. **Neither Islam** nor Iqbal is indebted to Bergson in any sense. Islam declared fourteen **centuries back** what was conceived by Bergson. "Every day He is in a new **glory**" is the Quranic view of change and this is the gist of Bergson's philosophy. **Bergson** worked on it without realising that this ultimate reality is God. Iqbal **based** his theory completely on Islamic line of thought. Iqbal's time is not God **nor is** it prayer to God. He clearly says what his conception of time is:

من حیات درونم و در جاں تو پنہانم

["I am the life of your soul and in your soul I am concealed."]

Thus Iqbal expressed his indebtedness to the Qur'an for his philosophy as it is said in the last *Munajat* of his *Asrar*

روز محشر خوار و رسوا کن مرا ۔ بے نصیب از بوسئی پاکن مرا
با مسلماں حق اگر ناگفتہ ام ۔ گر در اسرار قرآں سفتہ ام

["O Beloved Prophet, deprive me of your union on the last day of resurrection if I have concealed in my philosophy the truth as expressed in the Qur'an from the eyes of the Muslims."]

What greater oath could Iqbal take to convince the Muslim world that his philosophy is the philosophy of the Qur'an!

(A PAGE FROM ISLAMIC HISTORY)

THE LION-HEARTED TIPPU SULTAN

M. I. Zafar

In this article Mr M I Zafar refutes some oft-repeated charges against Tippu Sultan that he was a fanatic and treated the Hindus unjustly The writer dwells on the admirable qualities of Tippu and his attempts to bring the whole Muslim world on one platform But all these great qualities of the head and the heart failed to avert Tippu's defeat at the hand of the British It shows again, as in the case of Abdul Hamid, that individuals, however great, can never change the course of history, because history is governed by ideas and movements involving entire nations and races

THE very idea of aristocracy had been and is repugnant to the West particularly to the diehard democrats who detest every other political institution Aristocracy, with any name or in any form, in the East or the West, in the past or the present, has been associated with the perpetration of brutal acts, unjust deeds, highhandedness, inglorious regime and fatal results It is admitted that the aristocrats did handle their subjects with severity and used brutal force to keep them in subjugation, but it all depended upon their environments and creed On the contrary, the Muslim kings, whether they were rulers of Spain, Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Iran or India displayed such tolerance, magnanimity of heart, broadmindedness, generosity and spirit of service to their subjects, irrespective of the faith their subjects possessed, that the present hard-pressed and ever-dreading (war and fearful hydrogen and atom bombs) humanity would prefer the rule of such peace and justice-loving kings—rather well-wishers of humanity.

It was their staunch faith in and conviction of the all-embracing principles of Islam—which include political, economic, social and philanthropic ideas—coupled with spiritual dynamic force—so essential for the progress, betterment and prosperity of humanity. History bears ample testimony to this candid fact It is an incomparable merit of Islamic faith that when it is once ingrained in the minds of its followers, they may be kings, commanders, ministers and other dignatories, they cannot tolerate injustice, immorality and cruelty. A good Muslim means a God-fearing, virtuous, kind and just person.

When we read the chequered history of India, we learn that nearly all the Mughal Emperors possessed a certain quality of head and heart, which distinguished them

supremely from rulers of other lands and times. History of the West cannot produce an affectionate father like Babar, who sacrificed his life for his son Humayun; a forgiving brother like Hamayun, who forgave his real brothers every time; a tolerant ruler like Akbar, who was tolerant to a fault as he allowed the treacherous and ungrateful Hindus to gain political power to undo what his great ancestors had accomplished after making great sacrifices. The justice rendered by Emperor Jehangir was proverbial. He had hung a big bell on the outer wall of his palace so that any man or woman, who had any complaint against his officials or had been maltreated by a mischievous person, could ring it and put forth his grievances before the king himself. The justice-loving king never tolerated an act of highhandedness.

Emperor Shah Jehan, the great builder, was an incomparable royal and loyal husband—and affectionate father too—the like of whom history of the West cannot produce. His love for his Queen stands unique in the marvellous monument known as "The TAJ MAHAL" (Agra, India). Even the modern architects are helpless to design a building like the TAJ MAHAL—love personified Then comes the great Emperor Aurangzeb—the royal Faqir. Although he was king of a vast country, had inherited palaces and countless wealth, yet he led a pious and amazingly simple life He, like a true follower of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (may peace be upon him), earned his livelihood by doing embroidery work and copying the Holy Qur'an and other religious books. He was a saint in disguise. He attained spiritual heights which no other king had ever attained. During daytime he used to perform his kingly duties and at night he worshipped the Almighty and Omipotent Allah with profound devotion and humility.

The above candid facts are an overwhelming proof of our claim that the so-called aristocrats possessed such admirable and remarkable qualities of head and heart, and performed such feats which the democrats rarely accomplished. One of such aristocrats and kings was the lion-hearted ruler of Mysore (India)—the well-known historical figure of Tippu Sultan. Like his royal brothers-in-Islam, the great Mughal Kings, he was a noble and sagacious ruler. It is quite evident from the above that no other nation can produce instances of kingship known as an impious and notorious institution, which the Muslims have rightly and proudly claimed to produce. It is Islam which influenced their lives, and in the dark eras bore a luminous torch of righteousness, humility, piety, law and order, service to humanity and justice—coupled with the abolition of slavery and other attendant evils, so closely related with kingship throughout the world in all ages.

Tippu Sultan was a remarkable personality. He was God-fearing in spite of the fact that he possessed all the powers and prerogatives of a king. He respected the Islamic laws and invariably refrained from breaking them. He not only exhibited

kindness to his Muslim subjects but also showed generosity to the non-Muslim subjects He rendered justice meticulously and gave no cause of complaint even to the humble subjects of his.

Sultan Fateh Ali, usually known as Tippu Sultan, was a son of the famous Sultan Haider Ali, the founder of the kingdom of Mysore. The lion-hearted Sultan Tippu belonged to a martial race His father, Sultan Haider Ali, began life as a soldier but, endowed with all the attributes of a successful person, he rose to the throne of Mysore Sultan Tippu was born in December 1751 He was a stout man and inherited all the essential qualities of a soldier and diplomat from his great father, under whose able and wise guidance he was brought up He was well-versed in the art of writing and literature He was an accomplished horse-rider and swordsman He was a man of blotless character, singular courage and determination He possessed limitless zeal and boundless vigour He was an eloquent speaker and forceful writer He was admired for his unflinching courage and honoured for his remarkably superior discernment In short, Sultan Tippu was generously gifted by Allah, the Almighty, with political sagacity and administrative ability

It is related that from the age of six years to the time of death of his renowned father, he accompanied him in all the battles, hence he acquired vast knowledge of war tactics and experience of warfare. He was given the command of selected soldiers, when only 16 years old At this tender age he had to face the English army at Bangalore, and he gave them a terrible defeat It is an indisputable fact that on ascending the throne he had to fight simultaneously with three enemies—the Mahrattas, the English, and the Nizam of Hyderabad (Daccan). It was the foul treachery and diabolical conspiracy on the part of certain people and the base plotting and perfidious play of his relatives that the great Sultan had to suffer a lot and, ultimately, to lay down his most precious life for liberty.

In fact, his life was most valuable to the Muslims of India—nay to the neighbouring Islamic countries as well The Sultan was a great lover of liberty and hated the dominance of any foreign power over any Islamic State or any part of Asia His golden maxim was "The lion's one day's life was far better than that of the jackal's hundred years' life."

شیر اچھا ہے جسے مہلت یک روزہ ملی
یا وہ گیدڑ جسے بخشا گیا صد سالہ خلود

He was one of the most enthusiastic Muslims and wanted to unite all the Muslims of the neighbouring countries so as to smash the nefarious designs and crooked plans of the imperialists to dominate the Eastern countries. To achieve this noble objective he

sent his able men to Turkey, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan and other countries. From this one can conveniently observe how for-sighted he was He knew fully well that if the storm of Westerners was not resisted by genuine, sincere and cordial cooperation, then the consequences would be fatal and the subjugation of the African and Asiatic countries would inevitably follow. The fears of Sultan Tippu were not unfounded and proved to be a dreadful certainty. The Nizam of Deccan was miserably duped and the Mahrattas fell a victim to deception and duplicity. The English diplomacy succeeded and consequently even these rivals of Sultan Tippu had to bend their knees and to accept the sovereignty of the foreigners But the lion-hearted Sultan preferred death to the ignominious life of subjugation. He, like a true Muslim, fought to the last but did not submit

In the modern democratic states, which claim to be secular and act upon the principle that religion has got nothing to do with politics, the question of minorities is a headache for them In spite of their claim and frequent declarations that the minorities, professing other faiths, would be treated fairly and justly, it is a painful fact that in these countries the ruling communities/parties do maltreat the minorities In America the Negroes are not so justly treated , in the so called Secular State of India, the Muslims, the low-caste Hindus, the Sikhs and Christians are being denied the elementary rights of citizens , in certain European States the Jews are still being hated and treated intolerantly In Communist Russia people of various religions are persecuted and compelled to accept the detestable atheism against their will. The religious places of minorities have been converted into public places, and the birthright of the citizens to worship in accordance with their faiths has been forcibly snatched away from them

When we compare the freedom of conscience, political, social and economic liberty granted by Tippu Sultan to his non-Muslim subjects with the treatment meted out to minorities in the present democracies, it dawns upon us that the noble-minded Sultan's treatment of Hindus was generous, kind and vastly humanitarian. The religion of Islam had been ineradicably ingrained in Sultan's heart and he passionately adhered to the incomparable and righteous tenets of the Holy Qur'an. He was a scholar and was perfectly acquainted with Islamic history, particularly with that of the times of the Holy Prophet and the first four Caliphs. He fully knew that Islam laid stress on an expanding fraternity, which knew no distinction of caste and creed, class or colour , and enjoined all its followers to win over the people (of other religions) peacefully and conquer their souls by love, kind treatment, by proffering dignity upon them. It is an admitted fact that violence and compulsion create unhealthy results and lead to provocation rather than conciliation. The noble-minded Sultan never attempted to achieve his objectives by force. It is a traversity of truth to say that Tippu Sultan maltreated the Hindus. All such wicked stories were fabricated by his enemies so as to conceal their own evil deeds.

Documentary evidence is available which abundantly proves that the pious and chivalrous Sultan treated the Hindus generously The letters written in 1791 by the noble Sultan to a Hindu Guru (Preacher) of Seringri and pecuniary aid rendered to him, coupled with grant in land, clearly prove his magnanimity of heart and nobility of soul.

From the above-quoted instance it is evident that the noble-minded Sultan treated the Hindus just like his Muslim subjects His outstanding attribute was love of justice and righteousness. It is related that he did not hesitate to punish his own son who happened to take some vegetables from the field of a poor cultivator without his permission On hearing the complaint, the noble Sultan was terribly angry and awarded him befitting punishment The vicious and biased English historians, and the bigoted ungrateful Hindu writers have painted him as cruel and intolerant to non-Muslims This is simply a preposterous and outrageous notion. An historical event is sufficient to falsify such accusations It is a well-known proverb that everything is fair in love and war; and this has been amply proved. The chivalrous and noble-minded Sultan ordered his army not to throw any kind of bombs on that part of the fort Dundigall, where the Hindu Raja had built a temple Although it was more advantageous to attack the enemy—and the military strategy demanded it—on that side yet the Sultan avoided it, as he did not like to injure the religious sentiments of his Hindu subjects

On another occasion when trusted councillors of the Sultan advised him to dismiss a certain Brahmin official, whose wicked and abominable designs—rather traitorous and dastardly deeds—had become apparent, he refused to accept their advice The Sultan reminded his councillors of the Holy Qur'an's orders that only those should be punished who treat others in a highhanded and cruel manner. He could not, therefore, treat anyone with severity except the perpetrators of cruelty and unless the guilt was established Such tolerance, justice and acts of equity can only be found in Islamic history and nowhere else.

The painful fact in this respect is the traditional ungratefulness of the Hindus, who simply to please their new masters (the English) not only held the noble-minded, chivalrous, generous, freedom-loving and scholarly Sultan in light estimation but also wrote scare-stories, baseless things and sadly disagreeable, nay, nauseating, things about the great man It is an historical and indisputable fact that the people of Southern India, in those days, knew not how to dress themselves, how to eat and how to lead a reasonably respectable life. It was due to the luminous and learned guidance of the noble Sultan and his able councillors and officials that the Hindus became familiar with the art of living, dressing, eating, etc. Those Hindus who are unbiased and have acquired knowledge from authenticated resources and without coloured glasses openly confess that it was Sultan

Tippu, the Lion of Mysore, who made them civilised—rather raised them to the level of human-beings from that of the animals

Prior to the rule of Sultan Tippu, the women of Southern India used to be usually *half-naked. They wore only a dhoti* (loin cloth) to cover the lower parts of the bodies. The upper parts of their *bodies*—including breasts—remained naked The use of shirts, headdresses and pyjamas was introduced by the noble Sultan, whose modesty could not tolerate the sight of half-naked women in the streets and bazars. Even today in certain parts of Southern India, where the influence of the Sultan could not reach, women walk about in half-nude condition.

The sagacious and pious Sultan not only made his non-Muslim subjects civilised but also exterminated many grievous and immoral customs such as polyandry (one woman having a number of husbands), Dev-Dassies (temple-maids) and other evil customs introduced in the name of religion. The noble Sultan opended schools for the so-called low-caste humanity—the " untouchables." Jagirs were granted to the temples and the Brahmins, scholarships were awarded indiscriminately and the bounty of the Sultan knew no distinction of caste or creed. Is it not then the height of ingratitude to call such a justice-loving benefactor as an intolerant and bigoted ruler ?

(To be continued)

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SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

KASHMIRI BAZAR · LAHORE

TURKISH INFLUENCE IN ISLAM

De Lacy O'Leary

This article by Prof O'Leary does not make a connected thesis The main burden of Prof O'Leary in the article seems to be that the Turks brought with them, under Persian influence, the cult of saint worship and they were influenced more by the Sufis than by the 'Ulema We have no quarrel with this thesis, except that this is not true of all the Turks The Seljuqs and some Ottoman rulers too were very orthodox In so far as the Turks were influenced by the Sufis, that influence seems to have been for the worse There were some political reasons too behind the Sufi influence The Sufi religion was individualistic. It allowed the original Turkish despotism and autocracy to go on But the 'Ulema as the representatives of the Shri'at could not tolerate unmitigated autocracy and despotism of the Iranian type They took their stand on the principles of human liberty and democratic equality enshrined in the Shri'at Naturally, they were unwelcome to the Turkish temperament which had not yet been disciplined by Islam

AS PERSIAN religion brought about a change in the religion of Islam, so a further change was produced by Turkish influence. The name Turk appears first in the geographical work of al-Muqaddisi, the *Kitab al-aqalim* (circ. 375/985), and is used to designate those previously known as Oghuz or Ghuzz, the nomadic tribesmen of the steppes beyond the Sir Darya or Jaxartes river. Little is known of the early history of these Oghuz Mu'tasim, who became khalif at Baghdad in 218/833, began employing Oghuz slaves as a standing army, and when the viceroy 'Abdallah b. Tahir paid tribute to the Khalif in 211/826 or the next year, he sent 2,000 Oghuz slaves as part of the payment In 292/904 a large body of Oghuz invaded Transoxiana, but were driven back Then some Oghuz tribes moved from their accustomed pasture lands and entered Transoxiana in parts only fit for the occupation of nomads, and were allowed to settle there on the understanding that they undertook to keep out any other nomadic tribes.

Already in Umayyad times Muslim propaganda had commenced in the lands beyond the Oxus, and about 349/960 a number of Oghuz tribes adopted Islam. These Muslim tribesmen retained their unsettled life and did not follow the Sacred Law (*shari'a*) which applies to settled communities About 339/950 an Oghuz horde settled on the lower reaches of the Jaxartes river under a leader named Seljuq and there embraced Islam. Whilst there this horde freed the people of Jand north of Utrar from paying tribute to the infidels, which probably means that they fought off other nomads and relieved the Muslims from paying blackmail to them. After the death of Seljuq those tribesmen moved further south. As they were now an orderly community the Samanid rulers made no attempt to check their movement, and they settled at Nur-ata north-east of Bukhara.

Gradually the Seljuq Turks, and then other Oghuz groups, became powerful military factors in the eastern provinces of the khalifate, and in 447/1055 under their leader

Tughril they conquered Baghdad, and then advanced through Armenia into Syria Armenia was under the protection of the Byzantine emperor, and in the spring of 465/1071 the Emperor Romanus II endeavoured to check their progress, but in the battle of Malasjirid (Manzikirt) he suffered a crushing defeat, the Emperor, most of his officers and the greater part of his men being taken prisoners But the Turkish leader Alp Arslan had no desire to be held up in his expedition which aimed at restoring the integrity of the former khalifate He was ready to make easy terms with the Byzantines, secure their neutrality, and pass on to what he considered his more important task Alp Arslan and the main body of the Seljuq troops passed on their way without entering Byzantine territory in Asia Minor, but there were irregular Ghazi raiders operating on their own, though nominally supporting the Seljuq army, and some of these robber bands, for they were no better, penetrated into Asia Minor and pillaged the cities of Sebastia Caesarea in Cilicia and Iconium. They did not act under Alp Arslan's orders but were irresponsible adventurers raiding on their own. Such raiders were an assest to the Turks because they did much to cause disorder and dismay in areas which the Turks afterwards invaded, a type of irregular warfare which had often proved worth while on the borders of Turkistan.

When those Ghazi raiders spread through the country and began to form settlements, the Seljuq ruler in Syria sent one of his family, Sulaiman son of Qutlumish, about 470/1077. The tradition is that Qutlumish was the son of Arslan Payghu son of the original Seljuq but had been put to death by Mahmud of Ghazna That is legend, not history, but legend often contains an element of truth, and this suggests that Sulaiman who was sent to Asia Minor was in some way involved in revolutionary activities and was exiled to Asia Minor to be out of the way That he afterwards tried to lead an armed force into Syria tends to support this.

In Asia Minor Sulaiman established himself at Iznik (Nicaea) on the remoter west coast, which hints at cooperation with the pirates The Seljuq state established in Anatolia (Asia Minor) was known as the Sultanate of Rum (Rome) It was no part of the Seljuq kingdom proper and its only claim to be classed as Seljuq rests on the tradition that its first ruler Sulaiman was of the Seljuq family, though possibly a discarded member sent to those remoter parts in disgrace With him begins the history of the Sultanate of Rum, a history singularly obscure in its earlier period.

In religious matters the Ghazi frontiersmen differed from the settled urban population. They were Muslims, but their spiritual directors were not the 'Ulema, the learned in the law who were the authorities of the mosques and madrasas, but their own holy men, saints and Sufis who became authorities in religion in the way that heroic warriors became powerful in political life in a Ghazi area where all careers were open to the bold and venturesome. The great Ghazi corporation of the *Danishmandiya* or

teaching body, took the Ghazi saint the Lord al-Battal as their patron. He was supposed to have been its founder, who died in 123/740 He was not of the family of the Apostle, nor was he even an Arab, indeed he was said to have been of Arsacid descent, of the ancient Parthians who had settled in Armenia, descended from the legendary Malik Danish It was a tradition that Ahmad Ghazi of Parthian stock had invaded Anatolia in the days of Qilij Arslan I and founded a kingdom in Siwas Through him the Danishmand dynasty claimed descent from al-Battal whose sanctuary was an old Byzantine monastery near Qaysariya (Caesarea Mazaka in Cappadocia).

In Asia Minor, therefore, there was a twofold line of Muslim tradition. The orthodox line of jurists and theologians, and a rival line revered by the Ghazi frontiers-man, a line of reputed saints, who were for the most part mystics of the Sufi type Amongst the Turkish rulers of Asia Minor there were some who claimed the title of Ghazi and were proud of it, as in the inscription of 738/1337 in the mosque at Brusa in which the Ottoman prince Orkhan boasts that he was "Sultan, son of the Sultan of the Ghazis, Ghazi son of the Ghazi, marquis of the horizons, hero of the world, Orkhan son of 'Othman' But there were other princes in Asia Minor who never claimed the title of Ghazi and seem to have avoided it

The Seljuq Turks were Muslims who had learned their religion and culture in Sughd and Khurasan, and the influence of Bukhara meant more to them than that of Baghdad or Mecca Their culture was Bukharan Persian and the Seljuq capital at Qonia retained close and constant contact with Bukhara. The earliest specimens of Turkish literature are translations from the Persian, next in time were imitations of Persian poetry Throughout its earlier history Turkish literature was the child of a Persian parent, although there was a native folk-lore of legend transmitted orally by bards, later adapted in a Persianised form by literary historians

Under the earlier Seljuq sultans of Rum the religious life of Anatolia was very much under the guidance of Shi'ite shaikhs, men honoured as saints and possessing personal leadership in religion similar to that possessed by chieftains in secular affairs Their religion was of a mystic Sufi and emotional type, which differed a good deal from that of the official 'Ulema At a later stage the ruling Turks became severely orthodox, as was the case with Mahmud of Ghazna at the earlier period, and then they persecuted Shi'ite sectaries, though such persecution seems to have been largely inspired by political motives Even so Shi'ite elements persisted, especially in the dervish orders which provided religious teachers for the non-urban community The cities where there were mosques and madarasas seem to have been more conventionally orthodox, as was notably the case with Brusa "the city of theologians" The rural population at large, and not the peasantry only, centered its religious life in the *tekke* or dervish monastery and followed the teaching of the various dervish orders, some of which had heretical tenden-

cies. In most cases the *tekke* was associated with a saint's tomb, and the religious festivals and rites were closely connected with the cult of the saint, sometimes a Christian saint taken over from pre-Muslim times and identified with some prophet or sainted Muslim shaikh. In some cases the same shrine was visited and honoured by Muslims and Christians, each assuming the relics in the tomb to be those of some holy man of their own faith. Saint worship, a rather unexpected development in Islam, played a leading part in the popular religion of Asia Minor. It was strongest there and in North Africa where it had been fully developed already in Christian times, and it shows certain features which support its attribution to a Christian origin. One of these is that the saint after death becomes much more important than he was in life. In early Coptic, Syriac and Greek lives of saints more attention is given to recorded miracles wrought by their relics after death than to anything they did or said during life, indeed their saintly character depends mostly on the miracle-working efficiency of their relics. Many Coptic lives in particular give no more than bare standardised outlines of the saints' biographies, but lavish detail on the description of the wonders wrought at their tombs. In Islam, as in the eastern churches, there is no official canonisation like that in the Latin Church, the proof of saintship depends on the healing of the sick and like miracles due to the relics of the deceased saint.

The Seljuq sultans were great builders of madrasas or schools, and it is often mentioned that a sultan or other great personage was buried in a madrasa This statement is not literally true, such a one was buried in a qubba or domed chamber standing apart, but usually connected with the madrasa by a corridor. Egypt was not conquered by the Seljuq Turks, but this type of madrasa-mosque was introduced there after the fall of the Fatimid dynasty, and there are several instances of such mosques with mausoleums attached in Cairo.

Saint worship was most fully developed amongst the Shi'ites. It seems probable that such worship and pilgrimages to saints' shrines originated amongst the Shi'ites, and it certainly developed most freely in a Persian atmosphere. The Turks, deriving their culture and religion from Persia and through Bokhara, readily adopted this cult, and in Asia Minor incorporated the already existing Christian cult of saints.

The Cult of Saints

There is only one passage in the Qur'an which takes note of a sanctuary associated with the burial place of a saint, and that happens to be the tomb of a Christian one, or at least of one claimed by Christians. In Sura 18 (*Al-Kahf*) reference is made to the Sleepers of Ephesus who showed their contemporaries " that the promise of God is truth and that as to the hour there is no doubt as to its coming. When they disputed among themselves about what had happened to them, some said, Build a church over them, their

Lord knoweth best about them Those who prevailed in the matter said, We will erect a sanctuary over them."

A cave near Ephesus was associated with the Seven Sleepers, by some identified with the Seven Maccabees, and this became a Christian sanctuary The Qur'an treats their history as obscure, "Some say that they were three, their dog the fourth. Others say that they were five, their dog the sixth, guessing at what is secret Others say that they were seven, and their dog the eighth Say My Lord knoweth the number, none, save a few, shall know" In the Greek Church these Sleepers are reckoned as saints and are commemorated on August 4th or October 22nd, whilst the Seven Maccabees are commemorated on August 1st They do not seem to have been very prominent saints Hasluck says that he never met with a church dedicated to them, nor with an eikon representing them in any church No doubt, the Apostle heard the legend about the Seven Sleepers, but he certainly did not visit Ephesus, nor had he any personal knowledge of their cult He was, however, aware that Christians sometimes erected churches over the tombs of saints, and did not explicitly censure the practice

In tradition the question was asked whether a tomb can be used as a place of worship, and whether a mosque may be built over a tomb?—and both these questions are answered in the negative, (Bukhari, *Bab 52*), whilst the use of a tomb as a place of worship is denounced as an abominable Jewish practice (ib. 48, 54) These traditions are explained by commentators, such as an-Nawi on Muslim Masajid, I 201, in the Delhi lith. edit of 1219/1901) and 'Asqalani (Cairo edit of 1329/1911) as simply forbidding a tomb to be used as a qibla or direction for prayer

Islam did not favour a cult of the dead. Tradition relates that the Apostle dealt severely with his daughter Fatima when he suspected her of visiting a tomb for purposes of devotion (Abn Dawud, *Sunan*, II 34a).

Respect for the dead had caused the pre-Islamic Arabs to plant green branches on tombs (Labid, *Diwan*, ed Khalidi, 79 1, Ibn Duraid, *Ishqaq*, 263.7). This was a regular practice at Medina and was not censured by the Apostle. After death stones were piled on the dead body instead of placing it in a grave, and it was an act of piety to add a stone to the heap After the piling of stones in pagan times there was a sacrifice (*Aghani*, 14 103). This was not a stoning of the grave as a mark of hatred or derision, and Lammens has brought evidence to support Wellhausen's statement (*Reste*, 112) that though in Islam stoning of the grave expresses scorn of the dead it had been quite otherwise in older pagan times. In those pre-Islamic days the dead person was implored *la tab'ad*, "do not to away," and prayers for rain were often offered at tombs (Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale*, Beyrouth, 1928, p 173).

The throwing of stones as an act of devotion at a grave was so deeply established in Arab usage that it persisted in Islam, although more strictly orthodox tried to check it, and when they found themselves unable to do so they endeavoured to change it into an expression of disapproval. Towards the end of the Hajj the three steles known as the *Jamrat* are stoned at Mina, the sanctuary of Dhu l-Holaifa, and now those stones are supposed to represent devils, but at one time, probably, they were betyls or else the memorials of deceased ancestors whose graves were honoured by the casting of a stone as a contribution to the pile covering their burial place

Two piles of stones near Mecca were similarly pelted No doubt at one time stones were cast as an act of devotion, but by the time of Ibn Jubayr the idea had gained ground that those piles were the graves of the Apostle's opponents, Abu Lahab and his wife (Ibn Jubayr, 111 10, cf. Qur'an, 111, *Al-Lahab*)

The supposed tomb of Abu Righal of the tribe of Thaqif is stoned as a mark of reprobation, on the assumption that he was the traitor who tried to betray Mecca to the Ethiopians, an assumption for which there is no basis At on time Abu Righal was honoured as the ancestor of the Thaqifites, men swore by his tomb, and the name 'Abd Thaqif "servant of Thaqif" was an honourable appellation Lammens has shown that disapproval of Abu Righal dates from the accession of the 'Abbasids and was part of the effort to discredit the Thaqifites and other supporters of the Umayyads whom they displaced (Lammens, op. cit. 172).

In archaic language *bayt* "house" was often employed to denote a tomb, and so the poet Jarir in his elegy ever his wife says, "I will visit thy *bayt* as one visits a beloved person" (Jarir, cited Lammens, op cit. 163-4)

The qubba or mausoleum on a grave enjoyed the right of sanctuary as an asylum where a fugitive who sought refuge became a *jar* or protected person Thus the poet al-Kumayt (d. 126/743) who composed poems in honour of the Hashimids, the traditional rivals of the ruling Umayyads and annoyed the Khalif Hisham Fearing that monarch's anger he fled for refuge to the tomb of the Amir Mu'awiya then lately deceased, and Mu'awiya's children interceded for him To support this intercession he recited his poem again, but altered the verses which had given offence and was pardoned.

All this was a survival of older pagan times and was not approved by the strictly orthodox, such as 'Umar, though the Apostle himself sometimes showed readiness to compromise some survivals of ancient usage

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Glimpses OF ISLAM

MOHAMMAD

Early Life till Flight to Medina

Stanley L.-Poole

For every fiery prophet in old times,
And all the sacred madness of the bard,
When God made music through them, could but speak
His music by the framework and the chord,
And as *he* saw it *he hath* spoken truth

—*The Holy Grail.*

A PROPHET for the Arabs must fulfil two conditions if he will bring with his good tidings the power of making them accepted he must spring from the traditional centre of Arabian religion, and he must come of a noble family of pure Arab blood Mohammad fulfilled both His family was that branch of the Qureysh which had raised Mekka to the dignity of the undisputed metropolis of Arabia, and which, though impoverished, still held the chief offices of the sacred territory Mohammad's grandfather was the virtual chief of Mekka, for to him belonged the guardianship of the Kaabeh, and he it was who used the generous privilege of giving food and water to the pilgrims who resorted to the House of God. His youngest son, after marrying a kinswoman belonging to a branch of the Qureysh, settled at Yethrib (Medina), died before the birth of his son (571), and this son, Mohammad, lost his mother when he was only six years old The orphan was adopted by his grandfather, 'Abdel-Muttalib, and a tender affection sprang up between the chief of eighty years and his little grandson.

Many a day the old man might be seen sitting at his wonted place near the Kaabeh, and sharing his mat with his favourite. He lived but two years more; and, at his dying request, his son Aboo-Talib took charge of Mohammad, for whom he too ever showed a love as of father and mother.

Such is the bare outline of Mohammad's childhood, and of his youth we know about as little, though the Arabian biographies abound in legends There are stories of his journeyings to Syria with his uncle, and his encounter with a mysterious monk of obscure faith All we can say is, that Mohammad probably assisted his family in the war of the Fijar, and that he must many a time have frequented the annual Fair of 'Okadh, hearing the songs of the desert chiefs and the praise of Arab life, and listening to the earnest words of the Jews and Christians and others who came to the Fair He was obliged at an early age to earn his own living, for the noble family of the Hashimees, to which he belonged, was fast losing its commanding position, whilst another branch of the Qureysh was succeeding to its dignities The princely munificence of Hashim and 'Abd-el-Muttalib was followed by the poverty and decline of their heirs. The duty of providing the pilgrims with food was given up by the Hashimees to the rival branch of Umeyyeh, whilst they retained only the lighter office of serving water to the worshippers. Mohammad must take his share in the labour of the family and he was sent to pasture the sheep of the Qureysh on the hills and valleys round Mekka, and though the people despised the shepherd's calling, he himself was wont to look back with pleasure to these early days, saying that God called never a prophet save from among the sheepfolds And doubtless it was then that he developed that reflective disposition of mind which at length led him to seek the reform of his people, whilst in his solitary wanderings with the sheep he gained that marvellous eye of the beauty and wonder of the earth and sky. Yet he was glad to change this work for the more lucrative and adventurous post of camel-driver to the caravans of his wealthy kinswoman Khadeejeh, and he seems to have taken so kindly to the duty, which involved responsibilities, and to have acquitted himself so worthily, that he attracted the notice of his employer, who straightway fell in love with him, and presented him with her hand. The marriage was a singularly happy one, though Mohammad was scarcely twenty-five and his wife nearly forty, and it brought him that repose and exemption from daily toil which he needed in order to prepare his mind for his great work. But beyond that, it gave him a loving woman's heart, that was the first to believe in his mission, that was ever ready to console him in his despair and to keep alive within him the thin flickering flame of hope when no man believed in him—not even himself—and the world was black before his eyes.

We know very little of the next fifteen years. Khadeejeh bore him sons and daughters, but only the daughters lived. We hear of his joining a league for the protec-

tion of the weak and oppressed, and there is a legend of his having acted with wise tact and judgment as arbitrator in a dispute among the great families of Mekka on the occasion of the rebuilding of the Kaabeh During this time, moreover, he relieved his still impoverished uncle of the charge of his son 'Alee—afterwards the Bayard of Islam,—and he freed and adopted a certain captive, Zeyd , and these two became his most devoted friends and disciples Such is the short but characteristic record of these fifteen years of manhood We know very little about what Mohammad did, but we hear only one voice as to what he was Up to the age of forty his unpretending modest way of life had attracted but little notice from his townspeople He was only known as a simple upright man, whose life was severely pure and refined, and whose true desert sense of honour and faith-keeping had won him the high title of El-Emeen, 'the Trusty '

Let us see what fashion of man this was, who was about to work a revolution among his countrymen, and change the conditions of social life in a vast part of the world The picture[1] is drawn from an older man than we have yet seen , but Mohammad at forty and Mohammad at fifty or more were probably very little different 'He was of the middle height, rather thin, but broad of shoulders, wide of chest, strong of bone and muscle. His head was massive, strongly developed Dark hair, slightly curled, flowed in a dense mass down almost to his shoulders. Even in advanced age it was sprinkled by only about twenty grey hair—produced by the agonies of his Revelations His face was oval-shaped, slightly tawny of colour. Fine, long, arched eyebrows were divided by a vein which throbbed visibly in moments of passion Great black restless eyes shone out from under long, heavy eyelashes His nose was large, slightly aquiline. His teeth, upon which he betowed great care, were well set, dazzling white A full beard framed his manly face. His skin was clear and soft, his complexion red and white, his hands were as silk and satin, even as those of a woman. His step was quick and elastic, yet firm, and as that of one who steps from a high to a low place. In turning his face he would also turn his full body His whole gait and presence were dignified and imposing. His countenance was mild and pensive. His laugh was rarely more than a smile. . . .

'In his habits he was extremely simple, through he bestowed great care on his person. His eating and drinking, his dress and his furniture, retained, even when he had reached the fulness of power, their almost primitive nature. The only luxuries he indulged in were, besides arms, which he highly prized, a pair of yellow boots, a present from the Negus of Abyssinia Perfumes, however, he loved passionately, being most sensitive of smell. Strong drinks he abhorred.

1. Deutsch, *Lit Remains*, pp 70-72.

'*His constitution was extremely delicate. He was nervously afraid of bodily pain; he would sob and roar under it. Eminently unpractical in all common things of life he was gifted with mighty powers of imagination, elevation of mind, delicacy and refinement of feeling.* "*He is more modest than a virgin behind her curtain,*" it was said of him. He was most indulgent to his inferiors, and would never allow his awkward little page to be scolded, whatever he did. "Ten years," said Anas, his servant, "was I about the Prophet, and he never said as much as 'uff' to me." He was very affectionate towards his family. One of his boys died on his breast in the smoky house of the nurse, a blacksmith's wife He was very fond of children He would stop them in the streets and pat their little cheeks He never struck any one in his life. The worst expression he ever made use of in conversation was, "What has come to him?—may his forehead be darkened with mud!" When asked to curse some one he replied, "I have not been sent to curse, but to be a mercy to mankind" "He visited the sick, followed any bier he met, accepted the invitation of a slave to dinner, mended his own clothes, milked his goats, and waited upon himself," relates summarily another tradition He never first withdrew his hand out of another man's palm, and turned not before the other had turned . . He was the most faithful protector of those he protected, the sweetest and most agreeable in conversation, those who saw him were suddenly filled with reverence, those who came near him loved him, they who described him would say, "I have never seen his like either before or after." He was of great taciturnity, but when he spoke it was with emphasis and deliberation, and no one could ever forget what he said. He was, however, very nervous and restless withal, often low-spirited, downcast as to heart and eyes. Yet he would at times suddenly break through these broodings, become gay, talkative, jocular, chiefly among his own He would then delight in telling little stories, fairy tales, and the like. He would romp with the children and play with their toys'

Mohammad was full forty before he felt himself called to be an apostle to his people. He was spending the sacred month on Mount Hira, 'a huge barren rock, torn by cleft and hollow ravine, standing out solitary in the full white glare of the desert sun, shadowless, flowerless, without well or rill.' Here in a cave Mohammad gave himself up to prayer and fasting He had had, they say, cataleptic fits during his childhood, and was evidently more delicately and finely constituted than those around him. Given this nervous nature, and the grim solitude of the hill where he had almost lived for long weary months, blindly feeling after some truth upon which to rest his soul, it is not difficult to believe tradition of the cave, that Mohammad heard a voice say: 'Cry!' 'What shall I cry?' he answers—the question that has been burning his heart during all his mental struggles—

Cry[1]! in the name of Thy Lord, who hath created;
He hath created man from a clot of blood.
Cry! and thy Lord is the Most Bountiful,
Who hath taught [writing] by the pen
He hath taught man that which he knew not.

Mohammad arose trembling, and went to Khadeejeh, and told her what he had seen; and she did her woman's part, and believed in him and soothed his terror, and bade him hope for the future. Ye he could not believe in himself Were these voices of a truth from God? And so he went again on his solitary wanderings, hearing strange sounds. Doubting, wondering, hoping, he had fain put an end to a life which had become intolerable in its changings from the heaven of hope to the hell of despair, when again he heard the voice, 'Thou art the messenger of God, and I am Gabriel' Conviction at length seized hold upon him, he was indeed to bring a message of good tidings to the Arabs, the message of God through His angel Gabriel He went back to Khadeejeh exhausted in mind and body 'Wrap me, wrap me,' he said, and the word came unto him—

O thou enwrapped in thy mantle
Arise and warn!
And thy Lord,—magnify Him!
And thy raiment,—purify it!
And the abomination,—flee it!
And bestow not favours that thou mayest receive again with increase,
And for thy Lord wait thou patiently.

Mohammad now (612) came forward as the Apostle of the One God to the people of Arabia he was at last well assured that his God was of a truth *the* God, and that He had indeed sent him with a message to his people, that they too might turn from their idols and serve the living God. He was in the minority of one, but he was no longer afraid, he had learnt that self-trust which is the condition of all true work At first he spoke to his near kinsmen and friends and it is impossible to overrate the importance of the fact that his closest relations and those who lived under his roof were the first to believe and the staunchest of faith. The prophet who is *with* honour in his own home need appeal to no stronger proof of his sincerity, and that Mohammad *was* 'a hero to his own valet' is an invincible argument for his earnestness

1. Or 'read,' 'recite.' These lines are the beginning of the 96th Soorah of the Qur'an

The motherly Khadeejeh had at once, with a woman's instinct, divined her husband's heart and confirmed his fainting hope by her firm faith in him. His dearest friends, Zeyd and 'Alee, were the next converts, and though, to his grief, he could never induce his lifelong protector, Aboo-Talib, to abandon the gods of his fathers, yet the old man loved him none the less, and said, when he heard of 'Alee's conversion, 'Well, my son, he will not call thee to aught save what is good, wherefore thou art free to cleave unto him' A priceless aid was gained in the accession of Aboo-Bekr, who succeeded Mohammad as the first Khalif of Islam, and whose calm judgment and quick sagacity, joined to a gentle and compassionate heart, were of incalculable service to the faith. Aboo-Bekr was one of the wealthiest merchants of Mekka, and exercised no small influence among his fellow-citizens, no less by his character than his position. Like Mohammad, he had a nickname, Es-Siddeek, 'The True' *The True* and *The Trusty*, —no mean augury for the future of the religion!

Five converts followed in Aboo-Bekr's steps, among them 'Othman, the third Khalifa and Talhah, the man of war The ranks of the faithful were swelled from humbler sources. There were many negro slaves in Mekka, and of them not a few had been predisposed by earlier teaching to join in the worship of the One God, and of those who were first converted was the Abyssinian Bilal, the original Mueddin of Islam, and ever a devoted disciple of the Prophet These and others from the Qureysh raised the number of Muslims to more than thirty souls by the fourth year of Mohammad's mission—thirty in three long years, and few of them men of influence!

This small success had been achieved with very little opposition from the idolaters Mohammad had not spoken much in public and when he did speak to strangers, he restrained himself from attacking their worship, and only enjoined them to worship the One God who had created all things The people were rather interested, and wondered whether he were a soothsayer or madman, or if indeed there were truth in his words. But now (A D 615) Mohammad entered upon a more public career. He summoned the Qureysh to a conference at the hill of Es-Safa and said, 'I am come to you as a warner and as the forerunner of a fearful punishment . . I cannot protect you in this world, nor can I promise you aught in the next life, unless ye say, There is no God but Allah.' He was laughed to scorn, and the assembly broke up; but from this time he ceased not to preach to the people of a punishment that would come upon the unbelieving city He told them, in the fiery language of the early soorahs, how God had punished the old tribes of the Arabs who would not believe in His messengers, how the Flood had swallowed up the people who would not hearken to Noah. He swore unto them, by the wonderful sights of nature, by noonday brightness, by the night when she spreadeth her veil, by the day when it appeareth in glory, that a like

destruction would assuredly come upon them if they did not turn away from their idols and serve God alone. He enforced his message with every resource of language and metaphor, till he made it burn in the ears of the people And then he told them of the Last Day, when a just reckoning should be taken of the deeds they had done; and he spoke of Paradise and Hell with all the glow of Eastern imagery The people were moved, terrified; conversions increased. It was time the Qureyash should take some step. If the idols were destroyed, what would come to them, the keepers of the idols, and their renown throughout the land? How should they retain the allegiance of the neighbouring tribes who came to worship their several divinities at the Kaabeh? That a few should follow the ravings of a madman or magician who preferred one God above the beautiful deities of Mekka was little matter, but that some leading men of the city should join the sect, and that the magician should terrify the people in open day with his denunciations of the worship which *they* superintended, was intolerable The chiefs were seriously alarmed, and resolved on a more active policy. Hitherto they had merely ridiculed the professors of this new faith, they would now take stronger measures Mohammad himself they dared not touch, for he belonged to a noble family, which, though it was reduced and impoverished, had deserved well of the city, and which, moreover, was now headed by a man who was reverenced throughout Mekka, was none other than the adoptive father and protector of Mohammad himself Nor was it safe to attack the other chief men among the Muslims, for the blood-revenge was only light risk They were thus compelled to content themselves with the mean satisfaction of torturing the black slaves who had joined the obnoxious faction They exposed them on the scorching sand, withheld water till they recanted—which they did, only to profess the faith once more when they were let go. The first Mueddin alone remained steadfast as he lay half stifled he would only answer, Ahad! Ahad!—'One [God]! One!'—till Aboo-Bekr came and bought his freedom, as he was wont to do for many of the miserable victims Mohammad was very gentle with these forced renegades he knew what stuff men are made of, and he bade them be of good cheer for their lips, so that their hearts were sound.

At last, moved by the sufferings of his lowly followers, he advised them to seek refuge in Abyssinia—'a land of righteousness, wherein no man is wronged', and in the fifth year of his mission (616) eleven men and four women left Mekka secretly, and were received in Abyssinia with welcome and peace. These first emigrants were followed by more the next year, till the number reached one hundred The Qureysh were very wroth at the escape of their victims, and sent ambassadors to the Nejashee, the Christian king of Abyssinia, to demand that the refugees should be given up to them. But the Nejashee

assembled his bishops and sent for the Muslims and asked them why they had fled; and one of them answered and said—

'O king! we lived in ignorance, idolatry, and unchastity; the strong oppressed the weak; we spoke untruth; we violated the duties of hospitality. Then a prophet arose, one whom we knew from our youth, with whose descent and conduct and good faith and morality we are all well acquainted. He told us to worship one God, to speak truth, to keep good faith, to assist our relations, to fulfil the rights of hospitality, and to abstain from all things impure, ungodly, unrighteous And he ordered us to say prayers, give alms, and to fast. We believed in him, we followed him But our countrymen persecuted us, tortured us, and tried to cause us to forsake our religion, and now we throw ourselves upon thy protection. Wilt thou not protect us?'

And he recited a chapter of the Qur'an which spoke of Christ, and the king and the bishops wept upon their beards. And the king dismissed the messengers and would not give up the men

The Qureysh, foiled in their attempt to recapture the slaves, vented their malice on those believers who remained.

They heaped insults upon Mohammad, and he could not traverse the city without the encounter of a curse. They threw unclean things at him, and vexed him in his every doing. The protection of Aboo-Talib alone saved him from personal danger This refuge the Qureysh determined to remove They had attempted before, but had been turned back with a soft answer They now went to the chief, of fourscore years, and demanded that he should either compel his nephew to hold his peace, or else that he should withdraw his protection. Having thus spoken they departed The old man sent for Mohammad, and told him what they had said. 'Now therefore save thyself and me also, and cast not upon me a burden heavier than I can bear'; for he was grieved at the strife between his family and his wider kindred, and would fain have seen Mohammad temporise with the Qureysh. But though the Prophet believed that at length his uncle was indeed about to abandon him, his courage and high resolve never faltered 'Though they should set the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left to persuade me, yet while God commands me I will not renounce my purpose' But to lose his uncle's love!—he burst into tears, and turned to go But Aboo-Talib called aloud, 'Son of my brother, come back' So he came. And he said, 'Depart in peace, my nephew, and say whatsoever thou desirest, for, by the Lord, I will never deliver thee up.'

The faithfulness of Aboo-Talib was soon to be tried. At first, indeed, things looked brighter. The old chief's firm bearing overawed the Qureysh, and they were still more cowed by two great additions that were now joined to the Muslim ranks. One was Mohammad's uncle, Hamzeh, 'the Lion of God,' a mighty hunter and warrior of the true

Arab mettle, whose sword was worth twenty of weaker men to the cause of Islam. The other was 'Omar, afterwards Khalif, whose fierce impulsive nature had hitherto marked him as a violent opponent of the new faith, but who afterwards proved himself one of the mainstays of Islam The gain of two such men first frightened then maddened the Qureysh. The leaders met together and consulted what they should do. It was no longer a case of an enthusiast followed by a crowd of slaves and a few worthy merchants, it was a faction led by stout warriors, such as Hamzeh, Talhah, 'Omar,—half-a-dozen picked swordsmen, and the Muslims, emboldened by their new allies, were boldly surrounding the Kaabeh, and performing the rites of their religion in the face of all the people. The Qureysh resolved on extreme measures They determined to shut off the obnoxious family of the Hashimees from the rest of their kindred The chiefs drew up a document, in which they vowed that they would not marry with the Hashimees, nor buy and sell with them nor hold with them any communication soever, and this they hung up in the Kaabeh

The Hashimees were not many enough to fight the whole city, so they went every man of them, save one, to the shi-b (or quarter) of Aboo-Talib,—a long, narrow mountain defile on the eastern skirts of Mekka, cut oft by rocks or walls from the city, except for one narrow gateway,—and there shut themselves up For though the ban did not forbid them to go about as heretofore, they knew that no soul would speak with them, and that they would be subject to the maltreatment of any vagabond they met So they collected their stores and waited Every man of the family, Muslim or Pagan, cast in his lot with their common kinsman Mohammad, saving only his own uncle, Aboo-Lahab, a determined enemy to Islam, to whom a special denunciation is justly consecrated in the Qur'an

For two long years the Hashimees remained shut up in their quarter. Only at the pilgrimage-time—when the blessed *institution of the sacred months* made violence sacrilege—could Mohammad come forth and speak unto the people of the things that were in his heart to say Scarcely any converts were made during this weary time, and most of those who had previously been converted, and did not belong to the doomed clan, took refuge in Abyssinia, so that in the seventh year of Mohammad's mission there were probably not more than twelve Muslims of any weight who remained by him Still the Hashimees remained in their quarter It seemed as if they must all perish · their stores were almost gone, and the cries of starving children could be heard outside. Kind-hearted neighbours would sometimes smuggle-in a camel's load of food, but it availed little. The Qureysh themselves were getting ashamed of their work, and were wishing for an excuse for releasing their kinsmen The excuse came in time. It was discovered that the deed of ban was eaten up by worms, and Aboo-Talib turned the discovery to his advantage. The venerable old chief went out and met the Qureysh at the Kaabeh, and

pointing to the crumbling leaf he bitterly reproached them with their hardness of heart towards their brethren · then he departed And straightway there rose up five chiefs, heads of great families, and, amid the murmurs of the fiercer spirits who were still for no quarter, they put on their armour, and going to the shi-b of Aboo-Talib, bade the Hashimees come forth in peace And they came forth.

It was now the eighth year of Mohammad's mission; and for the last two years, wasted in excommunication, Islam had almost stood still, at least externally. For though Mohammad's patient bearing under the ban had gained over a few of his imprisoned clan to his side, he had made no converts beyond the walls of his quarter During the sacred months he had gone forth to speak to the people—to the caravans and the folk at the fairs,—but he had no success; for hard behind him followed Aboo-Lahab, the squinter, who mocked at him, and told the people he was only 'a liar and a sabian.' And the people answered that his own kindred must best know what he was, and they would hear nothing from him The bold conduct of the five chiefs had indeed secured for Mohammad a temporary respite from persecution, but this relief was utterly outweighed by the troubles that now fell upon him and fitly gave that year the name of 'The Year of Mourning' For soon after the revoking of the ban Aboo-Talib died, and five weeks later Khadeejeh In the first Mohammad lost his ancient protector, who, though he would never give up his old belief, had yet faithfully guarded the Prophet from his childhood upwards, and, with the true Arab sentiment of kinship, had subjected himself and his clan to years of persecution and poverty in order to defend his brother's son from his enemies. The death of Khadeejeh was even a heavier calamity to Mohammad She first had believed in him, and she had ever been his angel of hope and consolation To his death he cherished a tender regret for her, and when his young bride 'Aisheh, the favourite of his declining years, jealously abused 'that toothless old woman' he answered with indignation, 'When I was poor, she enriched me, when they called me a liar, she alone believed in me; when all the world was against me, she alone remained true.'

Mohammad might well feel himself alone in the world. Most of his followers were in Abyssinia, only a few tried friends remained at Mekka. All the city was against him; his protector was dead, and his faithful wife. Dejected, almost hopeless, he would try a new field. If Mekka rejected him, might not Et-Taif give him welcome? He set out on foot on his journey of seventy miles, taking only Zeyd with him, and he told the people of Et-Taif his simple message They stoned him out of the city for three miles. Bleeding and fainting, he paused to rest in an orchard, to recover strength before he went back to the insults of his own people The owners of the place sent him some grapes; and he gathered up his strength once more, and bent his weary feet towards Mekka. On the way, as he slept, his fancy called up a strange dream; men had rejected him, and now he

thought he saw the Jinn, the spirits of the air, falling down and worshipping the One God, and bearing witness to the truth of Islam. Heartened by the vision, he pushed on; and when Zeyd asked him if he did not fear to throw himself again into the hands of the Qureysh, he answered, 'God will protect His religion and help His prophet.'

So this lonely man came back to dwell among his enemies Though a brave Arab gentleman, compassionating his aloneness, gave him the Bedawee pledge of protection, yet he well knew that the power of his foes made such protection almost useless, and at any time he might be assassinated. But the Qureysh had not yet come to think of the last resource, and meanwhile a new prospect was opening out for Mohammad That same year, as he was visiting the caravans of the pilgrims who had come from all parts of Arabia to worship at the Kaabeh, he found a group of men of Yethrib who were willing to listen to his words He expounded to them the faith he was sent to preach, and he told them how his people had rejected him, and asked them whether Yethrib would receive him The men were impressed with his words and professed Islam, and promised to bring news the next year, then they returned home and talked of this matter to their brethren Now at Yethrib, besides two pagan tribes that had migrated upwards from the south, there were three clans of Jewish Arabs Between the pagans and Jews, and then between the two pagan clans, there had been deadly wars, and now there were many parties in the city, and no one was master The Jews, on the one hand, were expecting their Messiah, the pagans looked for a prophet. If Mohammad were not the Messiah, the Jews thought that he might at least be their tool to subdue their pagan rivals 'Whether he is a prophet or not,' said the pagans, 'he is our kinsman by his mother, and will help us to overawe the Jews, and if he is the coming prophet, it is our policy to recognise him before those Jews who are always threatening us with their Messiah.' The teaching of Mohammad was so nearly Jewish, that a union of the two creeds might be hoped for, whilst to the pagan Arabs of Yethrib monotheism was no strange doctrine. All parties were therefore willing to receive Mohammad and at least try the experiment of his influence As a peacemaker, prophet, or messiah, he would be equally welcome in a city torn asunder by party jealousies

When the time of pilgrimage again came round, Mohammad waited at the appointed place in a secluded glen, and there met him men from the two pagan tribes of Yethrib—the clans of Khazraj and Aws—ten from one and two from the other They told him of the willingness of their people to embrace Islam, and their hope to make ready the city for his welcome. They plighted their faith with him in these words: 'We will not worship save one God, we will not steal, nor commit adultery, nor kill our children, we will in nowise slander, nor will we disobey the prophet in anything that is right.' This is the first pledge of the 'Aqabeh.

The twelve men of Yethrib went back and preached Islam to their people. 'So prepared was the ground, so zealous the propagation, and so apt the method, that the new faith spread rapidly from house to house and from tribe to tribe. The Jews looked on in amazement at the people, whom they had in vain endeavoured for generations to convince of the errors of Polytheism and dissuade from the abominations of idolatry, suddenly and of their own accord casting away their idols and professing belief in God alone.' They asked Mohammad to send them a teacher versed in the Qur'an, so anxious were they to know Islam truly, and Mus'ab was sent, and taught them and conducted their worship, so that Islam took deep root at Yethrib

Meanwhile Mohammad was still among the Qureysh at Mekka His is now an attitude of waiting, he is listening for news from his distant converts Resting his hopes upon them, and despairing of influencing the Mekkans, he does not preach so much as heretofore. He holds his peace mainly, and bides his time. One hears little of this interval of quietude. Islam seems stationary at Mekka, and its followers are silent and reserved. The Qureysh are joyful at the ceasing of those denunciations which terrified whilst they angered them, yet they are not quite satisfied. The Muslims have a waiting look, as though there were something at hand.

It was during this year of expectation that the Prophet's celebrated 'Night Journey' took place. This Mi'raj has been the subject of extravagant embellishments on the part of the traditionists and commentators, and the cause of much obloquy to the Prophet from his religious opponents Mohammad dreamed a dream, and referred to it briefly and obscurely in the Qur'an. His followers persisted in believing it to have been a reality—an ascent to heaven in the body—till Mohammad was sick of repeating his simple assertion that it was a dream The traditional form of the wonderful vision may be read in any life of Mohammad, and though it is doubtless very different from the story the Prophet himself gave, it is still a grand vision, full of glorious imagery, fraught with deep meaning.

Again the time of pilgrimage came round, and again Mohammad repaired to the glen of the Mountain-road Mus'ab had told him the good tidings of the spread of the faith at Yethrib, and he was met at the rendezvous by more than seventy men They came by twos and threes secretly for fear of the Qureysh, 'waking not the sleeper, nor tarrying for the absent' Mohammad recited to them verses from the Qur'an, and in answer to their invitation that he should come to them, and their profession that their lives were at his service, he asked them to pledge themselves to defend him as they would their own wives and children. And a murmur of eager assent rolled round about from the seventy, and an old man, one of their chiefs, stood forth and said, 'Stretch out thy hand, O Mohammad.' And the chief struck his own

hand into Mohammad's palm in the frank Bedawee fashion, and thus pledged his fealty. Man after man the others followed, and struck their hands upon Mohammad's. Then he chose twelve of them as leaders over the rest, saying, 'Moses chose from among his people twelve leaders Ye shall be the sureties for the rest, even as the apostles of Jesus were, and I am the surety for my people' A voice of some stranger was heard near by, and the assembly hastily dispersed and stole back to their camp This is the second pledge of the 'Aqabeh

The Qureysh knew that some meeting had taken place and though they could not bring home the offence to any of the Yethrib pilgrims, they kept a stricter watch on the movements of Mohammad and his friends after the pilgrims had returned homeward It was clear that Mekka was no longer a safe place for the Muslims, and a few days after the second pledge Mohammad told his followers to betake themselves secretly to Yethrib For two months at the beginning of the eleventh year of the mission (622) the Muslims were leaving Mekka in small companies to make the journey of 250 miles to Yethrib One hundred families had gone, and whole quarters of the city were deserted, left with empty houses and locked doors, 'a prey to woe and wind' There were but three believers now remaining in Mekka—these were Mohammad, Aboo-Bekr, and 'Alee Like the captain of a sinking ship, the Prophet would not leave till all the crew were safe But now they were all gone save his two early friends, and everything was ready for the journey, still the Prophet did not go But the Qureysh, who had been too much taken by surprise to prevent the emigration, now prepared measures for a summary vengeance on the disturber of their peace and the emptier of their city They set a watch on his house, and, it is said, commissioned a band of armed youths of different families to assassinate him together, that the blood recompense might not fall on one household alone But Mohammad had warning of his danger, and leaving 'Alee to deceive the enemy, he was concealed with Aboo-Bekr in a narrow-mouthed cave on Mount Thor, an hour-and-a-half's journey from Mekka, before the Qureysh knew of his escape For three days they remained hidden there, while their enemies were searching the country for them Once they were very near, and Aboo-Bekr trembled. 'We are but two' 'Nay,' answered Mohammad, 'we are three, for God is with us' And a spider, they say, wove its web over the entrance of the cave, so that the Qureysh passed on, thinking that no men had entered there.

On the third night the pursuit had been almost given over, and the two fugitives took up their journey again Mounted on camels they journeyed to Yethrib In eight days they reached the outskirts of the city (September 622). Mohammad was received with acclamation, and took up his residence among his kindred. The seat of Islam was

transferred from Mekka to Yethrib, henceforward to be known as Medina,—*Medeenet en-Nebee*, 'the City of the Prophet.'

This is the *Hijreh*, or Flight of the Prophet, from which the Muslims date their history. Their first year began on the 16th day of June of the Grace 622.

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Editorial . . .

LAW IN ISLAM—IV

WE HAVE seen in our last editorial that the Islamic concept of law is all-embracing. The whole universe, at all levels—physical, mental, historical, spiritual, social, political and economic—is under the guidance of laws operative in their separate spheres, interacting with each other and yet overshadowed by a higher unity which controls their working. Submission to God does not mean merely submission to the religious, family and marriage laws, the laws of the *Shari'at*, as they are called; they consist in the scrupulous observance of all laws, in every sphere. It will not be an Islamic society where only the laws of *Shari'at* are administered and all other laws are disregarded. The Muslims fell from grace when they concentrated exclusively on the minor injunctions and prohibitions of Islam, those belonging to prayers, worship, ceremonials, eating and drinking and penalties, while they grew oblivious of the laws which govern our physical health, economic prosperity, political strength and social welfare. Other nations which did not observe the *Shari'at* became much superior to the Muslims and more Islamised, because they discovered the laws of God operating in other spheres and submitted to them, while we remained in the grip of minor regulations, concerning prayers, fasts, ablutions, marriage and inheritance, etc.

The existence of so many diverse laws in the universe inevitably creates conflicts among them and then it becomes necessary to sacrifice the lower laws for the sake of higher ones, just as in our daily life we have to choose between a greater good and a lesser good since both cannot be combined. This cancellation of the higher laws by the lower goes on continuously in the universe. The flight of the aeroplane is possible only when the law of gravitation is overcome by another law whose operative force is superior at the moment. The laws of peace have to give way before the laws of war, when peace is threatened by mischief-makers or social injustice becomes so unbearable that men legitimately take to war against the established authority and the socio-economic set-up which it supports. The Holy Qur'an itself refers to this phenomenon when it says:

"Oppression is worse than slaughter" (ii. 191). Similarly, it refers to the oft-recurring historical phenomenon when one social group conflicts with another: "And did not God check one set of people by means of another, the earth would indeed be full of mischief" (ii. 251). Again, the Qur'an makes a direct and specific reference to this conflict of laws and the cancellation of one law by another in the following verse: "None of Our Revelations do We abrogate or cause to be forgotten, but We substitute something better or similar: Knowest thou not that God hath power over all things?" (ii. 106).

Here the Qur'an makes it clear that all laws, including those of *Shari'at* are subject to change but the change is effected only when there is a similar law or one better to replace the previously sanctioned law This shows that the *Shari'at* is not a static system of rigid laws unalterably fixed for good But the laws of the *Shari'at* can be changed only in accordance with a higher law, namely, that there should be something better to replace them No law can be abrogated in response to the demands of our lower nature because that would be abrogating a higher law in favour of the lower one. But the higher demands of society, the over-riding considerations of human welfare and the need for the removal of injustices can become the occasion for the modification of laws, even of the *Shari'at*. The present secular tendencies of our age overlook this important fact The clamour for a change in our Islamic laws is often motivated by lower desires and personal or class conveniences. Therefore, if we submit to such demands, we shall not be acting rightly and in accordance with the higher law laid down by the Qur'an, namely, that only a similar or better law can abrogate the existing one. But if it can be shown that any law of the *Shari'at* has outlived its utility and is not fulfilling the object for which it was meant or that its continued enforcement will create injustice, there can be no legitimate objection to the revision and modification of such a law. Islamic law in the Prophet s time was not so rigid and unalterable as to exclude all possibility of modification The Holy Qur'an was constantly revising and improving its commands and prohibitions during the life-time of the Holy Prophet, not to suit the conveniences of the individuals or any group and class, but to meet the requirments of changing circumstances and the differing conditions of a society which was growing and evolving. Thus, for example, drinking was at first condemned but not prohibited. Later on, it was totally forbidden The *Qibla* was at first fixed towards Jerusalem, but was later changed to Mecca, because Islam had by now become a sufficiently distinct religion and an organised community The *Itqan* of Suyuti gives a number of instances when the Quranic verses were cancelled in favour of others, although *Shah Wali'ulla* denies such cancellation and confines it to five verses But whatever the opinion regarding the cancelled verses of the Qur'an, it has been admitted by the majority of the people that there has been such cancellation The night of Ramazan was made *Halal*, when it was found by experience that men could not observe sexual abstinence for such a long period. The eating in Ramazan after sleep was permitted, when an Ansari labourer succumbed to unconsciousness due to prolonged abstinence from food. The verse "Not equal are those who sit (at home) and those who stride and fight in the cause of God with their goods" (iv. 95) was later modified by the addition of the words "and suffer from no disability" after those "who sit (at home)," when 'Amr. b. Ummi Maktum, a blind companion of the the Prophet, made a representation to the Holy Prophet to the effect that the verse in its existing form involves an unjust discrimination against him.

AVERROES THE GREAT

Sh. Abdus Subhan

In this article, Mr. Abdus Subhan discusses the achievement of Ibn Rushd in different spheres of learning As will be seen from this article, Averroes was a jurist, and jurists are generally narrow minded But Averroes believed that there is no conflict between reason and revelations—a thesis which we have maintained in our previous editorial He was, therefore, in favour of applying reason to the legal sphere He did not believe in such absurdities that women are not eligible to important offices of the State It is unfortunate that much of Averroes's work has been lost

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IN THE Year 1126 A D on a lucky day, in an auspicious hour, the Sun of Intellectual Greatness rose above the western horizon and with its effulgence illuminated both East and West That auspicious occasion marked the birth in Cordova of Averroes, the greatest Muslim philosopher in the West, the profoundest commentator of Aristotle and a top-ranking scientist, astronomer and physician of all times who for centuries remained a beacon of light in the ocean of darkness in which Medieval Europe lay engulfed.

Averroes, or, to give his full name, Abul Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Rushd came of an illustrious family of Cordovan jurists His grand-father and father, like himself, had graced the chair of Qadi-ul-Quddat or Chief Judge at Cordova. His early life, in keeping with family traditions, was devoted to the study of Theology, Law and Philosophy most of which he mastered at the feet of Abu Ja'far Harun of Truxilo, an eminent divine and scholar of the day In Philosophy he came under the influence of Ibn Tufail, a great scholar and well-known author of the unique philosophic romance "Hayy ibn Yaqzan" It was this Ibn Tufail who introduced Ibn Rushd to the Almohade Caliph Abu Ya'qub Yusuf as an erudite scholar eminently suited to the task of making analysis of Aristotle's works Yusuf took him into favour and bestowed on him the Qadiship of Seville in 1169 and that of Cordova three years later. This was the season of efflorescence and fructification of his genius for it was during this period that some of his important philosophic works were composed. But his multifarious official duties and engagements left him very little time for study and he often complained that his frequent tours to different parts of the Empire engaged most of his time and hampered his studies a good deal.

In the year 1182 A D. Ibn Rushd was summoned by the Caliph to take the place of Ibn Tufail as court physician at the latter's own request, but he was soon sent back with a fresh investiture as Qadi-ul-Quddat or Chief Judge of Cordova.

In the year 1184 A D Abu Ya'qub Yusuf breathed his last and was succeeded by his illustrious son Abu Yusuf Ya'qub Al-Mansur—a master both of pen and sword. In war he distinguished himself by inflicting a crushing defeat on the combined forces of Christian Europe at the memorable battle of Alarcos on the 19th July, 1195 A D., which he followed up with a series of brilliant operations resulting in the liquidation of the entire forces of Christendom on the Andalusian soil. In peace his exploits were no less creditable. A scholar himself, he cultivated Arts and Letters His court was always full of a brilliant array of scholars and scientists of which the brilliant gems were Ibn Tufail, Abu Bakr ibn Zuhr and last but not the least our hero Ibn Rushd on whom he continued his father's favours and patronage for the first eleven years of his reign. But later on under heavy pressure from Orthodox Divines and fanatic Mullahs he was forced to withdraw his favours from Ibn Rushd who was accused of having cultivated the philosophy of the ancients at the expense of true faith. He was arbitrarily tried and exiled first to a small place near Cordova and then to Morocco. But this was a temporary concession to mass fury, for he was soon released and restored to royal favour. Ibn Rushd, however, did not live long enough to enjoy the restoration of his fortune. Soon after his return from exile he died at Marrakesh on December 10, 1198 A.D.

Ibn Rushd's Works

Ibn Rushd's chief contribution to philosophic literature is his commentaries of Aristotle's work and he put his heart and soul to this work as befitting a true lover of Aristotle. These fall under the following heads.

(*i*) The lesser or middle commentaries in which Ibn Rushd presents the content of Aristotle's doctrine and adds his own explanations and developments in such a way that it becomes difficult to distinguish what comes from Aristotle and what comes from Ibn Rushd. These are in a way his own compositions using Aristotle's work as a background and framework.

(*ii*) The greater commentaries in which Ibn Rushd gives first portion of the actual text of Aristotle and then gives his commentary.

(*iii*) The little commentaries (paraphrases and compendia) in which he gives the conclusions arrived at by Aristotle, omitting proofs and historical references.

His chief work on Philosophy apart from these commentaries is "Tahafut-al-Tahafut" (Destruction of Destruction), a rejoinder to Al-Ghazzali's "Tahafut al-Filasfa" (Destruction of Philosophers) in which he defends the philosophers against the charge of free thought and unbelief levelled against them by orthodox theologians He further develops this theme in his "Kitab al-Filasfa" (Book of Philosophers) and his "Fasl-ul-Maqali fi Muwafaqatil Hikmat wal Shari'a" (A true and critical discussion on the question of agreement between philosophy and revealed religion).

His other works include a commentary on Plato's "Republic," "Criticism on Al-Farabi's Logic," "Discussions on certain theories of Ibn Sina" and "Glosses on the 'Aqida of Mehdi ibn Tumart" He also wrote on Law and his contribution in this is Kitab Badiyat al-Mujtahid wa Nihayat al Maqasid" On Medicine he wrote some sixteen works the most prominent of which was his "Al-Kulliyyat fil Tibb" (corrupted in Latin translations into "Colliget") in which the principle of Immunity conferred by the first attack of smallpox on a patient is fully discussed and the function of retina is admirably explained. A counterpart of this work was written at his request by his friend Abu Marwan ibn Zuhr under the title "Al-Taysir fil mudawa wal tadbir" (the facilitation of Thereapeutics and Diet). In his Kulliyyat Ibn Rushd extols Ibn Zuhr as the greatest physician since Galen

A large part of Ibn Rushd's works in original Arabic is lost. Some of the works that have escaped the ravages of time are as follows

1. "Tahafut al-Tahafut" a rejoinder to Al-Ghazzali's "Tahafut al-Filasfa"

2. "Fasl-ul-Maqali fi Muwafaqatil Hikmat wal Shari'a" (concord of Philosophy with religion).

3. Exposition of the fragments of Alexander of Aphrodisias on the Metaphysics.

4. "Kitab Kashf-ul-Manahij"

5. Medium commentaries on "Poetics and Rhetorics."

6. Small commentaries referring to Aristotle's "De Physica," "De Coelo et Mund," "De Generatione et corruptione," "De Meteorologie," "De Anima" and Metaphysical questions.

There are extant, in Hebrew and in Latin translations, the three commentaries of Ibn Rushd on "Second Analytics" and "the Physics" and on the treatises on the "Universe," the "Soul" and the "Metaphysics" The large commentaries on the other works of Aristotle are lacking and no commentary on Zoology has survived.

Averroes and Averroism

Ibn Rushd has for centuries been represented both in the Muslim East and the Christian West as the author of the thesis that philosophy is true and revealed religion is false And there is hardly any truth in this imputation, for he held that philosophy and revealed religion both preached eternal truths and that conflict between philosophy and revealed truth as enshrined in the Holy Qur'an was unthinkable. "He also held," says Justice Amir Ali, "that prophetic revelations were necessary for spreading among mankind the eternal verities proclaimed equally by religion and philosophy, that religion itself directs their search by means of science, that it teaches truths in a popular manner comprehensible to all people, that philosophy alone is capable of seizing the true religious doctrines by means of interpretation, but the ignorant apprehend only the literal meaning." He dealt with this subject at full length in his book "Fasl-ul-Maqal fi Muwafaqatil Hikmat wal Shari'a" referred to above. It is a bitter irony of fate that, in spite of his role as champion of the concord of Islamic faith with philosophy Ibn Rushd's name has been associated with a grossly anti-religious school of thought which goes under the name of Averroism This Averroism is product of the genius of Siger of Brabant and his fellow-scholastics who dominated the intellectual circles at Paris in those days Siger believed that faith and philosophy were mutually contradictory. And when he put forward a thesis which contradicted Christian dogma he claimed the authority of Aristotle and referred the obscurities in the interpretation of the philosopher to the commentaries of Ibn Rushd Thus in a roundabout way he exploited Ibn Rushd's name in defence of a system with which he had nothing in common. That Ibn Rushd was a true Muslim and as such a determined foe of that particular kind of rationalism which was known in the West as Averroism is amply borne out by his writings and by the glowing tribute paid to him by his French biographer, M. Renan in the following terms

"There is nothing to prevent our supposing that Ibn Rushd was a sincere believer in Islamism, especially when we consider how little irrational the supernatural element in the essential dogmas of this religion is, and how closely this religion approaches purest Deism." (Renan : *Averroes et Averroism*)

Averroes and Muslim Theologians

The main doctrines which brought Ibn Rushd in conflict with Muslim Theologians concern the question of the eternity of the world, the nature of God's apprehension, His fore-knowledge, the universality of the soul and of the intellect, and the nature of resurrection. In the doctrine of the eternity of the world he does not deny creation but only gives a different explanation from the theological one For him there is no creation

ex-nihilo once for all but rather a creation renewed from moment to moment. There is so to say a creative power perpetually at work in the Universe fashioning it and maintaining it. Heavenly bodies exist only through motion and they derive that motion from the moving force of the Creator acting on them eternally. The world is eternal but in consequence of a Creative Moving Cause God the prime mover is eternal and without cause.

As for the Apprehension of God, Ibn Rushd repeats the principle of philosophers that "the first principle only apprehends his own being" but gives his own exposition of it different from that of other philosophers The philosophers hold that this supposition is necessary in order that the first principle may retain his unity, for if he recognised multiplicity he would himself become multiple And this reasoning carried to its logical conclusion would mean that the Primal Being must live entirely within himself and fore-knowledge would thus be impossible. But herein Ibn Rushd differs He believes in the fore-knowledge and admits that God in His essence knows all the things of the world but His knowledge is of a very high order and has no parallel in the human knowledge, for *if it were the same as man's knowledge God would then have "sharers" in His knowledge* and He would no longer be one God. Moreover, man's knowledge is derived from things and the experience of their behaviour but God's knowledge cannot be bound by these limitations. On the other hand, it is the cause of all things. Thus the assertion of theologians that Ibn Rushd denies the fore-knowledge of God is a mere fabrication.

As for his teaching regarding the soul, the theologians ascribe to him the doctrine that individual souls after death pass into Universal Soul (God) From this they conclude that Ibn Rushd is opposed to the conception of the immortality of the soul of man. And in this again they are sadly mistaken In Ibn Rushd's system soul must be distinguished from Divine Essence which is Abstract and Immaterial and acts only in association of the Active Intellect to move and maintain the System of Universe. The soul he holds to be more or less material It may even consist of a kind of very fine matter The souls shape the bodies and are, therefore, independent of the bodies. They continue to exist after the death of the bodies and can remain individuals. The question of denial of immortality to the soul, therefore, does not arise. He, however, does not believe that a convincing proof of the immortality of soul can ever be established by pure philosophic reasoning This task, being beyond the human ken, he relegates to prophetic revelation. And in this he comes nearest to the Qur'an which proclains:

ویسئلونک عن الروح قل الروح من امر ربی وما اوتیتم من العلم الا قلیلا ۔

[: And they ask thee concerning the soul.

Say: 'The soul is by the command of my Lord and of knowledge (thereof) you have been vouchsafed but little'" (xvii. 85)].

Ibn Rushd is further accused of the denial of the resurrection of the body by theologians. Here again he is triumphant over his adversaries in the controversy. He repudiates the charge by affirming that there will be a resurrection but the body resurrected with the soul will not be the same body, it will rather be a similar body, for what has passed away is not reborn in its identity. And there he seems to be right, for even during life-time body does not remain constant It undergoes perpetual change set on foot by the processes of oxidisation, destruction, elimination, recuperation and renovation of cells, fibres, muscles and other constituents of the human body. And we can safely say that the body we had twelve years ago was quite distinct from that we have now. Thus the body our soul shall evolve at the time of resurrection will not be exactly the same as that which decomposes after death It will be similar in the sense that the body we have now is similar to that we had twelve years back. The Holy Qur'an supports this view in the following verse

اولیس الذی خلق السموات والارض بقادر علی ان یخلق مثلهم - بلی وهو الخلاق العلیم -

["Is not He Who created the heavens and the earth able to create *the like of them* Aye, that He is ! for He is the All-Wise Creator" (xxxvi. 81)].

The words "the like of them" are of special significance denoting, as they do, the *similarity* rather than the identity of resurrected body Moreover, Ibn Rushd holds that life in the next world will be more perfect. This is beautifully expressed by Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi in the following lines

از جمادی مردم و نامی شدم   وز نما مردم بحیوان سر زدم
مردم از حیوانی و آدم شدم   پس چه ترسم کہ ز مردن کم شوم

["Dying in the realm of inorganic matter I reappeared as a Vegetable.
Dying in the Vegetable Kingdom I made my appearance in the Animal Kingdom.
Dying as an animal I became man
Then what fear have I that after death I shall emerge less perfect ? "]

This puts in a nutshell the whole corpus of Islamic thought on the evolution of body and soul on a much higher plane than the crude worldly treatise of Darwin on Evolution propounded by him centuries later. Resurrection, it may be remembered, will only be a stage in the Evolution of Man.

Now coming back to Ibn Rushd we find him differing from theologians on the question of predestination. These were divided into two hostile groups, the one believing

in "Ikhtiar" or free will and the other holding on to "Jabar" or predestination. Ibn Rushd agrees with neither group but steers a middle course between them. He holds that man is neither an absolute master of his actions nor bound by fixed immutable decrees. Our actions depend partly on our free will and partly on exterior causes which spring from the general laws of nature.

Ibn Rushd and St Thomas Aquinas

The fervour with which the Averroists extolled Ibn Rushd, and made use of the prestige of his name to bolster up their own cause, was only matched with the vehemence with which St Thomas denounced the Muslim Philosopher. But all the same the Christian Saint and the Muslim Philosopher both appear side by side as defenders of the same ideal—the concord of faith and reason This is no mere accident St Thomas has made free use of many of the arguments which Ibn Rushd had previously employed. The following argument that appears in "Summa contra gentiles" clearly shows how closely the Saint follows the Philosopher

"It is important to remember that religious truths which can be proved can also be known by faith. The proofs are difficult and can only be understood by the learned, but faith is necessary also to the ignorant, to the young, and to those who from practical preoccupations have not the leisure to learn philosophy For them, the revelation suffices" (Russell's *St. Thomas Aquinas*)

This sounds as if Averroes is speaking in the garb of the Saint But the two differ widely in the method of their approach For while Ibn Rushd being an out and out philosopher, examines everything in true scientific spirit, the Saint invariably has religious truths to establish which he makes use of philosophy Bertrand Russell sheds some light on this aspect of the Saint's thought in the following words

"There is little of the true scientific spirit in Aquinas He does not, like the Platonic Socrates, set out to follow wherever the argument may lead He is not engaged in an enquiry the result of which it is impossible to know in advance. Before he begins to philosophise, he already knows the truth, it is declared in the Catholic faith. If he can find apparently arguments for some parts of the faith so much the better, if he cannot, he need only fall back on revelation The finding of arguments for a conclusion given in advance is not philosophy, but special pleading I cannot, therefore, feel that he deserves to be put on a level with the best philosophers either of Greece or of modern times."

Ibn Rushd's Political Theories

Ibn Rushd was far ahead of the times when he made his appearance on the stage of the world. "His political theories," in the words of Justice Amir Ali, "were directed

against human tyranny in every shape. He regarded Arab Republic under the Rashidin Caliphs as the model government in which was realised the dream of Plato. Mua'wiya, he says, in establishing the Ommayyad autocracy, overthrew this ideal, and opened the door to all disasters. Ibn Rushd considered women to be equal in every respect to men, and claimed for them equal capacity—in war, in philosophy, in science." And much of what he says sounds ultra-modern.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF 'ITA'AT, SUBMISSION, IN ISLAM

Dr. Muhammad Saghir Hasan al-Ma'sumi

In this article, Prof. Masumi defends the Ahadith, and the Muhaddithun, as well as the well known principles of Qiyas and consensus. We believe too in all these principles, but we think that modern methods of research and rational scrutiny should be applied to them, because of *the changing conditions of the world* We cannot be bound by the juristic decisions of our predecessors, whether or not based on Hadith, because the moderns are as much entitled to use their reason as medieval scholars, whose interpretations of Hadith cannot be considered final Islam is a progressive whole and not a stagnant pool With this reservation, we accept that there can be no Islam without an Islamic State Islam and Radical Secularism cannot go together, if, by secularism, we mean that the Qur'an and the Hadith should not be brought and used in discussions concerning politics and economics.

ISLAM, *which means "submission to the Will of God" for the sake of peace and* prosperity, is not only a religion, but also a code of life to be lived up to, that was preached and practised some fourteen hundred years ago by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (Blessings and peace be upon him !)

For the achievement of peace and prosperity in the world, Islam has laid down certain clear-cut principles or institutions which are prescribed for its followers, the most fundamental and vital principle being *Tawhid*, Oneness of God—a conception from which follows, as the day follows the night, the universal brotherhood of man inasmuch as the God of the East is also the God of the West, and the God of the White is also the God of the Black and so on. All of us have therefore been ordered to prostrate ourselves before One and the Only God, and that they have got to bear witness that Prophet Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah The holy Qur'an, the Divine Scripture, which was revealed to the Prophet emphasises action (عمل) through which alone the inner belief in One Allah and His Apostle can be manifested. The five well-known institutions, viz. Salat, Sawm, Zakat, Hajj and Jihad, supply the moods of action to which the Muslims have become totally indifferent today. Even if they perform these institutions they do so mechanically remaining unconscious of their actions and performances; and hence, their prayers, fasts, alms, and endeavours go in vain, and bear no fruit. People devote their time to prayers and fasts, but, at the same time, speak ill of others in their absence, disseminate hatred and ill feelings, and encourage dishonesty among the

members of the community. Zakat and alms are given today mostly to those who have adopted begging as their profession, and are hardly given to the needy. Our endeavours are scarcely directed to develop brotherly affections and doing good to others; on the contrary, one does one's best in cultivating envy, enmity, malice and hatred among the community.

The questions therefore naturally arise: Why have these institutions ceased to produce desirable effects among their followers? Why do they not cultivate the same brotherly feelings and the enthusiasm which they actually did among the *Sahabah* and their successors? The answer is not very far to seek Our simple faith has been very badly affected by the unfavourable circumstances, inimical systems of ideology and belief, heterogeneous rites and rituals, and diverse rebellious creeds and doctrines, which insinuated themselves into the fold of Islam throughout the centuries up to the day, so much so that the illiterate mass today can hardly discern the Islamic rituals and beliefs from the un-Islamic ones To add to this, the opportunists exploited the Muslim mass to their heart's content in the name of religion Innumerable organisations showed their appearance from time to time under different captions, each one claiming to be the real defender of Islam, true and sincere guide towards the faith, well equipped with all sorts of designs, eloquence and deceitful demeanour

Method of Achieving Peace and Prosperity

It has therefore been the only motto of the reformers in all ages to take the mass back to the teachings of the Qur'an and the Prophet in order to purge the whole community of all that is un-Islamic and contrary to the doctrines of Islam. The reason is obvious. The word *Islam* itself means "submission in peace," and the holy Qur'an itself repeatedly urges us to obey Allah, the Apostle and the Book

يايها الذين امنوا اطيعوا الله و رسوله ولا تولوا عنه و انتم تسمعون -

["O you who believe! obey Allah and His Apostle and do not turn back from him while you hear" (Anfal, viii. 20)]

يايها الذين امنوا اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول و اولى الامر منكم فان تنازعتم فى شئى فردوه الى الله والرسول ان كنتم تؤمنون بالله واليوم الاخر - ذلك خير و احسن تاويلا -

["O you who believe! obey Allah and obey the Apostle and those who are in authority among you; then if you quarrel about anything, refer it to Allah and the Apostle, if you believe in Allah and the last day; this is good (for you) and is the best interpretation" (iv. 59)].

قل اطیعوا الله والرسول - فان تولوا فان الله لایحب الکفرین -

["Say : Obey Allah and the Apostle , but if they turn back, then surely Allah does not love the unbelievers" (iii 31)]

واعتصموا بحبل الله جمیعا ولا تفرقوا - واذکروا نعمت الله علیکم اذکنتم اعدآء فالف بین قلوبکم فاصبحتم بنعمته اخوانآ - وکنتم علی شفا حفره من النار فانقذکم منها - کذلک یبین الله لکم ایته لعلکم تهتدون -

["And hold fast by the covenant of Allah all together and be not disunited, and remember the favour of Allah on you , when you were enemies, then He united your hearts, so by His favour you became brethren , and you were on the brink of a pit of fire, then He saved you from it , thus does Allah make clear to you His signs that you may follow the right way" (iii. 102)].

واطیعوا الله والرسول لعلکم ترحمون -

["And obey Allah and the Apostle, that you may be shown mercy" (iii. 131)].

قل ان کنتم تحبون الله فاتبعونی یحببکم الله و یغفرلکم ذنوبکم - والله غفور رحیم -

["Say . If you love Allah then follow me, Allah will love you, and forgive you your sins, and Allah is Forgiving and Merciful" (iii 30)]

اتبعوا ما انزل الیکم من ربکم، ولا تتبعوا من دونه اولیاء - قلیلا ما تذکرون -

["Follow what has been revealed to you from your Lord and do not follow guardians besides Him , how little do you mind ?" (vii 3)].

. . . . واطیعوا الله و رسوله ان کنتم مؤمنین -

["And obey Allah and His Apostle if you are believers" (viii. 1)]

و من یطع الله والرسول فاولئک مع الذین انعم الله علیهم من النبیین والصدیقین والشهداء والصلحین - وحسن اولئک رفیقا -

["And whoever obeys Allah and the Apostle, these are with those upon whom Allah has bestowed favours from among the prophets and the truthful and the faithful and the good, and a goodly company are they !" (iv. 69)].

من یطع الرسول فقد اطاع الله - و من تولی فما ارسلنک علیهم حفیظا -

[" Whoever obeys the Apostle, he indeed obeys Allah , and whoever turns back, so We have not sent you as a keeper over them " (iv. 80)].

واطيعوا الله و رسوله ولا تنازعوا فتفشلوا وتذهب ريحكم واصبروا - ان الله مع الصبرين -

["And obey Allah and His Apostle and do not quarrel, for then you will be weak in hearts and your power will depart, and be patient ; surely Allah is with the patient " (viii. 46)].

قل اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول - فان تولوا فانما عليه ما حمل وعليكم ما حملتم - وان تطيعوه تهتدوا - وما على الرسول الا البلغ المبين -

["Say : Obey Allah and obey the Apostle , but if you turn back, then on him rests that which is imposed on you , and if you obey him, you are on the right path , and nothing rests on the Apostle but clear delivering (of the message) " (xxiv. 54)]

يايها الذين امنوا اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول ولا تبطلوا اعمالكم -

["O you who believe ! obey Allah and obey the Apostle, and do not make your deeds of no effect" (xlvii 33)].

. . . وما اتكم الرسول فخذوه وما نهكم عنه فانتهوا -

["And whatever the Apostle gives you, accept it, and whatever he forbids from, you keep back" (lix. 7)].

واطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول - فان توليتم فانما على رسولنا البلغ المبين -

["And obey Allah and obey the Apostle, but if you turn back, then upon Our Apostle devolves only the clear delivery (of the message)" (lxiv. 12)]

It is clear from the verses quoted above that Islam enjoins us to obey Allah. Very often the obedience to Allah has been identified with the obedience to the Apostle. The meaning is obvious inasmuch as the Apostle supplies the necessary interpretation of the Qur'an. And again, the Apostle of Allah demonstrates and illustrates the enactments prescribed by the Qur'an. It is therefore necessary for a Muslim to take resort to the Apostle, his actions and sayings which have come down to us through our predecessors from generation to generation in the same way as the Qur'an has come down to us through the fourteen centuries. We may however doubt the genuineness of those portions of Hadith literature which have been attributed to the Prophet but which oppose or contravene any Quranic injunction. The collectors of Hadith have taken all possible care and have undergone much troubles and tribulation in recording genuine traditions. They categorically declared those Ahadith which did not stand their criticism as spurious or fabricated.

The Muhaddithun, in their zeal and enthusiasm for sifting out genuine Ahadith out of the defective ones, invented the sciences like the dictionary of biographies, the principles of the Hadith, the criticism of the Hadith, the criticism of the narrators, and so on—sciences that enable us to distinguish between right and wrong and the true and false Ahadith—sciences which no other nation in the world has ever been able to produce. We can ill afford to deny the invaluable services of our predecessors for the cause of Islam who have left behind them such a mass of literature which offers us right guidance and throws a considerable light on the ideology and culture of the period they concern.

As to the meaning of " 'ita'at," submission, referred to in the Qur'an, there is hardly any difference of opinion that the word " 'ita'at " means "muwafaqatul amr " or agreement to an order The phrase "ati'ullaha wa ati'ur-Rasula " clearly means that obedience to Allah and obedience to the Prophet both are obligatory, and thereby obedience to the Qur'an and Sunnah is binding The repetition of "Ati'u" evidently indicates that any idea of association in the person of God is to be avoided. Reference has already been made to as many as eleven verses which unequivocally command to obey Allah and the Apostle. The verse in the Surah al-Nisa needs special consideration :

يايها الذين امنوا اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم - فان تنازعتم فى شئ فردوه الى الله والرسول، ان كنتم تؤمنون بالله واليوم الاخر - ذلك خير و احسن تاويلا -

> [" O the believers ! obey Allah and obey the Messenger of Allah and those from among you who possess commandment. If you disagree concerning a particular thing, then refer it to Allah and the Apostle if you have faith in Allah and the last day. This (the reference) is good and is the best interpretation."]

Now, besides the fact that this verse declares the obedience to Allah and the obedience to the Apostle obligatory, it also declares the consensus of the opinion of the leaders necessary, since the phrase " wa 'ulilamri minkun " can only mean " Ijma' al-Ummat," the agreement of the nation. The obedience to " 'ulilamr " has been categorically ordered by Allah which indicates that the " 'ulil-amr " must be free from sins. But since we are unable to know a leader free from sins in our time we must understand " 'ulil-amr " in the meaning of " those people who look after the affairs from among the Ummah." The remaining portion of the verse, viz " If you disagree concerning a particular thing, then refer it to Allah and the Apostle if you have faith in Allah, etc. " means that if difference of opinion arises concerning a particular case, then refer it to a similar case available in the Book, Sunnah or in the Consensus of Opinion, and this is the meaning of Qiyas or reasoning. The verse thus gives

us the well-known FOUR PRINCIPLES of the science of the Principles of Jurisprudence, al-Kitab, al-Sunnah, al-Ijma', al-Qiyas; and that the arrangement is to be necessarily maintained. Qiyas and Ijma' can never therefore precede the Qur'an and the Sunnah. The expression "if you disagree concerning a particular thing, then refer it to Allah and the Apostle" bears testimony to the fact that Qiyas or reasoning can be employed only in case the Book, the Sunnah and Ijma' fail to give any guidance. This arrangement of the Four Principles corroborates the famous Hadith of Hadrat Mu'az who was appointed to act as judge in Yemen by the Prophet who, by way of examination, asked him: "How will you pass judgment if a case comes to you?" Mu'az said: "I shall give my judgment according to the Book of Allah" The Prophet said: "If you find nothing in the Divine Book?" He answered. "Then, I shall pass my judgment according to the Sunnah of the Apostle of Allah" The Prophet further enquired "If you do not find in the Sunnah of the Apostle of Allah, then what would you do?" He replied, "I shall try my own opinion and I shall do my best."

Thus we find Qiyas has been given the last position by Mu'az and the Prophet approved of it. As a matter of fact, Iblis was turned down for ever for preferring his "reasoning" to the Divine Text, since he singled out himself and reasoned "Thou hast created me of Fire and him of clay" when the angels were ordered to make obeisance to Adam in the verse, "When We said to the angels: Make obeisance to Adam," Iblis being included in the angels because of his association with them.

Hadith holds the second position. The holy Prophet said. "Whenever a saying is narrated on my authority, you compare it with the Divine Book. If it agrees with the Book accept it, or else reject it" In the absence of a Hadith, Ijma' and then Qiyas are to be maintained.

It is also clear from the verse under consideration that anything other than these four principles is absurd, since there can only be two categories of events (1) that concerning which a judgment has been mentioned in the Book, and (2) that concerning which no judgment has been mentioned. The first category covers the Qur'an and Hadith; and for the second category Qiyas has been recommended It is therefore absurd to conceive of any additional principle other than the Four referred to above.

The blessings of 'Ita'at, obedience, have been referred to in the verse, "And hold fast by the covenant of Allah all together and be not disunited, and remember the favour of Allah on you: when you were enemies then He united your hearts, so by His favour you became brethren; and you were on the brink of a pit of fire, then He saved you from it." The phrase "Habl Allah" has been interpreted by "covenant of Allah" which is no other than belief and obedience.

As for what will be the consequence if we do not obey Allah and His Apostle, the following verse among a host of others may be mentioned .

يايها الدين اسوا من يرتد مىكم عن ديىه فسوف ياتى الله بقوم يحبهم و يحبونه لا اذلة على المؤمنين اعره على الكفرين ـ يجاهدون فى سبيل الله ولا يخافون لومة لائم ـ ذلك فضل الله يوتيه من يشاء ـ والله واسع عليم ـ

> [" O you who believe ! Whoever from among you turns back from his religion, then soon Allah will bring forth a people, He shall love them and they shall love Him, lowly before the believers, mighty against the unbelievers, they shall strive hard in the way of Allah, and shall not fear the blame of a blamer. This is the grace of Allah which He gives to whom He pleases, Allah is Ample-Giving, Knowing " (v 54)]

Now, the question is how we can obey Allah and His Apostle and the leaders. The Muslim mass cannot obey Allah and His Apostle unless they are organised and welded into a single family, and hence it is the foremost duty of the Muslim community to elect an Amir from among themselves who alone can execute the laws of Shari'ah. In a word, the obedience to Allah and the Apostle can only materialise if the Islamic State is established and starts functioning When we look into those verses which enjoin " 'Ita'at " we find that they were revealed after the Hijrat of the Prophet and for that matter after the Islamic State had already come into being. The Qur'an emphasised SALAT, prayer, belief and good deeds before the Prophet had organised his State in Medina. That is to say, according to Islam the prayer and good deeds are the factors which prepare the ground for the foundation of the Islamic State. Belief in One God certainly produces the feeling of equality, unity, and prayer purifies the heart and harnesses the good qualities in mankind such as sympathy for others, honesty, building of character, and so on. We can bear in mind the case of those believers who had not migrated to Medina and were living in Mekka, since they were declared as weak Muslims as it was feared that the infidels could compel them to abandon their faith in Islam What happened in India after partition is a known fact Hundreds of Muslims, in utter helplessness, unable to stand the powerful and strong infidels, embraced Hinduism and discarded their own fossilised faith. The people of Medina had therefore written to the Muslims left behind in Mekka to join them, and the latter tried to do so once and again, and at last managed to escape from the Qurayshites The earnestness with which these Muslims proceeded with their migration shows how much necessary they thought to migrate to Medina— their own State.

Today Islam is confined only to the external form of worship, I mean, to Sawm, Salat, Zakat and Hajj ; we pay hardly any attention to the prohibitions, نواهى, as if they

were of no importance. We have ceased to be conscious of practically the half of the laws or one complete side of Islam, i.e the side of NAWAHI. Even the side of AWAMIR, commandments, is not being fully practised by us—a fact about which there is no contention. Our learned people for the last several centuries paid little or no attention to this important phase on the plea that the penal codes of Islam could not be acted up to, or even the chapter on JIHAD could not be attended to in the foreign regime in the quagmire of which the Millat has been wallowing through all these centuries.

But, now that Pakistan is a *fait accompli* which was won on the basis of Islam, the religion of the Muslims, it is the duty of the Muslims of PAKISTAN to follow the laws of Islam as adumbrated in the Qur'an and the Sunnah on which alone Ijma' and Qiyas can be based.

The only method of reviving Islam and for that matter the Muslim nation is to exhort the Muslim mass to obey Allah and His Apostle, and abide by the consensus of opinion and reasoning. *As Islam means "submission to the laws of Allah," the Creator* of the heaven and the earth, its laws are as much Divine as those of the life of the whole universe. This is why there is no contradiction between the laws of life and those of Islam ; rather the latter are a natural part of the former. Hence the Islamic system of Shari'ah is also based on the central laws of the universe.

To recapitulate, it is the binding duty of the Muslims of the day to turn to Allah and seek guidance from the Qur'an and Hadith and not to look to the West for the same. Of course we must imitate and follow the West in her achievements in science and arts. It is in harmony with the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith to learn all that is useful for our worldly life, and equip ourselves with all the weapons available in the Western world. We must however avoid their social behaviour and cultural playful arts which would all the more hurl us headlong into the abyss of degradation and complete annihilation. Mere utterance with KALMA SHAHADA is not at all sufficient for reviving a down-trodden and degraded nation If we want to achieve our lost status in the world, it is our foremost duty to obey Allah, obey the Apostle and obey all the prohibitions and commandments of Allah through which alone we can clean and polish off all the rust and soot accumulated around our faith in the last few centuries and thus ensure peace and prosperity in this world and the world hereafter.

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SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
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ISLAMIC CIVILISATION VERSUS WESTERN CIVILISATION

Syed Badiuz Zaman

Mr Badiuz Zaman does not see eye to eye with our efforts to compare and contrast Western with Islamic civilisation. But he has misunderstood We have consistently maintained that Islamic civilisation is neither opposed to the Western civilisation nor hostile to it The two agree for the most part But there are and will remain some differences so that the attempt to pass off as Islamic everything Western will not succeed Islamic civilisation is a distinct entity but does this mean that it cannot work in harmony with other civilisations?

THE *Islamic Literature* published a special number regarding the above subject-matter. Several noteworthy writers contributed their thought-provoking ideas about it. My humbleself would like to crave the indulgence to express certain ideas about it through this journal.

At the outset I would like to remark that the very idea of putting forth this subject-matter to the peoples of the world for deep deliberation is detrimental to the best interests of Islam. It is a tactical blunder on the part of the Muslims. If we read past history carefully we find that for this sort of tactical blunders made by the Muslims, many enemies of Islam cropped up at different places and at different times. As for instance, before the advent of Muslims there were no Hindu spirit, Hindu nationalism, even Hindu-mindedness in India The Muslims created it Beliefs and thoughts, manners and behaviours, customs and costumes of the different people of India were portrayed by the "Islamic . . . versus . . . ." by the Muslims themselves. So, the other peoples of India thought that they belonged to a camp which is different from that of the Muslims. The religious literatures of the Hindus do not label them as Hindus; there was no definition of a Hindu. Pre-Muslim literature of India did not mention them as Hindus. It is the Muslim who created the Hindus, the Hindu spirit, and Hindu-mindedness. Peoples of India thought in terms of Jaties (tribe), Gotras (clans), Varnas, castes, different lineage of kings at different places People of the U P were foreigners to the people of Bengal and people of Bengal were foreigners for the people of Assam. People of Madras, Bombay, Rajputana, etc , were quite separate from each other But with the

advent of Islam, Muslims by their blunders talked of all the other peoples of India, who were different from the Muslims, as Hindus.

Sikh movement was started by Nanak who was very much sympathetic towards Islam. The Muslims could have taken advantage of this drift of the Hindus of India towards Islam; the Muslims could have made them a branch or sect of Islam. They could have been turned friends to the Muslim interests. But the Muslims in the past by their speeches, writings, books, etc., showed in details various "Versus" materials which ultimately turned the Sikhs deadly enemies of the Muslims They went to the camp of the Hindus.

In such tactical matters Hindus are very wise. In India there are many hill tribes as well as plain tribes whose beliefs and thoughts, manners and customs are not at all in consonance with the tenets of the Vedas, Puranas, etc., still they have been brought under their fold. They bring all other people into their own camp. They rather try to persuade others to come to their fold even if they radically differ from all Hindu tenets and scriptures Muslims on the other hand create enemies out of people who go one step forward towards Islam

In modern time also Hindus try to make friendship with the Communist camp by declaring their ideals of state as "socialistic pattern of society" At the same time they try to make friendship with the Capitalist camp by declaring that there should be a "private sector" for individuals They try to make friends with different peoples of Asia by the cry of Asiatics They try to make friendship with the Africans by the shibboleth of "Down with imperialism, down with colonialism, down with colour bar." When the prejudices of the fair-coloured Aryans against the Dravidians are too well known The Hindus further try to throw other ties over the necks of Burmese, Japanese, Chinese, people of Thailand etc, by showing extra loyalty to Buddhism which were once expelled ruthlessly from India Recently they have made many concessions towards Buddhism Thus it is clear that the Hindus try to hide "versus" materials; and instead dangle various points of similarity with a view to infiltrating into the midst of suspicious grounds and ultimately to rise out of it stronger with several extra hands just as their goddesses use to represent.

Why had the Muslims to fight the crusades? Because the Muslims committed this blunder of speaking "Islamic . . . . Versus. . . ." The spirit of Christendom was created by the Muslims as in the case of the Hindus mentioned above. Muslim writers tried to show how Islam is different from Christianity in various details which were quite unknown to the Christians.

By this sort of blunders Muslims everywhere in the world have been creating enemies of Islam. Now, think of the "Shias." Long long ago due to certain political

factions, the Shia camp appeared in our midst; and we Muslims up to this date have failed to close up Why? Because in each succeeding century the "versus" spirit has been kept alive; rather petty differences were shown in vast proportions. Ahmadis and Qadianis appeared in our midst due to certain intellectual thoughts of certain original minds. But we Muslims have failed to close up our differences. Rather "Fatwas" after "Fatwas" have been added with greater zeal to show "separateness" of the orthodox camp from the new thoughts Similarly Maududi Saheb put forth a certain course of thought, which is bound to appear after a little bit of original thinking, but on the next day we have opened up a separate file for Maududis. And until and unless the Maududis, Shias, Qadianis, Sikhs, Hindus and crusaders are annihilated or submerged forcefully with the orthodox camp, Muslims will not rest! Lo! I find this is one of the greatest characteristics of the day-to-day working applied Islamic civilisation

Theoretical Islamic civilisation is different from the day-to-day working civilisations of the Muslims. Theoretical Islamic civilisation has got an ideal to attain and preach. The ideal is noble as well as novel Even at the present time if the Islamic ideal is faithfully worked out, it has the possibility to hold its own ground magnificently against all "isms" of the world ' However, in the practical field we find several varieties at different climes and times according to the whims of the local Muslims

In Bengal we find the "Lungi" civilisation, and in upper India (U P., Delhi, Western Bihar) "Takalluf" civilisation and further up "Salawar and Gost-Ruti" civilisation

Clad in Lungi, this type of civilised fellow goes to the school, to the feast, to the office, to the bazar, to take bath in the river, to catch fish to drive a cycle, motor-car, bus, etc.

In his bed-room also Lungi will serve him as his night dress, at the mosque prayer dress, at the football field as sporting dress He will play "Kabaddi" with it, climb trees with it, fasten a thief with it, bring rice, potatoes, Dal from a nearby shop within it. It is not all, if he has no bed-sheet, Lungi will serve the purpose, it will serve as a "Jai-Namaz," bed-cover as well as a handkerchief to wipe his nostrils, as a towel to rub his face and hands, at meal time it will help him as "Dast-Khana" (dining cloth)

On the Eed days he will attire himself with a nice Lungi, as a bridegroom also he will not discard it, and when Munkir Nekir question him in the grave you will surely find him in Lungies.

In the hot weather it will be used as a pagree and in cold weather as a wrapper.

After learning their outer dress, people will surely be inquisitive to learn about their inner dress. Let our eyes penetrate it If he is advised that Rs. 2,000 is the barest

minimum to perform the Haj, he will go with Rs. 1,700. Before entering the witness-box, he will ask leave of the court to say his prayers and after coming from the prayer, he will go to the witness-box and after the formal solemn oath, he will speak everything except the truth. At the sight of any man of power and authority, he will be timid and will tremble like anything. but he has got the dare-devil spirit within. He can perform the most daring deeds any man can conceive, specially in the path of treachery, rebellion, revolution, mutiny and any destructive programme. Again, he suffers from inferiority complex in the face of almost all peoples of the world; but no nation will be able to speak of bravery as loudly as they of themselves They ducked for some time and then declared independence several times against the sovereignty of the Pathan Sultans of Delhi; with Pathan Sher Shah they sent Mogul Humayun out of India, they sided with Aurangzeb and won the battle, with the help of English people they demolished the power of the Moguls, with terrorism and 'Chatragram Astragar Lunthan,' they struck terror into the hearts of the most gallant Britishers, with Subhas Bose, they differed from the tactics of Gandhi and plotted for the final overthrow of the British power in India with the force of the I.N.A backed by the Japanese. Again with the help of the Muslim League, they won independence, but they shattered and demolished the power of the Muslim League in East Pakistan within six years. They have got no programmes for construction, but they have got the knack, genius and imagination in the execution of destructive programmes I pity them—such brilliant brains but with very poor bread and butter. He is a problem child—a child who does not know his own well-being and happiness and safety

Now, let us turn to "Takalluf" civilisation People reared in this type of civilisation are a nice set of people; they have got very elegant manners and very charming mode of address, but their talk is often lip-deep because the heart has been kept dry by the unkind hand of "Naqd Alaihis Salam." As a man needs his pant, so these people need a "Pir-Saheb" Really they consider a person without a Pir Saheb as a half-naked man in the field of spiritualism. However, in order to appreciate the delicacies of Hoors and Paries in the heaven, many of them like to serve as an apprentice in the midst of the Tawaif, the singing and dancing girl. Let his purse go thinner and thinner yet he will incline towards Mushaera, Nazm-making and various aesthetic pleasures, his traditional heritage Because, by this practice he may not get food but he is doubly sure of his tea.

In the land of "Takalluf," in the dining house, on the dining table, as a guest in any entertainment, you will hear the word "Takalluf" at least fifteen and half times within one hour. To the dining table at the restaurant, your takalluf friends will entreat you to join them with an empty heart and sometimes with empty pocket. If by chance you join them you will have to rise up from the table almost as starved as before;

because according to the rules of the table you cannot order your items This is pure "Takalluf." Unlike Lungi civilised people, these people have got full of constructive programmes. Their brains are too much full of ideas—some of them are brilliant too. They can easily put themselves up as leaders of Muslim India. They have produced as many "Qutbe Alams" and "Shaikhul Islam" in the spiritual field as they have produced cinema actresses in the filmdom They are modest in speech and magnificent in their bearing. Though they are richer in comparison with other Muslims of India, yet their ambitious projects are handicapped by lack of adequate funds Give them money, they can build a Taj; give them money, they can produce atom bombs, they have got capacities to do various things yet unseen and unknown. With their press they have supplied Muslims of India Qur'an, Ampara, books of talisman and Tafsir; stop their press, many places will be without these books. Again this is a good nursery ground for the production of fresh Mullahs. Their greatest defect is their failure to understand that their lives are moved by the Capitalist wheel They are putting Islamic ribands in the spokes of the Capitalist wheel, they are putting Islamic peacock plumage in the body of the Capitalist vulture and expecting Islamic results They do not know that unless the wheel is changed ribands are not very effective. On the whole, they are people difficult to be displeased with.

What about "Salawar and Gost-Ruti" civilisation? Yes, his philosophy is not to eat Anaj with Anaj, begin five yards Salawar at Lahore and the higher you go up, the greater should be your Salawar until it reaches ten to fifteen yards If you have got the "Gost" and not the "Ruti," raid the peaceful Ibne-Sabil (way-farer). For, all Muslims are brothers, therefore, his Ruti is to be shared If the victim is not a Muslim, no harm—it is "Ghanimat" What if the Ibne-Sabil overpowers you? He will answer, "Don't you believe in Taqdir?" This land of Kababs is the greatest hope for Indian Muslims, because if in India cow-slaughter is totally banned they can export their cows to this land and import tin-beef in return. He hates the profession of sitting at the shops, for his sinews favour harder activities Thus he puts a comma in commerce, and a semi-colon (beards) in his face In order to get divine message at night, his Maulana Saheb needs constant massage by his students and Muridans. Of course, the massage should be free, otherwise the divine message will entail costly Sadqas. He learnt this trick from his "Takalluf" friends. Husband having one opinion, wife another and the son yet another is unthinkable in this type of civilisation. The whole family, nay the whole group of families under one Sardar or Khan Saheb should have only one opinion. So, the election campaign has been made easier. You need not go from door to door convincing every person. You "Pakrow" (catch) the Sardar, argue with him, convince him by flattery and giving a feast in "Gost-Ruti" to his followers. You are assured of hundred votes at one stroke. But that one stroke is not an easy

job; his head is very big—ideas do not percolate through it quickly, nor ideas once formed are readily effaced. Further, if once "Zaban" (promise) was given, he will stick to it at all hazards. The Pathans have got Muslim names; but many of them are not Muslims at heart—they have remained as Pathans. The Muslims are brave and the Pathans are coward.

This sort of sidelights of the working Islamic civilisation of the present day may be very unpalatable to our romantic Muslim friends So I desist from portraying other sidelights of other Muslim pockets of the world Our romantic Muslim writers, in the eulogy of Islamic civilisation, dash towards marvellous achievements in Muslim Spain, court of Harun-al-Rashid, military successes of the Turks, architecture and brilliancy of the Mogul dynasties totally forgetting such sidelights which are just before their eyes As I have mentioned above, the ideology of theoretical Islamic civilisation is very noble and edifying; and its votaries can be proud of it in the face of any ideology of the world. But it is injustice to compare the ideology of Islam with the day-to-day working civilisation of the West. Ideology of one should be compared with the ideology of the other, the day-to-day working civilisation of the West should be compared with the Islamic counterpart.

Man is not angel. He has got his follies and weaknesses be he a Muslim or a European. The moral and spiritual fibres of the Muslims and the peoples of the West are basically one. If we point out alcoholism, national patriotism, slips in sex affairs, etc., as weaknesses of the people of the West, it will simply end in bickering and much ill-feeling between these peoples. That is why I remarked at the outset about the tactical blunder.

Bearing these points in mind, I may go to mention a few words about the ideologies. Islamic ideology is definite, concrete and clear-cut, whereas the ideology of the West is indefinite, is ever shifting; it is experimenting and groping. Islamic ideology is more or less absolute whereas ideology of the West is mostly relative. Islamic ideology supports transcendental divine laws, but the ideology of the West is a revolt against all transcendental and divine laws. They bring such laws down and then analyse and criticise them like other mundane laws. After such test only, they accept any statements of divine laws. Islamic ideology is one in its fundamentals—with the change of time there may be variations in details only; whereas the thoughts of the rebels against divine laws are not unanimous. They are divided into several schools of thought. So, the peoples of the West have not got one ideology but several ideologies. And since they are ever experimenting and shifting, so sometimes two or three ideologies submerge into one; and sometimes from one ideology two or three branches shoot off. Then is there a possibility of its identification with the single ideology of Islam in course of time? Yes, there is. On that day the "Islamic versus West" will end.

TOLERATION AND LIBERALISM OF ISLAM

Nur Ahmad

In this article Mr Nur Ahmad discusses the great tradition of religious toleration by Islam He quotes historical episodes from Spanish and Turkish history to show how the most pious and religious Muslims, despite their zeal for Islam, never allowed their people to put obstacles in the way of other religions While it is true that the Muslims were very tolerant to non-Muslims, it is undeniable that the Muslims lacked the spirit of toleration within their own fold Rival sects and schools among the Muslims did everything to make things difficult for their opponents This sectarian prejudice has been responsible for the backwardness of the Muslims

THERE are no two opinions about the grand and magnificent spirit of toleration and large-heartedness shown by Muslim rulers and the Muslims in the world. In Morgan, Vol. II at pages 297-298, wailing of a Spanish Muslim who was expelled from Spain for his religion has been graphically narrated in which the great son of Islam has compared the tolerant spirit of Islam with the narrow bigotry and spirit of extreme intolerance of Christian kings of Spain in these words

"Did our victorious Muslim ancestors ever once attempt to extirpate Christianity out of Spain when it was in their power? Did not they suffer your forefathers to enjoy the free use of their rites and religion at the same time when they were under Muslim rule in Spain? Is it not an absolute injunction of our holy Prophet that whatever nation is conquered by the Muslims should be permitted to preserve their own pristine persuasion?

"If there have been some examples of forced conversions, they are so rare and scarce to deserve mentioning and only attempted by men who had not the fear of Allah and the Prophet before their eyes and who, in so doing, have acted directly and diametrically contrary to the holy precepts and ordinances of Islam, which cannot with sacrilege be violated by anyone who would be held worthy of the honourable epithet of Muslim You can never produce among us any blood-thirsty formal tribunal on account of different persuasions in points of faith that in any way approaches your execrable Inquisition. Our arms, it is true, are ever open to receive all who are voluntarily disposed to embrace our religion, but we are not allowed by the sacred Qur'an to tyrannise over consciences.

Our proselytes have all possible encouragement and rights and as soon as professed Allah's unity and His Apostle's mission they become one of us without any reserve and distinction to taking wife, our daughters and being employed in posts of trust, honour and profit."

I have reproduced above the feelings of a Muslim Moor who was driven out from Spain, his ancestral home in 1610, by the Christian king of Spain because he was suspected of practising Muslim religious rites in secret, to show the very tolerant teaching of Islam and its practice in actual life by every Muslim and also to demonstrate how every Muslim of that time was inspired by the teaching of Qur'an and was tolerant to non-Muslims Alas! this very tolerant spirit of Islam was made the cause of Muslims' final expulsion from Spain. The Arch-Bishop of Valencia, while recommending in 1602 C E. the expulsion of the Muslims from Spain to the Spanish King Philip III, gave the ground of expulsion as follows · "That they (the Spanish Muslims) commanded nothing so much as that of liberty of conscience in all matters of religion, which the Turks and all Muslims suffer their subjects to enjoy" (vide Lea Morescoe, page 259) It is an irony of fate that the Christian Arch-Bishop of the seventh-century Europe considered the wonderful spirit of Islamic toleration and liberalism, free enjoyment of religious rites, as apostacy and treason and recomended the expulsion of the Muslims from Spain on these very grounds The world-renowned Sultan Muhammad the Second who conquered Constantinople was a very tolerant and enlightened Sultan. After the conquest of the city of Istambul, he, though a pious Muslim, declared himself as protector of the Greek Church and strictly prohibited the persecution of Christians for their religion He granted a charter of liberty to the new Patriarch which secured to him, to his successors and the Bishop the enjoyment of all religious freedom, privileges, and exemption from payment of taxes. The religious toleration granted to the Greek Church and the protection of life and property of the Christians led the Christians under the Sultan's rule to perfer Muslim rule to that of any Christian power. It was to Turkey that the persecuted Spanish Jews fled for refuge and shelter in large numbers at the end of the fifteenth century. It was this wonderful and very liberal tolerance of Islam which led Macaris, the Patriarch of Antioch in the seventeenth century, after bitterly causing the atrocities of the Catholic Poles in Russia's orthodox Eastern Church to pray as follows. "God, perpetuate the Empire of the Turks for ever and ever. For they take their impost and enter into no account of religion of their subjects whether they be Jews, Christians or Samarians whereas these accursed Poles were not content with taxes and tithes from Christian brethren but oppress them for their religious creed" (vide Macarius, Vol. I, page 183). The Muslim rulers not only followed Islamic toleration in true spirit but also put down any act of intolerance on the part of any Muslim with iron hand. In the

reign of Khalif Al-Mu'tasim (833 to 842 C E) an Imam and Muadhdhin destroyed a fire temple and built a mosque in its place When a complaint was made to the Khalifa he ordered the Imam and the Muadhdhin to be flogged for destruction of the fire temple (vide Chwolsohn, Vol. I, page 287) History records that even the most enthusiastic Muslim ruler who was very anxious in the propagation of the true faith of Islam and was a great champion for spreading the faith of Islam in Central Asia, in spite of his great love and zeal for his own religion Islam, was true and faithful to the true Islamic principle of toleration and liberalism One of the unique historic documents on Muslim toleration is the Charter of Uzbek Khan granted to the Metropolitan Peter in 1313 C E This historic charter runs as follows· "By the Will and Power, the Greatness and Mercy of the Most High Allah, Uzbek to all our princes, great and small—'Let no man insult the Metropolitan Church of which Peter is the Head or his servants or his Churchmen ; let no man seize their property, goods or people, let no man meddle with the affairs of the Metropolitan Church since they are divine Whoever shall meddle therein and transgress our edicts will be guilty before Allah and feel His wrath and be punished to death by us' " (vide Karamzin, Vol. I, pages 391-394).

The Holy Qur'an commands the highest pitch of tolerance It commands—"And if any one of the idolators seek thy protection (O Muhammad !) then protect him so that he may hear the words of Allah and afterwards convey him to his place of safety" (vide Qur'an ; ix. 6) In this verse the Qur'an enjoins on the Muslims the highest form of tolerance in the shape of protection to those who do not believe even in Allah. Thus Islam represents a revolution against racial and religious intolerance and stresses the ethnological unity and equality of all races—thus putting an end to the colour, race, and creed bars It ordains one immovable standard of virtue and excellence having nothing to do with the colour of the skin, birthplace, family or geneology Fear of Allah, good deed, selfless work for fellowmen has been laid down in Islam as the criterion of excellence of man on earth and in the heaven hereafter.

TYPES OF HUMAN LOYALTY

M. Mazheruddin Siddiqi

In this article, our editor, Mr Siddiqi, Head of the Department of Muslim History, Sind University, discusses the question why loyalty in the modern world is so unstable in everyday affairs

LOYALTY is something akin to religious faith That is why the ages of faith have been the ages of deeper loyalty, and with the loss of faith, loyalty has naturally been the first victim The modern world whose leading concept is the Darwinian thesis of adaptation as the sole means of survival can hardly have much use for such an ideal. But adaptation has never been the hall-mark of religious movements For religion does not concern itself with bare survival The man who is adaptable may ensure his physical, biological and material survival, but he can do so only at the cost of spiritual survival by abandoning all his principles, loyalties and religious tenets. However, he values his soul more than his body and essays a survival much wider in its sweep. Jesus Christ could not adapt himself to the Roman way of life and had to pay for his rigidity, but Rome has perished, while the spirit of Jesus lives So spiritual survival sometimes runs counter to the laws of biological survival.

The reason is that religious faith aims at transforming the life of the world. Therefore, it cannot suffer its own transformation under the law of adaptation. If that which strives to change humanity became so pliable as to accept changes within itself under pressure of external necessity, it is really tantamount to the abandonment of its mission. Hence religion calls for a loyalty that is unshakeable in its resolve, and hence religious struggles have been marked by a sense of loyalty such as is not found elsewhere. As the Holy Qur'an says .

وكاين من نبي قاتل معه ربيون كثير فما وهنو لما اصابهم في سبيل‌الله وما ضعفو و ما استكانو والله يحب الصابرين -

[*"And how many prophets there were with whom fought many godly men ? Then what they suffered in the way of God did not weaken them, nor break their spirit and God is with the patient."*]

Of the Muslim revolutionaries fighting under the leadership of the Holy Prophet, the Qur'an says :

رجال صدقو ما عاهدو الله فمنهم من قضىٰ نحبه ومنهم من ينتظر و ما بدلو تبديلا ـ

["Men who proved themselves true to their compact with God. Some of them have fulfilled their vow, while others wait But none of them ever shifted his position."]

It is true that this degree of extreme loyalty to leadership and principles is rare in the history even of religious struggles In crucial moments, even men of unshakeable faith have wavered. Jesus Christ was abandoned by his followers at a critical juncture and one of them went so far as to betray him to the Roman authority. It must be said to the credit of the Holy Prophet of Islam that he, alone of all great religious leaders, inspired his followers with a faith so deep that they never abandoned him even in defeat and dismay.

Nevertheless, throughout the ages of Faith, loyalty remained the cardinal virtue of man and shed its lustre on the lives of innumerable men and women. When one reads through novelists like Scott, one is amazed at the loyalty of the serfs in the middle ages to their lords. Silently and patiently they suffered all the cruelties and injustices of their masters and yet never broke their obligations nor attempted disloyalty even once. Such nobility of soul is breath-taking specially when it is exhibited in the lives of ignorant, illiterate men. However much one may regret their blindness, however much one may feel that their zeal and sincerity should have been reserved for a higher cause and that they wasted their virtues in supporting unworthy men, one cannot but admire the nobility of their souls and their steadfast attachment to their oppressors.

Human loyalties are diverse in their character. There is loyalty to one's family, loyalty to one's nation, where there is a national sense, and loyalty to linguistic and cultural affiliations But all such loyalties are shaky, unless shot through by the power of ideas. Hence national, linguistic and racial groups strive to build a full-fledged philosophy of their own, for they know that, without common ideals and faith, their existence is precarious However, in all such movements, linguistic, national and racial, the idea is always subsidiary. It is more or less an instrument for the furtherance of interests other than spiritual. Hence when a spiritual movement arises, all linguistic and cultural loyalties go down before it. Before the power of the idea, men have given up their family interests, their national good and their linguistic and racial loyalties. That is because spiritual movements aim at a larger good and essay for more lasting results.

But today, specially in our country, there is no loyalty, not even cultural and linguistic, except loyalty to self. Witness the political shifts of the last nine years. One looks in vain for any principle of conduct. Men change their political and intellectual

affiliations as easily as they change their clothes Nothing counts except the hope of office and wealth or rank. However, even among those who change their loyalties, there are men not totally devoid of nobility. Some there are whose inner sense of loyalty resists dishonourable ways of behaviour, even when they shift their affiliations. Men may change sides, but some do not indulge in mud-throwing and slandering their former colleagues or leaders. They have enough of conscience to avoid doing anything which may put their former party or leader at a disadvantage.

But there is a type of unscrupulous man who knows no moral obligations, who not only changes his loyalties and affiliations but is also anxious to undermine the prestige of his former leader. He takes to vituperative propaganda against his former colleagues and leader. He seeks to destroy what he had been engaged in building up. He will not rest until he has undone all his previous efforts and cut the ground from under the feet of the leader who has brought him to his present position of strength. It is true that this type of depravity is as rare as that extreme degree of loyalty which exhibits itself in great religious movements. But when such conduct comes to one's notice, some psychological analysis forces itself on one's mind.

How is it possible for man to have recourse to such unscrupulous methods? What is the underlying psychological reason? How can a man turn against his leader so violently as to pick out his imagined weaknesses in his personality and even hold up his virtues as vices of character, by a subtle distortion of facts? There may be two reasons for such misconduct. Such a man may be a fifth columnist who has joined a leader in order to betray him more effectively, when the proper time comes. A closer and more intimate knowldge of the leader's ideas and personality enables him to carry out his mission more successfully. It is also possible that the man may lack all sense of gratitude and build up expectations not easy of fulfilment. He may lack honesty of judgment to realise that a leader has to accommodate conflicting claims and cannot satisfy all at once. He may not have the power of critical self-analysis to understand his own weaknesses. In any case, such a man must have remained without the spiritual training that keeps ordinary folk loyal to virtue and prevents them from falling too low. At bottom it is a spiritual defect and betrays a complete lack of faith in any principle of life. In the modern way of living, as understood today in Pakistan, loyalty, faith, attachment to principles and persons are coming to be regarded by our present generation as anachronistic ideas of which only the fanatics are capable. Our modern youth follows Darwin. The spirit of Muhammad and Christ is forlorn and so the country marches from progress to progress, downhill, of course.

ARABIA AND AFRICA

De Lacy O'Leary

Prof O'Leary goes to pre historic times to show that Arabia and Africa formed part of one continent in remote times But the appearance of the Great Rift divided the two continents The Red Sea was produced Prof O'Leary also supports the opinion that the first cradle of mankind was Iraq

IN REMOTE geological ages Arabia and Africa formed parts of one vast continent which stretched from the South Island of what is now New Zealand westwards to the eastern half of South America, including Australia, peninsular India, Arabia, the southern half of Africa, and Brazil To this ancient continent the eminent geologist E Suess has given the name of Gondwanaland, from the series of fresh-water and land deposits in India known as the Gondwana beds

The two chief plateaus of this continent were in Arabia and peninsular India. Indian evidence shows that the two plateaus were at one time continuous land, but geological changes which produced alterations of sea levels have broken continuity by forming the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic. Before those changes the Arabian plateau was connected with India by land now occupied by the Indian Ocean. This change must have taken place before the evolution of *Homo sapiens* which seems to have been in the Early Pleistocene Age and to have been complete by the Middle Pleistocene Human relics of that age have been scattered in many places, from Australia to the Atlantic, from Europe to South Africa.

In the Later Pleistocene period there were many convulsive movements of the earth's surface, chiefly produced by its slow shrinking whereby it was forced to buckle in folds. Earthquakes also helped these movements, though this was less effective than the shrinking, and active volcanoes broke out in groups on the lines of earth's fracture.

One of these convulsions produced what is known as the Great Rift which laid open a valley from the Upper Jordan to the river Zambesi in south-east Africa, and some of this valley filled with water, the Indian Ocean having been already formed before the Great Rift. Thus the Red Sea was produced. The Rift then passing into East Africa continued to Lake Nyasa near the Zambesi, sweeping inland at the base of the

Abyssinian plateau and then continuing with a series of lakes of which the first is Lake Rudolf (190 × 25 square miles area), the last Lake Nyasa. From the northern end of this last a branch carries north-west along Lake Rakawa to Lake Tanganyika, then passes along the Lakes Albert Edward Nyanza and Albert Nyanza from which emerges the White Nile. Connected with this Great Rift is the highland belt commonly known as the Backbone of Africa, in which are many volcanoes, now extinct.

The formation of the Great Rift took place at a time when there already was human occupation in the area through which it passed Some of the fault scars in the Rift cut through deposits which contained tools of human manufacture of the Stone Age. In Kenya, near Naivasha, such tools were found, whilst at Oldoway Gorge in Tanganyika some faults of the Rift cut through old lake deposits about 300 feet thick which abound in relics proving human occupation It follows, therefore, that when the Rift took place, the area was already occupied by human beings of the Stone Age whose tools have been found there Various climatic changes have taken place in Arabia and Africa, and these changes have affected plant and animal life Fossil remains of forest fauna have been found in localities where now there is no possibility of forests, whilst stone implements of agriculture have been discovered in parts which are now too dry to be capable of cultivation, whilst there are proofs of human occupation beside lakes which are now too saline to be used for drinking or for use in agriculture These changes have taken place because of evaporation, which is still operating The human occupants of this country must have been those of the Stone Age. Their relics have been disturbed by the fault scarps produced by the convulsion which produced the Great Rift, it was before that disturbance which let in the Red Sea that Arabia and the mainland of Africa were one and subject to the same conditions In all that area there was a common type of life of plants and animals, but as dry periods followed wet ones, and temperature became hotter or colder, some species flourished more freely, whilst others died out, leaving only fossil remains to prove that they had ever lived there.

The case was different with human beings endowed with reason, who were able to take steps to conteract changes of climate. The discovery of fire enabled men to warm the caves in which they lived, and they were able to migrate from areas where life became difficult and to adapt themselves to changes of food and modes of life. The very early spread of humanity and the formation of different racial species prove that mankind moved about freely in primitive times, most of the racial differences being due to different conditions, sunshine, and different food.

Where was the first cradle of the human race? Darwin once suggested that it may have been in Africa. [C Darwin : *The Descent of Man*, I (1871), p. 199)]. If that

actually was the case, it might equally well be in Arabia or India, for all these originally were one. A suggestion of this kind deserves careful consideration, though it is not necessarily convincing It seems more probable than that our first home was in Iraq where the ancient fertility of the land was due to careful irrigation and patient agriculture. Tradition describes the men of ancient days as great in stature and mighty in strength, but those were the builders of the great monuments which travellers saw as they journeyed through the land But there were others before those monument-builders and they were more primitive and probably of smaller stature, men who had only stone tools and weapons, skilfully wrought flint arrow-points and spear-heads, many of which still retain their sharp edges, for stone does not rust like iron But they were hardly capable of erecting the great monuments, which more probably were the work of early Sumerian invaders, mighty warriors and conquerors, probably men of greater stature than those nourished on the produce of fields worked with stone tools, for with metal implements they could command the harvests of better-worked land In Europe human remains found in Stone Age graves show an average height of 5½ feet, and in Africa the Bushmen, the most primitive surviving race, are small, whilst the pygmies of the tropical forests average only 4½ feet This, however, in only a conjectural conclusion, the Patagonians are tall people, whilst the pygmy elephants and hippopotami whose remains have been found in the caves of Malta probably had decreased in size by the restriction of their food-supply and of the area in which they roamed.

The formation of the Red Sea did not make a permanent barrier between Arabia and Africa. There is evidence that intercourse took place about 2000 B C., and in the seventh century B C there was an influx of colonists from Arabia into East Africa. Those Semitic invaders gradually formed a centralised and powerful state and extended their conquests to South Arabia, as is testified by the inscription of Adulis (circ 377 B C). The ancient states of the Yemen were decadent in the fourth century A C, and from 300 to 378 A.C the African kingdom of Axum ruled over the Yemen Towards 337 the Axumites became Christians and allies of the Byzantine Empire, and the history of Arabia during the three centuries preceding the coming of Islam are mainly occupied with the rivalry between Byzantium and Persia, represented by Christian and Jewish colonists respectively, endeavouring to get control of the lucrative Indian trade which passed through Arabia All these rivalries of nations, religions, and races had their basis in the geographical background produced in pre-historic ages

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ISLAMIC DIVINE SERVICE IN MUNICH

> This is an interesting despatch from Germany But it smacks more anti-Soviet propaganda than attachment to Islam It must be noted that the Soviet Union is no more inimical to Islam than other big powers Only it has adopted some crude methods

ON THE anniversary of Prophet Muhammad's birthday, the religious association "Islam" in Germany organised its general divine service "Mawled" in the Deutsches Museum in Munich on October 17, 1956 The day of these traditional Muslim prayers coincided with the anniversary of the liquidation of the Karachay Autonomous Region and of a part of the Kabardino-Balkarian Autonomous Republic by the Soviet Government. Therefore the Muslims who gathered for this divine service prayed to God to preserve the lives of those peoples who were deported to slave labour camps. Besides attended by Balkarians and Karachay people, this divine service attracted emigrants from the Caucasus, the Crimea, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Siberia and also Muslim students from the Near and Middle East and Africa.

After the religious service, a modest meal was arranged during which the chairman of the Association "Islam," Mr. Gadznaoglu addressed the audience of believers with a brief speech, in which he said

"Today we celebrate our traditional divine service commemorating the anniversary of the birth of our Prophet Muhammad We also raised our fervent prayers to God for the salvation of the souls of our brothers and sisters who were subjected to genocide, and for the preservation of the lives of those deported to the horrible slave labour camps. The Balkarians and the Karachay people were the first victims of the Red tyrants who mercilessly annihilated national minorities undersirable to Communism You all know with what inhuman cruelty the Bolsheviks performed the deportation of the population of Karachay and Balkaria.

"The Karachay people were deported from their native Caucasus to far-away Siberia. Heart-rending scenes took place. The bloody executioners made use of all

contemporary technical means. Heavy tanks passed through the streets of villages crushing everything that was alive. Unarmed men and women resisted the Red violators, defending their native homes. But everything was in vain. It was impossible to fight tanks and planes with bare hands. The resistance was broken and all people, without exception, were deported to Siberia 120 mosques were left behind with no believers In the deserted Karachay all that could be heard was the howling of hungry cattle and the wailing of dogs who had lost their masters.

"After the Karachay people, the majority of Balkarians was destroyed on the spot, as they had raised a desperate resistance and declared the sacred war "Gasawat" upon the Soviet power. The Communist violators had no scruples. They burned the resisting population alive by setting fire to their homes.

"Two more Muslim peoples suffered the same merciless liquidations: the populations of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic and of the Crimean Republic, and had the remainder of their populations deported to the forced labour camps in Siberia and Central Asia.

"Thus, under the eyes of the entire civilised world, the Soviet Government committed unheard-of genocides in the USSR! After the liquidation of these Muslim countries, about three thousand mosques remained empty.

"Dear brothers! I wish to draw your attention to the following facts Until recently no official information has been available on the destiny of the Karachay people and of the Balkarians For thirteen years the Soviet Government carefully concealed its crimes from its own citizens and from the outer world Only in February of this year did it become known through Khrushchev's address during the unofficial session of the 20th Party Congress of the USSR, that thirteen years ago these two unfortunate peoples were liquidated or deported to Siberia by a decision passed by the Soviet Government. The present collective dictators, Khrushchev, Bulganin, Molotov and others, who had participated in this bloody crime, now endeavour to ascribe it to dead Stalin. Notwithstanding this fact, however, that three years had passed after Stalin's death, during which time Khrushchev and Bulganin had done nothing to repatriate the miserable remainders of these peoples which still suffer under the frightful conditions of forced labour. This fact alone testifies that the present leaders of the Soviet Government had an active part in Stalin's bloody crime, and that Khrushchev's and Bulganin's hands are stained with the guiltless blood of the Muslim peoples of the USSR.

"We would like all the peoples of the Muslim East to know about this bloody crime of the present leaders of the Red Kremlin, to see, for what they really are,

their Soviet chieftains who went to appear as the fighters for freedom and independence."

We were very much pleased to hear that twenty Muslims of the forty million Muslim population of the Soviet Union could undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca.

We know that our fellow-countrymen—the Muslims from the Soviet Union—do not have the opportunity of making normal contact with their Muslim brothers from the Arab lands, from Pakistan, Turkey, Persia, and Indonesia One fact, however, especially grieves us, namely, that the atheistic, Communist dictatorship in the USSR has permitted the Muslim delegations from Tatar-Bashkiria (Kazan), Turkestan, and the Caucasus to go on the pilgrimage so that it can exploit them for the political purposes of the Communist Party of the USSR, for when the Muslim delegation from the USSR was met by our brothers from the free Muslim world at the pilgrimage, they may have thought complete freedom of worship exists in the USSR. Therefore, we consider it our duty to inform our brothers in the free Muslim world of the truth on the true situation under the Communist dictatorship

Communist ideology is based on the denial of God On this basis the Communist Party of the USSR has pursued an anti-Islam policy since the day it took over in Turkestan, Tatar Bashkiria, and in the Caucasus The Soviet Government has openly suppressed the Muslim religion and the customs of the peoples who base their lives on the teachings of Islam By 1937, on instruction from the Communist Party of the USSR 14,000 mosques and theological schools were closed in Turkestan, 7,000 in Tatar-Bashkiria, 4,000 in the Caucasus, and 500 in the Crimea At the same time the Communist colonisers in the Muslim countries of the USSR executed imams, mullahs, and muezzins and threw thousands of religious Muslims into concentration camps. Among those who were shot by the Communists is Kashaph Tarddjemen, Mufti of Ufa.

By 1940 the number of victims of the anti-Islam policy of the Soviet Government had reached 50,000 Starting in 1942, when the Communist dictatorship found itself on the brink of ruin during the war, the Communists began to employ different tactics with regard to religion. They changed over from the open suppression of the Muslims to a policy of using it for their own purposes Those of our clergy who remained among the living were forced to make propaganda among the Muslims in the Soviet Army so that they would die for that Communist government which formerly terrorised their religion and clergy.

From that time on the Soviet Government has been pursuing a two-faced policy with regard to Islam. On the one hand, the Communists have been conducting an intensified anti-Islamic, atheistic propaganda campaign in the USSR—in Turkestan, Tatar-Bashkiria, and in the Caucasus. The teaching of the Islamic religion was forbidden in the schools. The history of the Muslim peoples of Turkestan, Tatar-Bashkiria, and of the Caucasus was distorted. The Soviet Government is pursuing the policy of destroying people's cultures if they are based on the tenets of Islam. It is even attacking the national languages of the Muslim peoples of the USSR At first the Arabic alphabet, which the Muslims of the USSR, wrote for thousands of years, was superseded by the Latin alphabet, and then the Cyrillic alphabet replaced the Latin one. The Bolsheviks called the elimination of the Arabic alphabet from the Turkestanian, Azerbaijanian, Tatar-Bashkir, North Caucasian and Crimea Tatar languages —a measure directed against Pan-Islamism. The Soviet Government, which is fighting with words against colonialism, perpetrated the crime of genocide against the Muslims in the Crimea and the North Caucasus.

On the other hand, the atheistic government of the USSR is outwardly showing a tolerant attitude toward Islam out of political consideration. It is sending delegations of Soviet Muslims on a pilgrimage, it permits the Muftis Khialetdin and Baokhan Madzidkhan to appeal to Muslims throughout the world.

However Soviet papers and magazines in Turkestan, Tatar-Bashkiria, and Azerbaijan are filled with anti-Islam articles at this very moment. A poem against our Prophet was published in the Soviet magazine *Shark Yulduzi*, which is printed in the Uzbek language The June 9 issue of *Sovietik Kirghiztan* (the organ of the Communist Party of Kirghizia) published an anti-Islam article entitled "Religion Distorts the Truth."

As can be seen, the situation has not even changed since the dethronement of Stalin. After Stalin's death, the magazine *Molodoy Kommunist* quoted Lenin's words that one must be able to fight against religion, and wrote that the anti-religious policy of the Party remains the same as before; only the tactics have changed

That, in essence, is the Communist policy of the USSR in regard to Islam.

Dear MUSLIM brothers! We must warmly appeal to our Muslim brothers of the Free World to give moral support to our MUSLIM brothers in the USSR, and demand that the Soviet Government give them the freedom which Communism took away from them

Communism, which is being spread by the Soviet Government, threatens not only the freedom of individual peoples—it is also the chief enemy of Islam

Other persons took the floor subsequently, of whom several particularly pointed out that Communism is the enemy of all religions, particularly Islam which is cruelly persecuted in the USSR. In conclusion all expressed their conviction that Communism would not succeed in destroying the Islamic religion, nor other religions which are deeply rooted in the hearts of the peoples of the USSR

Christians and Buddhists were also in attendance at the conference.

Glimpses OF ISLAM

ISLAM

Stanley L.-Poole

"Your turning your faces in prayer towards the east and the west in not piety, but the pious is he who believeth in God and the Last Day, and in the Angels, and the Scripture, and who giveth money, notwithstanding his love thereof, to relations and orphans, and to the needy and the son of the road, and to the askers, and for the feeding of slaves, and who performeth prayer and giveth the appointed alms, and those who perform their covenant when they covenant, and the patient in adversity and affliction and in the time of violence These are they who have been true and these are they who fear God"—*Qur'an*, ii 172

WHEN it was noised abroad that the Prophet was dead, 'Omar, the fiery-hearted, the Simon Peter of Islam, rushed among the people, and fiercely told them they lied, it could not be true, Mohammad was not dead And Aboo-Bekr came and said, 'Ye people! he that hath worshipped Mohammad, let him know that Mohammad is dead, but he that hath worshipped God,—that the Lord liveth, and doth not die.'

Many have sought to answer the questions—Why was the triumph of Islam so speedy and so complete? Why have so many millions embraced the religion of Mohammad, and scarcely a hundred ever recanted? Why do a thousand Christians

become Muslims to one Muslim who adopts Christianity ? Why do a hundred and fifty millions of human beings still cling to the faith of Islam ? Some have attempted to explain the first overwhelming success of the Mohammadan religion by the argument of the sword. They forget Carlyle's laconic reply, 'First get you sword.' You must win men's hearts before you can induce them to peril their lives for you; and the first conquerors of Islam must have been made Muslims before they were made 'fighters on the path of God'. Others allege the low morality of the religion and the sensual paradise it promises as a sufficient cause for the zeal of its followers, but even were these admitted to the full, to say that such reasons could win the hearts of millions of men who have the same hopes and longings after the right and the noble as we, is to libel mankind. No religion has ever gained a lasting hold upon the souls of men by the force of its sensual permissions and fleshly promises.

Decidedly Islam itself was the main cause of its triumph Mohammad succeedeed in finding the one form of Monotheism that has ever commended itself to any wide section of the Eastern world. It was only a remnant of the Jews that learned to worship the one God of the prophets after the hard lessons of the Captivity. Christianity has never gained a hold upon the East. Islam not only was at once accepted (partly in earnest, partly in name, but accepted) by Arabia, Syria, Persia, Egypt, Northern Africa, and Southern Spain at its first outburst, but, with the exception of Spain, it has never lost its vantage-ground , it has seen no country that has once embraced its doctrine turn to another faith ; it has added great multitudes in India and China and Turkestan to its subjects Admitting the mixed causes that contributed to the rapidity of the first torrent of Mohammadan conquest, they do not account for the duration of Islam. There must be something in the religion itself to explain its persistence and increase, and to account for its present hold over so large a proportion of the dwellers on the earth

Men trained in European ideas of religion have always found a difficulty in understanding the fascination which the Muslim faith has for so many minds in the East. 'There is no god but God, and Mohammad is His Prophet.' There is nothing in this, they say, to move the heart. Yet this creed has stirred an enthusiasm that has never been surpassed. Islam has had its martyrs, its self-tormentors, its recluses, who have renounced all that life offered and had accepted death with a smile for the sake of the faith that was in them. It is idle to say the eternity of hapiness will explain this. The truest martyrs of Islam, as well as of Christianity, did not die to gain paradise. And if they did, the belief in the promises of the creed must follow the hearty belief in the creed. Islam must have possessed a power of seizing men's belief before it could have inspired them with such a love of its paradise.

Mohammad's conception of God has, I think, been misunderstood, and its effect upon the people consequently underestimated The God of Islam is commonly represented as a pitiless tyrant, who plays with humanity as on a chessboard, and works out his game without regard to the sacrifice of the pieces. There is more in Islam of the potter who shapes the clay than of the father pitying his children Mohammad conceived of God as the Semitic mind has always preferred to think of Him . his God is the All-Mighty, the All-Knowing, the All-Just Irresistible Power is the first attribute he thinks of : the Lord of the Worlds, the Author of the Heavens and the Earth, who hath created Life and Death, in whose hand is Dominion, who maketh the Dawn to appear and causeth the Night to cover the Day, the Great, All-Powerful Lord of the glorious Throne , the Thunder proclaimeth His perfection, the whole earth is His handful, and the Heavens shall be folded together in His right hand And with the Power He conceives the Knowledge that directs it to right ends God is the Wise, the Just, the True, the Swift in reckoning, who knoweth every ant's weight of good and of ill that each man hath done, and who suffereth not the reward of the faithful to perish

"God ! There is no God but He, the Ever-Living, the Ever-Subsisting. Slumber seizeth Him not nor sleep To Him belongeth whatsoever is in the Heavens and whatsoever is in the earth Who is he that shall intercede with Him, save by His permission ? He knoweth the things that have gone before and the things that follow after, and men shall not compass aught of His knowledge, save what He willeth His Throne comprehendeth the Heavens and the Earth, and the care of them burdeneth Him not And He is the High, the Great "—*Qur'an*, ii 256

But with this Power there is also the gentleness that belongs only to great strength. God is the Guardian over His servants, the Shelterer of the orphan, the Guider of the erring, the Deliverer from every affliction , in His hand is Good, and He is the Generous Lord, the Gracious, the Hearer, the Near-at-hand Every soorah of the Qur'an begins with the words, 'In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,' and Mohammad was never tired of telling the people how God was Very-Forgiving, that His love for man was more tender than the mother-bird for her young

It is too often forgotten how much there is in the Qur'an of the loving-kindness of God, but it must be allowed that these are not the main thoughts in Mohammad's teaching It is the doctrine of the Might of God that most held his imagination, and that has impressed itself most strongly upon Muslims of all ages The fear rather than the love of God is the spur of Islam There can be no question which is the higher incentive to good ; but it is nearly certain that the love of God is an idea absolutely foreign to most of the races that accepted Islam, and to preach such a doctrine would have been to mistake the leaning of the Semitic mind.

The leading doctrine of Mohammad, then, is the belief in One All-Powerful God. Islam is the self-surrender of every man to the will of God. Mohammad taught the fore-knowledge of God, but he did not lay down precisely the doctrine of Predestination. He found it, as all have found it, a stumbling-block in the way of man's progress. It perplexed him, and he spoke of it; and he would become angry if the subject were mooted in his presence: 'Sit not with a disputer about fate,' he said, 'nor begin a conversation with him.' Mohammad recognised that little margin of Free Will which makes life not wholly mechanical

This doctrine of one Supreme God, to whose will it is the duty of every man to surrender himself is the kernel of Islam, the truth for which Mohammad lived and suffered and triumphed But it was no new teaching, as he himself was constantly saying. His was only the last of revelations Many prophets—Abraham, Moses, and Christ—had taught the same faith before but people had hearkened little to their words So Mohammad was sent, not different from them, only a messenger, yet the last and greatest of them, the 'seal of prophecy,' the 'most excellent of the creation of God.' This is the second dogma of Islam Mohammad is the apostle of God It is well worthy of notice that it is not said, 'Mohammad is the only apostle of God' Islam is more tolerant in this matter than other religions. Its prophet is not the sole commissioner of the Most High, nor is his teaching the only true teaching the world has ever received Many other messengers had been sent by God to guide men to the right, and these taught the same religion that was in the mouth of the preacher of Islam Hence Muslims reverence Moses and Christ only next to Mohammad All they claim for their founder is that he was the last and best of the messengers of the one God [1]

After the belief in God and His prophets and scriptures, the Muslim must believe in angels, good and evil genii, in the resurrection and the judgment, and in future rewards and punishments. The Jinn, the Afreets, and the other beings of the air and water, have not done much harm to the Mohammadan mind. The realistic pictures of paradise and hell have exercised a more serious influence. These same things were very real facts to Mohammad, and have been of the utmost importance to generation after generation of Muslims In the present day there are cultured men who receieve these descriptions in the same allegorical sense as some Christians accept the Revelation of S. John —which, indeed, in some respects offers a close parallel to the pictorial parts of the

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1. 'The Prophet said Whosoever shall bear witness that there is one God; and that Mohammad is His servant and messenger, and that Jesus Christ is His servant and messenger, and that he is the son of the handmaid of God, and that he is the Word of God, the word which was sent to Mary, and Spirit from God, and [shall bear witness] that there is truth in Heaven and Hell, will enter into paradise, whatever sins he may be chargeable with.'—*Mishkat-el-Masabeeh*, i, ii

Qur'an, but the vast majority of believers (like many Christians in the parallel case) take the descriptions literally.

Islam lies more in doing than in believing. That 'faith without works is dead' is a doctrine which every day's routine must bring home to the mind of the devout Muslim. The practical duties of the Mohammadan religion, beyond the actual profession of faith, are the performance of prayer, the giving of alms, the keeping of the fasts, and the accomplishing the pilgrimage. Mohammad impressed upon his followers the salutary doctrine that cleanliness is an essential part of godliness, and the scrupulous cleanlin ss of the Mohammadan, which contrasts so favourably with unsavoury state of Easterns of other creeds, is an excellent feature in the practical influence of Islam. The charge which missionaries and the like are fond of bringing against the Muslim prayers, that they are merely lifeless forms and vain repetitions, is an exaggeration. There is a vast deal of repetition in the Mohammadan ritual, just as the paternoster is repeated again and again in the principal Christian liturgies, but iteration does not necessarily kill devotion. There is plenty of real fervour in the prayers of the Mosque, and they are joined-in by the worshippers with an earnest attention which shames the listless sleepy bearing of most congregations in England. It is true the greater part of the prayers are laid down in prescribed forms, but there is an interval set apart for private supplication, and the original congregations in the mosques availed themselves of this permission more generally than is now the case, when the old fervour has become comparatively cool, and Mohammad frequently enjoins private prayer at home, and specially praises him who 'passeth his night worshipping God.'

Almsgiving was originally compulsory, and the tax was collected by the officers of the Khalif, but now the Muslim is merely expected to give voluntarily about a fortieth part of his income in charity each year. The great fast of Ramadan is too well known to need more than a passing mention here, but it is not so well known that Mohammad, ascetic as he was himself in this as in many other matters, whilst he ordained the month of fasting for the chastening of his able-bodied followers, was a determined enemy to useless mortification of the flesh and boldly affirmed that God took no pleasure in a man's wantonly injuring himself, and so if one that was weakly and sick could not keep the fast without bodily detriment he was to omit it. And the same wise leniency was shown by the Arab Prophet in respect of prayer,—which may be curtailed or omitted in certain cases,—and with regard to the pilgrimage, which no one was to perform to his hurt. This same pilgrimage is often urged as a sign of Mohammad's tendency to superstition and even idolatry. It is asked how the destroyer of idols could have reconciled his conscience to the circuits of the Kaabeh and the veneration of the black stone covered with adoring kisses. It is easy to see why Mohammad enjoined them. They were hallowed

to him by the memories of his ancestors, who had been the guardian of the sacred temple, and by the traditional reverence of all his people, and besides this tie of association, which in itself was enough to make it impossible for him to do away with the rites, Mohammad perceived that the worship in the Kaabeh would prove of real value to his religion. He swept away the more idolatrous and immoral part of the ceremonies, but he retained the pilgrimage to Mekka and the old veneration of the temple for reasons of which it is impossible to dispute the wisdom He well knew the consolidating effect of forming a centre to which his followers should gather; and hence he reasserted the sanctity of the black stone that 'came down from Heaven', he ordained that everywhere throughout the world the Muslim should pray looking towards the Kaabeh, and he enjoined him to make the pilgrimage thither. Mekka is to the Muslim what Jerusalem is to the Jew. It bears with it all the influence of centuries of associations. It carries the Muslim back to the cradle of his faith, the childhood of the Prophet; it reminds him of the struggle between the old faith and the new, of the overthrow of the idols, and the establishment of the worship of the One God And, most of all, it bids him remember that all his brother Muslims are worshipping towards the same sacred spot; that he is one of a great company of believers, united by one faith, filled with the same hopes, reverencing the same things, worshipping the same God Mohammad showed his knowledge of the religious emotions in man when he preserved the sanctity of the temple of Islam.

It would take too much space to look closely into the lesser duties of Islam, many of which suggest exceedingly wholesome lessons to Western civilisation. But we must not pass over one of these minor duties, for it reflects the highest credit upon the founder and the professors of Mohammadanism—I mean the humane treatment of animals.

There is no religion which has taken a higher view in its authoritative documents of animal life, and none wherein the precept has been so much honoured by its practical observance. 'There is no beast on earth,' says the Qur'an, 'nor bird which flieth with its wings, but the same is a people like unto you—unto the Lord shall they return'; and it is the current belief that animals will share with men the general resurrection, and be judged according to their works At the slaughter of an animal, the Prophet ordered that the name of God should always be named, but the words, 'the Compassionate, the Merciful,' were to be omitted, for, on the one hand, such an expression seemed a mockery to the sufferer, and, on the other, the destruction of any life, however necessary, could be altogether pleasing to the All-Merciful. 'In the name of God,' says a pious Musalman before he strikes the fatal blow, 'God is most great; God give thee patience to endure the affliction which He hath allotted thee!' In the East there has been no moralist like

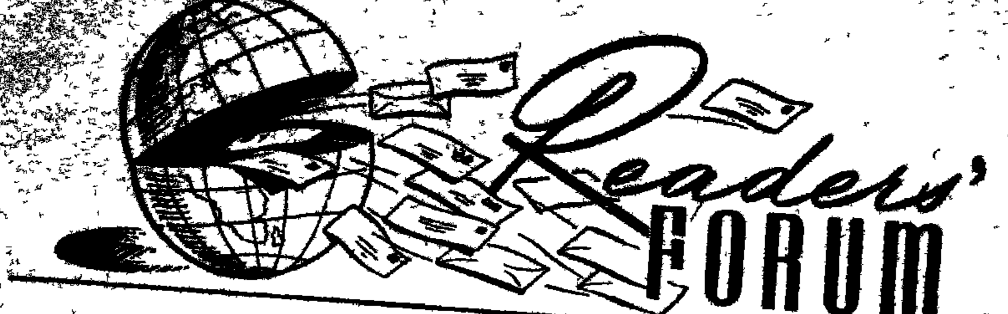
Bentham to insist in noble words on the extension of the sphere of morality to all sentient beings, and to be ridiculed for it by people who call themselves religious; there has been no naturalist like Darwin, to demonstrate by his marvellous powers of observation how large a part of the mental and moral faculties which we usually claim for ourselves alone we share with other beings; there has been no Oriental 'Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.' But one reason of this is not far to seek. What the legislation of the last few years has at length attempted to do and from the mere fact that it is legislation, must do ineffectually, has been long effected in the East by the moral and religious sentiment which, like almost everything that is good in that part of the world, can be traced back, in part at least, to the great Prophet of Arabia. In the East, so far as it has not been hardened by the West, there is a real sympathy between man and the domestic animals; they understand one another; and the cruelties which the most human of our countrymen unconsciously effect in the habitual use, for instance, of the muzzle or the bearing-rein on the most docile, the most patient, the most faithful, and the most intelligent of their companions, are impossible in the East. An Arab *cannot* ill-treat his horse.

There are some very beautiful traditions of the Prophet, showing the tenderness with which he always treated animals and which he ever enjoined on his people. A man once came to him with a carpet and said, 'O Prophet, I passed through a wood and heard the voices of the young of birds, and I took and put them into my carpet, and their mother came fluttering round my head.' And the Prophet said, 'Put them down'; and when he had put them down the mother joined the young. And the Prophet said, 'Do you wonder at the affection of the mother towards her young? I swear by Him who has sent me, Verily God is more loving to his servants than the mother to these young birds. Return them to the place from which ye took them, and let their mother be with them.' 'Fear God with regard to animals,' said Mohammad; 'ride them when they are fit to be ridden, and get off when they are tired. Verily there are rewards for our doing good to dumb animals, and giving them water to drink.'

Such, in brief outline, is the religion of Mohammad. It is a form of pure theism, simpler and more austere than the theism of most forms of modern Christianity, lofty in its conception of the relation of man to God, and noble in its doctrine of the duty of man to man, and of man to the lower creation. There is little in it of superstition, less of complexity of dogmas; it is an exacting religion, without the repulsiveness of asceticism; severe, but not merciless.

This religion is Islam as understood and taught by its Prophet, so far as we can gather it from the Qur'an, aided by those traditions which seem to have the stamp of authenticity. It need hardly be said that it is not identical with the Islam with which

the philosophers of Baghdad amused themselves, nor with the fantastic creed which the Fatimee Khalifs of Egypt represented, and brought in the persons of El-Hakim to its limit of extravagance; nor is it the Islam with which as much as with their ferocity the Qarmatees aroused the fear and abhorrence of all good Muslims. Neither the Soofism of Persia nor the dervish sensation-religion of Turkey conform to this ancient Islam, to which perhaps a modification of the Wahhabee puritanism would be the nearest approach. The original faith of Mohammad has not gained by its development in foreign lands and alien minds, and perhaps the best we can hope for modern Islam is that it may try the experiment of retrogression, or rather seek to regain the simplicity of the old form without losing the advantages (if there be any) which it has acquired from contact with Western civilisation.



Special Number :—We are pleased to place before our readers the comments, both adverse and favourable, which we have received, about the Special Number of the Islamic Literature devoted to the study of Islamic Civilisation vs Western Civilisation. We are highly thankful to these writers for their thought-provoking letters and valuable suggestions We promise to give these proposals due consideration [Editor]

Larchmont Acres
Larchmont
New York

Dear Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf,

Nearly a month ago I received your special magazine number dealing with Islamic vs Western Civilisation Frankly I must say that your editorial was far superior to any of the other articles submitted In addition I would like to add that I felt too much emphasis was placed upon the obvious and well-known contributions of Islamic learning to Western medieval culture Although these achievements certainly cannot be ignored, I nevertheless could not help but sense that many of the contributing authors used the illustrious past to escape the confusing realities of the present. The achievements of Muslims a thousand years ago, however great, are no guarantee that Islam will flourish in the future. To survive Muslims must strive with all their energy to make possible a meaningful application of Islamic principles in every vital phase of human society. All achievements of the modern West, when borrowed, must then be employed toward that end. I do not agree with Muhammad Asad that all the West has to offer Islam is confined to the pure sciences. For instance, the tremendous advances made in my country in the field of social welfare (my mother is a professional social worker) could be used to strengthen Zakat into a really effective way of alleviating extreme poverty I cannot help but think that your special June Issue would have been of far greater value if it had only emphasised specific measures to insure Islam's future growth (what should be taught in schools—Islam vs. social reforms, Islam vs Nationalisms, etc.) instead of escaping from the problems of the present by over-glorifying the past.

Shop-worn cliches such as "Spiritual Islam" and "Materialistic West" merely blind the eyes from painful realities of today. I do hope in the near future you will publish another issue on the same subject with more profound realistic articles.

Waiting to hear from you.

Sincerely,
Margaret Marcus

The University of Manchester
Manchester

My Dear Shaikh Sahib,

Your Special Number entitled "Islamic Civilisation versus Western Civilisation" is very interesting, and covers a wide ground. Not least interesting is the editorial comment at the beginning of each article, which shows that no opinion is barred whether or not it represents the view of the journal. This indicates a liberal spirit which is greatly to be commended. It is by freedom of discussion that misunderstandings can be removed and a true conception of things can be attained.

If I might mention one impression made on me by some of the articles, I would suggest that too great a claim has here and there been made for Islamic civilisation. It seems to me as if some writers believe that everything good in the West has its basis in Islam. No one with any knowledge of history would deny the greatness of Islamic civilisation and the benefits received from it, but it is a mistake to speak of it in such a way as to suggest that it has been the one source of enlightenment. People in the West have often made a similar mistake by imagining that everything good in the world has come from the West. Arguments of that nature can never convince, for they make claims which are not justifiable. The truth is that civilisations benefit from one another and often do so without realising it. While I have never been able to accept the argument put forward by the great Egyptian Muhammad Abduh that Islam was the inspiration of the Renaissance and the Reformation in Europe, it is conceivable that there is an element of truth in the idea.

I wonder whether the tone of some of the articles has been influenced by the word "versus" in the title of the special number. It seems to me that what we need to do is not to set up one civilisation against another, but rather to try to draw nearer together and learn to respect one another. Peoples inevitably differ in outlook because of upbringing and environment, but the duty of men in a world which is bringing the ends of the earth nearer together, is to try to understand the outlook of those who have a different background from their own, and not make the facile error of assuming that others have been less fortunate than they. It is important, therefore, to recognise where East and West differ and to try to understand one another's background and point of view. This will enable us to respect one another and maintain a spirit of friendship, although we may have some fundamental differences.

With best wishes for the increasing prosperity of your journal,

Yours sincerely,
James Robson.

Mustafa Manzil
Himayatnagar
Hyderabad Dn.

My dear Shaikh Sahib,

The issue of the Islamic Literature containing a number of articles on the topic, "Islamic Civilisation versus Western Civilisation" was thrice welcome when it reached me. I offer my sincere congratulations on the venture as well on the steady rise in the standard of the articles which is manifest in the continuing numbers of the Magazine. I would have personally worded the topic of the current issue differently as there is no logical contrast between the "Islamic" Civilisation which connotes idealistic universality and "Western" Civilisation which is an epithet con-

nected with a certain geographical area which is difficult if not impossible to define. May I also venture to say that while the short critical notes at the commencement of every article are without doubt illuminating, they tend to prejudge the issue in the mind of the reader even before he has read the very first line of the article itself? If comments are needed at all I would suggest that they might appear in the issue *next to the one in which the article has appeared, in order that they should not come in the way of the objective estimate which the reader might form independently of any extraneous influence.* In such a case the comments would act as a kind of corrective to the estimate he has made.

Notwithstanding these considerations the issue is replete with reading matter of great interest and value and is bound to appeal to readers of all intellectual groups. I again convey my heartiest congratulations for bringing it out.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
H. K. Sherwani.

Bhiwandi, Dist. Thana

Bombay State (India)

dear Ashraf,

I beg to submit a brief account of my inion respecting The Islamic Litera-ure Special of May-June 1956: Islamic Western Civilisations

Besides the able Editorial, articles of M. ad and de Zayas are particularly imp-sive. Profs. Watts and Ringgren's are nmendable

It is rather curious to note that all the itributors have written on this vital ic from the angle of a purely Western iception of civilisations. Even when aking of Muslim Civilisation, stress is l more upon their scientific, intellectual l social achievements, rather than upon fountainhead of their ideological, spiri-l and moral supremacy and excellence.

The Qur'an strongly condemns all cul-es and civilisations based upon a totally terialistic conception of life. Faith in l and the Hereafter is its primary dition for appreciating any human ivity. This is not an empty demand; s in perfect accord with Nature. Nega-y of God, and of responsible conduct, even with material and intellectual progress, is rank barbarism. Man was never made by his Creator to build this transitory planet, but to conquer the world to come.

Although the golden age of the Prophet and his immediate successors is highly eulogised by more than one writer, it is not shown how they were the torch-bearers of true Quranic civilisation. The achievements of later Muslim generations in arts and sciences are too highly praised, while at the same time their comparative degeneration and weakness are freely admitted. This sounds self-contradictory.

The growing attraction of later Muslims towards philosophical and material sciences was invariably coupled with a corresponding decrease in the study and application of Quranic teachings and sciences. This was not a sign of their progress, in the true sense of the term, but of their weakness, which culminated in their ultimate downfall.

The secret of their past phenomenal mental and scientific advance, too, is traceable to the marvellous revolutionary influence the Qur'an had created in them. It was this all-pervading influence which had made their predecessors unquestion-

able masters in every conceivable field of human activity.

But as this life giving influence began to fade through neglect of Quranic sciences, Muslims became less and less efficient in every respect. Our appalling apathy to this very endless source of strength is the sole bane of our present-day social and political backwardness, as well as of our spiritual and moral bankruptcy.

Nothing shall raise Muslims today except what had raised them yesterday.

Yours truly,
Abdus Samad.

Begumpet, Deccan
Hyderabad, 16

Dear Mr. Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf,

In response to the invitation sent with your May-June 1956 issue of "The Islamic Literature," I express my views as follows

There are four articles entitled "Islamic Civilisation Versus Western Civilisation by experienced writers, with other articles under headings "Flexibility of Application of Islamic Principles as a characteristic of Islamic Civilisation," "Influence of Islam on Europe," "The Highroad of Civilisation," "Towards a World Religion," "Islam in Western Research," "Spirit of the West," "We.. and the West," "Islam between West and East," "The Influence of Spanish Muslim Civilisation " With good appreciation and fair criticism of both Islamic Civilisation and Western Civilisation some important information has been accumulated. Enthusiasts of Western Civilisation will realise from a careful perusal of these articles how deeply the West is indebted to Islam and Muslim scholars.

Islam was never militant except in self-defence Muslim researches in the field of observational and practical technological science have enriched the world considerably During the Mediaeval (so-called Dark) Ages it was the ceaseless activity of Muslim investigators that kept the torch of learning aglow. Had it not been for Muslim scientists, Greek science and culture would have been completely overshadowed by ignorant bigotism and misguided mysticism

Both East and West are indebted to the writers of the above-mentioned articles for publishing their valuable views. Mr. Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, the Sponsor of the Journal, deserves fully the thanks of the educated public for the services he has rendered in publishing these articles

M Abdur Rahman Khan,
(President, The Hyderabad Academy).

Jhelum

My dear Ashraf,

The editor has maintained very emphatically that the Western Civilisation is NOT on the decline. This is an interesting problem for discussion. Why not invite opinions on this?

Personally I am very definite it is on the decline and I have my reasons. Its natural resources are fast being exhausted; its control on high seas is disappearing which is necessary for trade control. Without these two things the civilisation cannot hold on.

However, we will discuss this in your next issue.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
K. A. Rashid.